# 2 · Reinscribing the Revolutionary Legacy

> Republicans of my generation were raised on the school of the French Revolution, in the religion of its principles, in the cult of its great men.
>
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The Third Republic—unnamed, unformed, and precarious during its first five years—was a regime in search of its identity. Like its predecessors, it faced daunting challenges. What constituted legitimate social order in the absence of a monarch and the authority of the Catholic Church? How, with no established rules as a guide, did one form a government based on the abstract principle of equality among citizens united by civic virtue? Throughout the nineteenth century, the idea of a republic frightened many French, who associated it with violence and dictatorship or, at least, uncertainty. The Paris Commune in spring 1871 recalled the Terror of 1794. In 1874, Victor Hugo called for a republic of "minds," not "swords,"[2] yet republicans were divided over which revolutionary principles were fundamental. The Revolution had instituted the first French democracy, turning the people (*le peuple*) into a political force, but the revolutionary heritage boasted not only the liberation of 1789, with its proclamation of the Rights of Man, but

1. Eugène Spuller, *Hommes et choses de la Révolution* (Paris: Alcan, 1896), v. It was not uncommon for Third Republic education ministers to have strong feelings about the Revolution and to publish books on it. Spuller noted that "the spirit of the Revolution" underlay his speeches of the 1880s, published as *Education de la démocratie* (Paris: Alcan, 1892), xiv. Some of what Spuller promotes in his *Au Ministère de l'Instruction publique, 1887: Discours, allocutions, circulaires* (Paris: Hachette, 1888), reiterates Rousseau to the effect that "the goal of man is to be man" and the best education is one that forms different and varied beings, those who have the freedom to be original and "not copy their teachers" (xvi). Alfred Rambaud, minister in 1896, similarly published a *Histoire de la Révolution française, 1789–1799* (Paris: Hachette, 1883).

2. From Hugo's novel *Quatre-vingt-treize* (1874), cited in Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994), 37.

also radical Jacobin reforms (the attempted abolition of slavery as well as royalty) that disrupted the social order. Republican values, consequently, were complex and fragile. The Republic needed citizens who, despite their differences, would espouse and help promote its ideals. What would it take for them to identify with this government?

To build a republic not only of minds but also of hearts, republicans looked to three models the Revolution offered for pursuing this: instruction that implants common values, experiences that engender fraternity, and various means of producing unity, particularly, emotional unity. A citizen was not only "something one has to make" but also "a being in whom the thought of the common is realized" (fig. 17).[3] The "common self," in this sense, is not some kind of collective mind, but the ability to interact and share something as human beings. To the extent that individuals embrace the same social contract, they sing the same song, so to speak.[4]

Of particular interest to republicans was how music could contribute to this project, that is, what its *utilité publique* might be. Music was more than merely a frivolous activity of aristocrats or an emblem of monarchical power and prestige. Revolutionaries had demonstrated that it could spread ideas; influence mind, heart, and body; infuse energy; and shape character. It also offered ways to explore new kinds of behavior and identity. On the streets during the 1790s, people used a "war of songs" to express their differences.[5] As Rousseau put it, music also "brings man closer to man and always gives us some idea about our own kind [*nos semblables*]."[6]

3. Tracy Strong, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: The Politics of the Ordinary* (1994), 2nd ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), calls Rousseau "the first philosopher of what humans have in common," which is "what they experience when they experience the natural in each other" (34, 76).

4. Ibid. As Strong points out, "we could not share anything unless we were to acknowledge each other's separateness." For this reason, Rousseau's notion of the common depends on maintaining the differences between human beings. Rousseau was drawn to singing in unison as a model for his concept of commonality, because each singer in a group "performs the whole and hence experiences the other as he or she experiences him- or herself." This contrasts with the "coordination of Rameauian harmony where each plays a different part and the whole is experienced only in the listener." Strong explains, "at the moment of the social pact we take into ourself, as our self, a self that is common or general, and that each individual engaged in the pact does exactly the same; each self has, one might say, the same melody" (34, 60–62, 77).

5. In the 1880s, François-Alphonse Aulard studied what he called the *guerre de chansons* of the mid 1790s. More recently, Laura Mason has explored this perspective in popular as opposed to patriotic songs. See her *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787–1799* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).

6. Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues,* quoted in C.N. Dugan and Tracy Strong, "Music, Politics, Theater and Representation in Rousseau," in the *Cambridge Companion to Rousseau,* ed. Patrick Riley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 353.

FIG. 17 Engraving of statue of Rousseau (1889). From *J.-J. Rousseau jugé par les Français d'aujourd'hui*, ed. John Grand-Carteret (Paris: Perrin, 1890).

Republicans credited Rousseau—philosopher and composer—with founding a new world and conceiving a new people, someone who, in face of an all-powerful monarch, proclaimed individual liberty and the people's sovereignty, argued for their duties along with their rights, and understood the public utility of music. In this statue, erected in 1889, Rousseau, holding a book in one hand, his other extended in a gesture of friendship, suggests a man of reason as well as empathy. In the introduction to *J.-J. Rousseau jugé par les Français d'aujourd'hui*, a volume of essays about his influence on French politics, education, and music, Grand-Carteret explains, "all our political theories are in the *Social Contract;* all our aspirations for justice in the *Discourse on Inequality*, all our educational programs spelled out in *Emile*" (vii).

In large public festivals, communal singing helped people transcend those differences and physically experience what they shared as human beings. This brought a reality, presence, and coherence to abstract notions of equality, fraternity, and the common will, making ideology palpable as experience. Revolutionary music showed republicans how music could confront the fundamental challenges of a democracy: how to change habits of mind and body, forming individuals as well as citizens of the nation; how to understand the needs of those otherwise divided by politics, class, region, and temperament; and how to shape their desires so that they agreed on their needs. With its rituals of emotional and symbolic significance, music could encourage a sense of belonging—social solidarity and shared tastes. As such, it could both produce and enact a collective way of being.

Of course, during the Revolution and thereafter, problems accompanied the use of music to inculcate political values. The French did not need Adorno to warn them about the potential abuses of trying to control or manipulate a population with music. Moreover, little was permanent during the Revolution. Decisions made during one regime were often questioned in the next. Music and performances could be used for propaganda—tactics borrowed from the kings—or

express political resistance. Republicans were impressed with the revolutionaries' mechanisms for shaping music as a political activity, an instrument of political identity and social change. These showed how music could function within the state and merit long-term encouragement and support.

With *utilité publique* as a guiding principle, the Revolution, despite its complexities and contradictions, thus offered paradigms for concepts, institutions, and musical practices that would ensure the growth and survival of republican values. Beliefs about which republicans could agree—the need for *l'esprit public* (public spirit) and public instruction—took shape in the 1790s, including the idea that through "virile," "healthy" music a democracy could combat the decadence and lethargy of salon culture. Most revolutionary documents we study today were chosen, pieced together, and published in the late nineteenth century by historians such as François-Alphonse Aulard and music scholars such as Arthur Pougin, Julien Tiersot, and Constant Pierre. This chapter is informed by the perspectives of Third Republic scholars as well as revolutionaries and contemporary historians. Under the Empire, the republican Jules Michelet had resurrected the revolutionary past, trying to rid it of associations with anarchical violence.[7] Third Republic scholars sought to unveil a past less mediated by interpretation, so that their contemporaries could reimagine and reenact revolutionary practices. They wanted to understand why music moved people so powerfully during the Revolution, how it helped form the public spirit, and how they might appropriate this music's power and meaning as the foundation for a new national French music, reflective of republican values. Understanding these is crucial to grasping why and how the heritage of the Revolution permeated republican rhetoric and shaped republican identity.[8]

## PUBLIC INSTRUCTION OF MIND AND HEART

As Jules Michelet pointed out in *Nos fils* (1869), if the question is how to make and remake a human being, someone who understands what it means to live in public,

7. In his *Histoire de la Révolution*, 7 vols. (Paris: Chamerot, 1847–53), Jules Michelet shifted public discourse from glorifying the Revolution's leaders to exploring the human complexities of its major players and the patriotism of the people. While working at the National Archives (1831–52), he also wrote a *History of France* (1833–67) in 17 volumes.

8. As Gildea writes in *The Past in French History*, "The tension between the need to present an acceptable image of the Republic, and the need to constitute it on revolutionary principles, goes a long way to explaining the nature of political argument between 1848 and 1914" (34). For an in-depth study of various philosophical and intellectual influences on the Third Republic, including those from the Revolution, see Claude Nicolet, *L'Idée républicaine en France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982). For their ongoing relevance today, see his *La République en France* (Paris: Seuil, 1992).

in the presence of others (and not just one's peers), there is no better way than through education. Rousseau's *Emile* had shown how education helps individuals experience the common in themselves and thus become capable of living in political society.[9] But during the Second Empire, as in the Ancien Régime, the Catholic Church dominated education, preaching the principles of authority and respect and seeking to produce obedience and belief. With the end of the empire and defeat by the Prussians came a new regime, but not yet a new educational system. If, as Michelet pointed out, the Revolution was the moment when France became conscious of herself as a nation, then to help French citizens know themselves, love *la patrie libre*, and be prepared for action on its behalf meant revisiting the secular public instruction advocated by the revolutionaries.

The challenge of public instruction, a central project of the Revolution, was how to teach people to think of themselves as members of a collective body and thus come to some agreement concerning the country's general interest, the basis of anything with *utilité publique*. Under the Ancien Régime, little linked Frenchmen other than their allegiance to the king. Civil rights belonged to those with privileges. Revolutionaries, in contrast, conceived of the nation as consisting of citizens who shared membership through equal rights, freedoms, and their embrace of selfless civic virtues.[10] Good citizens should desire "only the general well-being of the nation." The utopia of civic pleasure, morality, and virtues derived from classical antiquity should take precedence over "private pleasures."[11]

Revolutionaries' arguments for universal, secular, and free public instruction, and the importance they ascribed to elementary instruction (largely ignored under the Ancien Régime), were based on the belief that human beings are perfectible. In 1791, when the Constitution guaranteed the French "public instruction" (*instruction publique*) and set up a committee to supervise it, Talleyrand pointed out

9. Jules Michelet, *Nos fils* (1870; rpt., Geneva: Slatkine, 1980), iv, and Strong, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 105–6.

10. For a study of virtue as conceived by kings, nobles, and republicans, see Marisa Linton, *The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France* (New York: Palgrave, 2001). She sees virtue as a source of moral authority. The Convention criticized Condorcet's plan for public instruction, saying citizens needed virtue more than enlightenment. See James Lehning, *To Be a Citizen: The Political Culture of the Early French Third Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 76–77.

11. *Révolutions de Paris* 9, cited in Pierre Rétat, "The Evolution of the Citizen from the Ancien Régime to the Révolution," in *The French Revolution and the Meaning of Citizenship*, ed. Renée Waldinger, Philip Dawson, and Isser Woloch (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1993), 12, and Guillaume-Joseph Saige, *Catéchisme du citoyen* (1775) cited in Michael Fitzsimmons, "The National Assembly and the Invention of Citizenship," ibid., 29–30, 37. For more on the invention of citizenship by French revolutionaries, see also Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).

that ignorant men were at the mercy of charlatans and overly dependent on their environment, whereas instruction helped protect one's civic liberties and promoted equality. For this reason, it should be available to all ages and both sexes and cover all human faculties, physical, moral, and intellectual (those addressing the imagination, memory, and reason).[12] In his 1792 report to the Assemblée, Condorcet agreed with Talleyrand on the nature of instruction and called on the Assemblée to "offer individuals [education as] the means to address their needs, assure their happiness, know and exercise their rights, understand and fulfill their duties . . . and by this to establish their political equality."[13] In the late nineteenth century, these ideas were again vigorously debated.[14]

The distinction in terminology is significant. Whereas education connoted the culture, the ideals, and the customs that each generation transmitted to its successors—which can be religious or secular—instruction addressed what everyone needed to know, "from the simplest elements of the arts to the most elevated principles of public law and morality."[15] Utility was integral to the concept of instruction—"the act of teaching what is useful or indispensable to know" (*action d'apprendre ce qu'il est utile ou indispensable de savoir*)—and social usefulness the criterion for its existence.[16] Attending to people's needs enabled them to acquire human

12. Talleyrand, "Rapport sur l'instruction publique," in *Orateurs de la Révolution française*, ed. François Furet et Ran Halévi, vol. 1: *Les Constituants* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), 1067–85.

13. Cited in Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire universel* (Paris, ca. 1871), 208, and Albert Soboul, *Précis d'histoire de la Révolution française* (Paris: Editions sociales, 1962), 513–14.

14. Jules Ferry, responsible for instituting practices that revolutionaries only conceptualized, was particularly influenced by Condorcet's *Projet sur l'instruction publique*. Meanwhile, in his *L'Instruction publique et la Révolution* (Paris: Hachette, 1882), 79–85, Albert Duruy criticizes Talleyrand's and Condorcet's ideas ("emancipating" children and risking a lack of discipline, leaving out religion, putting the two sexes in the same classes). From the perspective of a royalist intellectual, Ernest Renan defined instruction as "the acquisition of a certain amount of knowledge, diverse depending on vocations and aptitudes," and education as "what makes the gallant man, the honest man, the well-raised man." "Education is the respect for what is really good, great, and beautiful." *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale* (1871), ed. P.E. Charvet (New York: Greenwood, 1968), 197–99.

15. Talleyrand, "Rapport," 1070. In his *Grand Dictionnaire*, Larousse defines instruction as addressed to one's intelligence and education to the will (*volonté*). In addition, "One of the aims of education is to induce habits that will make man happier and will gain him the esteem of others" (se propose de faire contracter à l'homme des habitudes qui le rendront heureux par lui-même et lui feront mériter l'estime d'autrui) (210). In the *Le Petit Robert* (Paris, 1972), Paul Robert defines education likewise first as "the putting into place of the proper means to assure the formation and development of a human being" (mise en œuvre des moyens propres à assurer la formation et le développement d'un être humain) and second as "the knowledge or understanding of social customs" (connaissance et pratique des usages de la société) (541).

16. Robert, *Le Petit Robert*, 918. H. Marion, writing in *La Grande Encyclopédie* vol. 15 (Paris: Lamirault, n.d.), stresses the importance of raising children for what they can contribute to the future (581–83).

qualities and develop.[17] Late nineteenth-century republicans agreed with the revolutionaries that public instruction was a function of the state and should provide the "foundation of human knowledge." Its purpose was not to "fill the mind with information, but to prepare it to acquire knowledge and exercise judgment."[18]

Such a notion of instruction implies an important role for whoever determines what is "useful or indispensable" and is thus taught. It suggests the injection of something by an external force, rather than the result of this process. Someone needs to establish priorities and put them into action. Through the Committee of Public Instruction (and later the Ministry of Public Instruction), instruction was a telling as well as accurate way to name the state office that directed this activity. During the Revolution, this committee focused principally on primary and secondary instruction, while the National Institute of the Sciences and the Arts, also created during the Revolution, encouraged research and oversaw scientific and literary works "having as their object general utility and the glory of France."[19] If we consider that liberty, equality, and fraternity—the three principal republican values—implied a reconsideration of the nature of human needs and certainly a new way of being in the world, we must remember that they were also rights governments wished to impose (or restrict, depending on their ideologies), rights they hoped everyone would desire (or reject) if they understood their consequences.

A second French definition of instruction—"the act of enriching or forming the mind," or, as Littré put it, the "directions morales que l'on donne aux sentiments"[20]—is also illuminating. Revolutionary leaders envisaged a nation whose body was not only self-consciously collective but also deeply moral, infused with principles capable of providing an alternative to those of the Catholic Church. Like Helvétius, they believed that humans were a product of their education, and that civic virtues could be made instinctive if children were taught them starting at an early age. During the Revolution, children were considered apprentice citizens, the "future sovereign."[21] Instruction in the moral and political sciences was intended to lead them to the search for truth, love of country, and a willingness to defend their

17. See Strong's discussion of Rousseau's *Emile* in his *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 24, 112.

18. Félix Pécaut, *Le Temps*, 20 November 1871, in *Etudes au jour le jour sur l'éducation nationale, 1871–1879* (1879), 2nd ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1881), 43–45, and Léon Bourgeois, *L'Education de la démocratie française* (Paris: Cornély, 1897), 163. By focusing on instruction and leaving philosophical or religious education to the Church and families, republicans followed the example of Switzerland, the United States, Holland, and other countries. As Pécaut puts it, "l'école enseigne la *lettre*, le prêtre *l'esprit*" (45).

19. Duruy, *Instruction publique et la Révolution*, 378.

20. Emile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris: Hachette, 1881).

21. Duruy, *Instruction publique et la Révolution*, 79.

newfound freedoms, thereby assuring the country's regeneration. In the revolutionaries' texts, as in Rousseau's, utility, especially the utility of education, often appears as synonymous with country (*patrie*), as if responsible for the country's well-being (*bien général*) and happiness (*bonheur*).[22] The children's textbook *Pensées républicaines* (1793) preaches that after harming no one, the next most significant law of society is to "be useful," and that "a good citizen cannot be useful to anyone who is not useful to the Republic."[23] As the deputy Pierre-François Gossin put it, being "useful to the nation" meant upholding and defending its new laws.[24]

Public instruction then, by analogy, refers to not only state-sponsored teaching, as opposed to that of church or private schools, but also a way to form *l'esprit publique* (public spirit)—that which anything of public utility was meant to serve.[25] Good method books could form good minds, and good principles could form good citizens, but it was only their combination that gave rise to the real *esprit publique*.[26] Public instruction's goal was to create a common idea of what constitutes *utilité publique*, *utilité sociale*, and *intérêt général*. This would create a bond of understanding or trust between the people and their government that would allow it to act. Late nineteenth-century republicans agreed with the revolutionaries that public instruction should address, not only children in schools, but also adults wherever they gathered—in popular societies, theaters, civic or military events, and especially national festivals.[27] Through these, public instruction could produce the kind of knowledge necessary to assure the growth and success of democracy.

One of the great novelties in the revolutionaries' concept of instruction was the role envisaged for the emotions. Rousseau believed that before we think, we feel. Therefore, as he put it, "unless the idea that strikes the brain . . . penetrates to the heart, it is nothing."[28] In other words, influenced by Locke's idea that ideas come from sense perceptions, the revolutionaries believed that to reach people they had

22. Belin, *Logique d'une idée-force*, 276, 293.

23. Cited in James A. Leith, "French Republican Pedagogy in the Year II," *Canadian Journal of History* 3, 1 (March 1968): 60.

24. In 1792, the revolutionaries even set up a Bureau of Public Spirit and charged it with distributing revolutionary pamphlets to the départements and the army. See Mona Ozouf, "Public Spirit," in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. id. and François Furet (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1989).

25. Under Robespierre, public spirit "conveyed the idea of unity and held out the promise of full integration in the collectivity" (ibid., 773–74).

26. "Rapport présenté au Directoire exécutif par le Ministre de l'Intérieur le 26 pluviôse an VI," in Duruy, *Instruction publique et la Révolution*, 381.

27. See Gabriel Houquier, *Rapport et projet de décret formant un plan général d'instruction publique* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1793), 9–10.

28. From the *Dialogues*, cited in Strong, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, xxii.

to start with the senses. Thinking that they become attached to something through their emotions, reformers wanted instruction to speak to both the imagination *and* the heart. Mirabeau explained, "It is not enough to demonstrate the truth, what is important is to make one passionate about it." He and his colleagues hoped that by appealing through sensations and feelings, they would make people *love* the laws. The country would found its political ideals on the hearts of its citizens, aided by their reason.[29] At the end of the nineteenth century, republican educators concurred, noting that intelligence needed the intermediary of feeling. Ideas only act on us after being transformed into feeling. Passion is what makes action. Education should develop and "exercise" feelings and emotions, particularly the feeling, not just the idea, of the good.[30] Revolutionaries' and republicans' desire to penetrate and control more than the Cartesian rationality of the mind set the context for a new kind of social control, one that invaded and filled private space in a way perhaps never before attempted except by the Catholic Church.[31]

Besides instilling new values in the people, revolutionary leaders also had another reason to focus on feelings and sensations: their need to replace the charisma of the king with something equally powerful and unifying. This they did by shifting the power of presence from the king to the masses and by making the people performers of their own new identity. To accomplish this, they encouraged people not only to think and feel as a collective body, but also to act as one. This entailed a redefinition of the crowd as representative of the people, a magnification of the sense of purpose characteristic of local and neighborhood crowds focusing on what could be shared nationally rather than what constituted regional differences.[32] It also meant encouraging behavior that would help people fuse their interests with those of the new government.

29. Belin, *Logique d'une idée-force*, 292. The role of sentiment in forming the nation and in the movement called nationalism was later echoed by Max Weber in his *Verhandlungen des zweiten deutschen Soziologentages vom 20–22 Oktober 1912 in Berlin* (Tübingen, 1913), 50, and Ernest Gellner in his *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 1.

30. Félix Pécaut, *L'Education publique et vie nationale* (Paris: Hachette, 1897), xx–xxi, and Bourgeois, *Education de la démocratie française*, 129, 164–65, 168. This idea also comes from Pascal.

31. This control was thought possible because, as Leith explains in his "French Republican Pedagogy in the Year II," obedience for the laws would be the natural result of people's inner sense of right and a natural sympathy for their fellow men, in which the revolutionaries had confidence (54).

32. Colin Lucas contrasts how the crowd represented the community in the Ancien Régime as opposed to the Revolution. In the former, he argues that the representation was more "emblematic or virtual," given that "not all community members entered any particular crowd and [with a few exceptions] it did not implement a policy debated and determined by the community." In the latter, the crowd was "harnessed," given a function, instructed in certain

One unusual new behavior enacted during the Revolution entailed the ritual use of words. It was not unusual for hundreds or thousands to speak the same words at once, symbolizing the union of private and public voice, individual and common will. Communally articulated words, such as the oath of loyalty to the nation or the Constitution (eventually almost obligatory at all public ceremonies), served as a way to imply sovereignty (or common will) from *within* the community instead of through the person of the king. Such gestures went beyond what Rousseau had imagined, for the common will they expressed was not just an abstract idea, but also something given the physical embodiment of sound. To explain the effectiveness of such a practice, historians point to the tremendous faith in the power of rhetoric during this period. Whatever could persuade, that is, speak to the heart as well as the mind, could bring people together in the same feeling. Through shared sentiment, citizens would become "transparent" to one another, that is, coexist without any artificial manners, conventions, or institutions separating them. This form of transparency was supposed to serve as a model for that which was to exist between citizens and their government as well as between individuals and the common will. It translated Rousseau's notion of authenticity into political practice.[33]

## MUSIC'S POLITICAL UTILITY

The challenge to find venues that accessed feelings and modes that shaped them for "useful" purposes led straight to the arts. To the extent that the arts could be harnessed to communicate ideas and elicit emotions, they could contribute to public instruction.[34] Whereas earlier in France, the use of music as political pro-

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meanings, and "taught good revolutionary behavior." In both contexts, however, the crowd had a "passion for open spaces" and could be called upon to "endorse the power of the state." See his "The Crowd and Politics," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, vol. 2: *The Political Culture of the French Revolution*, ed. id. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988), 262, 281. For more on the "dream of unity and national homogeneity," see Mona Ozouf, *L'Ecole de la France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), chap. 1 on the "perception of a national space."

33. See Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), chap. 1; François Furet, *Penser la Révolution française* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978); and Jean Starobinski, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: La Transparence et l'obstacle* (Paris: Plon, 1957) and *1789: Les Emblèmes de la raison* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979). For the use of oaths in music, see M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, "The New Repertory at the Opéra during the Reign of Terror: Revolutionary Rhetoric and Operatic Consequences," in *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 107–56.

34. In an appendix to volume 1 of their minutes (1792–93), the Committee of Public Instruction noted, "We will honor the arts in proportion to their utility." See *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, ed. J. Guillaume (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891–1907), 1: 675.

paganda had largely been directed at the aristocracy, especially under Louis XIV, in the new democracy, revolutionary leaders wished to reach the people.[35] Music had a special role to play, because, like language, it was something humans had in common. It could potentially touch everyone, whether they understood it or not.

When arguing about whether to make music instruction mandatory in French schools, republicans pointed to how important this simple idea had been to the revolutionaries. Like the inspector of primary education who in 1878 observed that everyone loved music, from "the young to the old, the ignorant to the knowledgeable,"[36] the distinguished poet Marie-Joseph Chénier, when he mounted the tribune of the Convention in 1795 to advocate the founding of a national music school, began by evoking the "empire of this art, of all arts the most universally felt": "The child sings at the breast of his mother, whom he can hardly name; the impetuous young man sings in the midst of battles; the old man, weeping, repeats the song that was the delight of his youth; and especially women, gifted with an exquisite sensitivity superior to ours, passionately love music, which, like them, softens manners, tempers force with grace, brings the diverse parts of society closer, binding them together."[37]

Couched in the story of Orpheus's lyre and a reminder of Plato's inclusion of music in his Republic, Chénier's message was clear. What would motivate legislators to set aside 260,000 francs per year during a time of war and great instability did not need a more explicit argument. Revolutionaries explained that people liked to sing, and that many French could sing more than they could read. But more important, music could "electrify souls," especially when singing patriotic hymns.[38] Because it had a physical impact, they believed, music could influence morals.[39] Republicans concurred with this notion of how music moves people

35. J.-L. Jam, "Fonction des hymnes révolutionnaires," in *Les Fêtes de la Révolution*, ed. Jean Ehrard and Paul Viallaneix (Paris: Société des études robespierristes, 1977), 433–34.

36. Albert Dupaigne, "Mémoire (Novembre 1878)," in *Rapports sur l'enseignement du chant dans les écoles primaires* (Paris: Ministre de l'instruction publique, 1881), 68.

37. Chénier, who wrote the words to Méhul's "Chant du départ," was speaking for the Committees of Public Instruction and Finance. Cited in Julien Tiersot, "Les Origines du Conservatoire à l'occasion de son centenaire, VII," *Ménestrel*, 8 September 1895, 281.

38. Telling the Convention on 15 January 1794 of the enthusiasm he found in people throughout the country after the singing of such hymns, Dubouchet concluded, "Rien n'est plus propre que des hymnes et des chansons patriotiques à électriser les âmes républicaines." Cited in Constant Pierre, *Les Hymnes et les chansons de la Révolution* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1904), 32.

39. In his *Mémoires, ou Essais sur la musique*, vol. 3 (an V [1796–97]; rpt., New York: Da Capo, 1971), A.-E.-M. Grétry dedicates a long chapter, "De l'influence du physique sur le moral par rapport à l'homme," to this idea (61–88).

and, building on it, pointed to how "its electrical impulse encircles, penetrates, subjugates man, his thought, feelings, and sensitivity, producing the perfect union of thought and form."[40]

For such reasons, the revolutionary Committee of Public Safety budgeted a large sum to underwrite the monthly publication of music (in parts, so that they could be performed). Considering this as an "aspect of public instruction," independent of "its utility in terms of music," they stipulated that the music be distributed throughout the Republic. It was given free to municipalities and the army, as well as sold to the public. Music could disseminate republican values in the provinces, where the clergy and conservatives were so influential. Revolutionary leaders hoped it would "improve the public spirit," "stimulate the courage of the country's defenders," and provide civic festivals with a "very efficient" way of reinforcing their "moral effect."[41] Some of the most popular music associated with the Revolution appeared in these volumes—François-Joseph Gossec's "Marche lugubre," Etienne-Nicolas Méhul's "Chant du départ," and Charles-Simon Catel's "La Bataille de Fleurus." With their popularity soaring and some of the volumes selling 20,000 copies, music became recognized as a potentially useful political force.

Music could be politically instructive for a number of reasons. Besides its capacity to influence morals and sway the heart, it constitutes a being and a form of behavior separate from knowing, an order distinct from that of reason. This kind of being infuses an understanding of the political that in some ways resembles Rousseau's concept of sovereignty. Just as music creates a palpable sense of the present, Rousseau's sovereignty has the quality of existing in the present and as the present.[42] Like music, sovereignty is not constrained by the need to represent. And just as choral singing constitutes a group involving contingent and non-obligatory participation, sovereignty assumes people's contingent relation to the

40. P. Charreire, *Du rôle de la musique dans la civilisation moderne et du rôle de la France dans le développement de l'art musical* (1886), cited in Olivier Ihl, *La Fête républicaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 324.

41. Guillaume, "Arrêt du 27 pluviôse, an II," in *Procès-verbaux*, 303, and Pierre, *Hymnes*, 32–33. The publication house was called "Le Magasin de musique à l'usage des fêtes nationales." Each volume of fifty to sixty pages contains an overture, patriotic chorus, march, and patriotic song. Pierre notes that he found 105 composers of hymns for large chorus in the collections he examined (100). In addition to sponsoring these volumes, "to celebrate the principal events of the Revolution," the government opened a national hymn and civic song competition. Pierre wrote a book on *Le Magasin de musique à l'usage des fêtes nationales et du Conservatoire* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1895).

42. Dugan and Strong explain in "Music, Politics, Theater" that this means "we have no way of encountering it [sovereignty] except as what it is" (331).

political body. C. N. Dugan and Tracy Strong compare Rousseau's sovereignty to an aesthetic object in that, as we respond to it, we find ourselves in it. Since music "does not by its nature require that we give ourselves over to that which is not ourselves,"[43] it offers an experience of authority coming from within the self or the self as part of a group (the common will), a crucial distinction between the sovereignty of the nation and the sovereignty of the king. To the extent that much revolutionary music called for singing in unison, it thus served a function similar to ritual oaths. In managing humans' differences (particularly useful with so many revolutionary clubs and coteries) and fusing people's sense of self, music could form and embody the public spirit.

This attracted nineteenth-century republicans most to revolutionary music. In an era in which those espousing art for art's sake thought music should break its ties with its social context and cling to its association with elites, republicans like Julien Tiersot looked back to the Revolution for a more populist ideal of music, a music for all the people without class distinctions, a national music.[44] Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, republican, composer, historian, and choral conductor, also considered revolutionary music as something antithetical to "art for art's sake," especially its choral music, which expressed "real, lively, and exciting" collective feelings about real situations, not the "sterile joys of dilettantes or the hollow joys of virtuosity." For him, "the most formidable pedagogical engine will lead to only a superficial result . . . without the coexistence of a moral need: to express collective feelings. If there are feelings common to all classes," he notes, then the country needs an art "practiced by all classes.[45]

While individual songs such as "Ça ira" and the "Marseillaise" could rouse the public, choral singing in unison during public festivals (*fêtes publiques* or *fêtes nationales*) and, to a lesser extent, opera offered significant models of commonality and fraternity that republicans wished to revive. Largely controlled by the state, huge outdoor festivals were symbols of the new nation. Quatremère, who considered festivals the "liveliest art of the Revolution," called them a kind of pedagogy in action (*mouvement*).[46] They reconfigured people's experience of cities, taking them out of narrow, overcrowded streets and leading them in processions

43. Ibid., 332, 346.

44. Julien Tiersot, *Les Fêtes et les chants de la Révolution française* (Paris: Hachette, 1908), xviii–xxi.

45. "Rapport de M. Bourgault-Ducoudray (6 November 1880)," in *Rapports sur l'enseignement du chant* (cited n. 36 above), 23, 26.

46. René Schneider, *Quatremère de Quincy et son intervention dans les arts (1788–1850)* (Paris: Hachette, 1910), 49–62.

down tree-lined boulevards to large open spaces, where *fêtes* encouraged citizens to reimagine the public sphere with themselves as the principal actors.[47] As such, *fêtes* called for a new "civic" music distinct from that of the Church and the court, music at once secular, accessible, and conceived for *plein air*. Revolutionary opera, sometimes suppressed, sometimes encouraged by the state, likewise staged models of conduct and celebrated national ideals, albeit for a much smaller audience of listeners. It too featured music for large choruses with which listeners could identify. Both public festivals and opera attempted, not only to teach revolutionary virtues and values, but also to unite through mutual sentiment. Both used performance to help people conceptualize, mobilize, and internalize a new identity for themselves and their country, a new "national character." Even the idea that these could be true was enough to motivate a generation of republicans to pour over old newspapers and dusty manuscripts, seeking the truth from the lore to envisage what might be possible again.

## MUSIC IN PUBLIC FESTIVALS

As the country prepared for 14 July 1880, the Third Republic's first national holiday, republicans became fascinated with their ancestors' festivals, how they empowered the masses, and music's contribution to this. As Tiersot pointed out, "the first day of the Revolution was a festival day."[48] Although he was here referring to 5 May 1789, the first gathering of national representatives before the king in Versailles, 14 July 1789 was "the day of the whole people." As Michelet tells it, "With daylight, one idea dawned upon Paris, and all were illumined with the same ray of hope. A light broke upon every mind, and the same voice through every heart: 'Go! And thou shalt take the Bastille!' . . . And the thing was done. . . . Nobody proposed; but all believed, and all acted."[49] The Bastille prison represented the tyranny of the Ancien Régime; its destruction promised their salvation. Michelet calls this "one of the eternal *fêtes* of the human race," not only as "the first of deliverance," but also "the day of concord!"[50]

47. In his preface to *Fêtes*, xxvi, Tiersot refers to Rousseau here. See also David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 317.

48. Julien Tiersot, "Les Fêtes de la Révolution française, I," *Ménestrel*, 3 December 1893, 385; also in his *Fêtes*, 1. For his publications on this subject beginning in 1880, see Appendix C.

49. Jules Michelet, *History of the French Revolution*, trans. Charles Cocks (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 161. For another version of the story, see http://home.nordnet.fr/~blatouche/pa4.html (accessed 24 August 2008).

50. Ibid., 163–64.

The inspiration for 14 July 1880, however, was not the taking of the Bastille, which some associated with mob violence, but 14 July 1790, the "Festival of the Federation" (fig. 18). For this, the first national celebration, the vast Champ de Mars in front of the Ecole militaire, also called the Champ de la Réunion, was transformed into an enormous arena with an "altar of the fatherland." After a four-hour parade through Paris accompanied by music, then songs and regional dances, the festival resembled a huge secular Mass. A series of rituals—processions, hymns, allegorical representations, and speeches—replaced Catholic worship and the monarchy with a new liturgy and music glorifying the nation.[51] "Majestic music commanded the souls to lift their spirits to the Eternal" and La Fayette pronounced the oath of the Federation, reiterated by all. Afterwards, a thousand singers, large orchestra, organ, and cannon performed a new Te Deum by Gossec (1734–1829).[52] Three hundred thousand representatives of the eighty-three départements came from all over France to participate. Whereas five months earlier, on 14 February, a similar ceremony had taken place within Notre Dame cathedral for members of the Assemblée nationale to swear their fidelity to the nation, the July celebration was for everyone. Travelers implicitly recognized the need to leave behind social and geographical differences and to be united in support of what they shared. Newspaper accounts commented on how they worked together, animated as if having the same soul and without quarrels or need for police, many singing: "This will work! This will work! Whoever raises himself up will be brought down."[53] Many stayed for a week of celebrations. Republicans saw this as the greatest "surge of brotherly feeling" ever seen. "For the first time," writes Tiersot, "men from the same country, earlier separated by arbitrary divisions, understood that they were no longer strangers. They felt united as friends, brothers, and their hearts felt an immense enthusiasm."[54] Michelet considered this the zenith of French history, the apotheosis of brotherhood and unity toward which the nation had been aspiring for centuries.

While spontaneity characterized this festival, later ones were more rigorously

51. For a comparison of Christian and revolutionary festivals, see Bernard Plongeron, "La Fête Révolutionnaire devant la critique chrétienne (1793–1802), in *Fêtes de la Révolution*, ed. Ehrard and Viallaneix, 537–51.

52. Tiersot's installments on this festival in *Ménestrel* are republished in his *Fêtes*, 31–46.

53. "Ça ira! ça ira! Celui qui s'élève on l'abaissera" is a line from the famous revolutionary song, "Ah, ça ira, ça ira, ça ira, les aristocrates on les pendra!" Tiersot analyzes the history of this song and its use here in *Fêtes*, 19–26. Also in *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 52, cited in Henri Radiguer, "Les Jours d'enthousiasme de Paris, III," *Petit Poucet* 5 (1903): 3, and 6 (1903), 2–6.

54. Ibid., 17, and "Les Fêtes de la Révolution française, III," *Ménestrel*, 17 December 1893, 401.

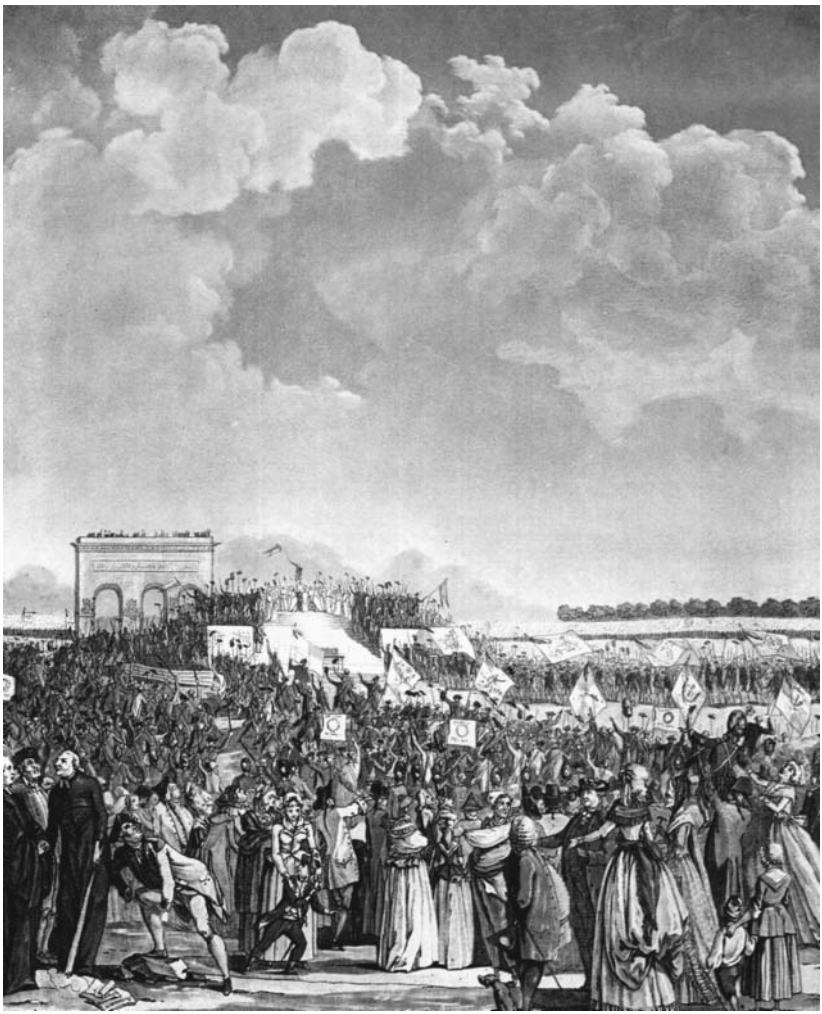


FIG. 18 Jacques-François Swebach-Desfontaines, watercolor of the 1790 Fête de la Fédération.

The enormous arena for the Fête de la Federation was constructed on the Champ de Mars, at the time outside the city of Paris. The enclosure brought people face to face before the altar of the *patrie* to swear their allegiance to the new constitution. "For the first time, men of the same homeland, separated in the past by arbitrary divisions, agreed that they were no longer strangers; they felt themselves united, friends, brothers; and their hearts were lifted up with a great enthusiasm," Julien Tiersot writes of it (*Les Fêtes et les chants de la Révolution française* [Paris, 1908], 17).

scripted, especially when revolutionary leaders wished to engage the masses in their armies' triumphs. A festival ordered by the Convention to celebrate the military victory at Toulon in 1793 was typical. Numerous versions were to take place throughout the country, but in Paris the painter Jacques-Louis David was put in charge. He imagined a Greek-like spectacle. Working from newspapers of the period, Constant Pierre describes it on its hundredth anniversary:

> On the appointed day (10 Nivôse [31 December]), a large procession gathered at the national garden (the Tuileries). It was composed of significant groups from the army, representatives of popular societies, committees and tribunals of the provisionary executive Council, conquerors of the Bastille, etc., separated by groups of trumpets, sappers, and fifty drums. Then came the various chariots: that of the revolutionary army carrying the defenders of Liberty surrounded by forty girls dressed in white with three-colored bands around their waists and holding laurel branches in their hands; then those of the armies [of the various provinces of France]. The entire Convention followed, surrounded by a three-colored ribbon held by veterans and the country's children. A mass of fifty drums, the Parisian National Guard wind ensemble, and the singers in charge of performing the hymns preceded the principal chariot carrying the national symbols [*faisceau*]. This was topped by the allegorical statue of Victory, around which would come fifty invalids and brave *sans-culottes* in red caps. A cavalry platoon ended the march.
>
> After the performance of warrior airs, everyone proceeded to the Temple of Humanity and the Invalides. They then sang a hymn before leaving for the Champ de Mars, designated as the central focus of the festival. There one could hear military symphonies, the chorus "Chant à la liberté," the air of Chateauvieux ["Ronde nationale"], and a hymn written specially for the event by M.-J. Chénier, put to music by Catel . . . one of the rare pieces written for three solo voices.[55]

If this list of participants avoids mentioning the public, it does point out that the government and the people, young and old, marched to the same tune, traversing the same path through the city. Music structured the procession, clarifying divisions among the groups and animating the movement from one place to another. After everyone arrived at the Champ de Mars, music became the focal point. When

55. Although the government budgeted 15,000 pounds for such an event, the final cost approved by the Committee of Public Instruction came to almost double that. Constant Pierre, *Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales de la Révolution française* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1893), 62–63.

the public joined in the singing, they appeared to ratify the ideal of the common will in harmony with the will of the organizers.

For nineteenth-century republicans and revolutionaries alike, festivals resulted from the need for a fiction, however utopian, of a "unanimous people."[56] Inspired by ancient Greek and Roman models of "communal togetherness, simplicity, and joy," the first revolutionary festivals took place in villages, on the roads between them, or on large fields in the open air where their organizers could erect large bleachers so that everyone could see and take part.[57] Unlike the sites of most official celebrations—churches and the court—these spaces were free of memory. Not closed and vertically organized, they were open to everyone, and their horizontal nature implied no visual hierarchy. Whereas traditional festivals in France had been either private or what economists today would call "club goods," in which attendance was restricted—that is to say, "impure" public goods more exclusive than inclusive, revolutionary festivals, with their lack of exclusiveness and rivalry, were, in today's terms, a public good.

The earliest festivals in the provinces arose spontaneously. Some reflected a desire for "liberty," others, for union, symbolized by the merging of military bands from adjoining villages.[58] In Paris, where the government eventually took charge, leaders like Mirabeau saw festivals as "the most powerful means of attaching citizens to the country [*patrie*], uniting them by ties of a happy fraternity."[59] They hoped that the "equality" and "fraternity" citizens might experience in festivals would abolish any distance they felt from one another and instill a sense of community. One hundred years later, republicans marveled at how festivals arose from the popular instinct to express the general will and embody the nation. Fraternity may have been the most nebulous of revolutionary values, but for

56. Colin Lucas uses this expression to describe how the Jacobins needed to think of themselves as "the people," but the idea applies as well to revolutionaries' concept of the crowd in revolutionary festivals. See Lucas, "Introduction," *Political Culture of the French Revolution*, ed. id., xiii.

57. See Mona Ozouf, *La Fête révolutionnaire, 1789–1799* (Paris, 1976), trans. Alan Sheridan as *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988), chap. 6. Ozouf cites a report about one festival in which "four hundred thousand citizens were out in the streets for a half day and all went to the same spot, without the slightest mishap" (69). For the roots of this preoccupation with utopia and French desire for regeneration, see Ozouf, "La Révolution française et l'idée de l'homme nouveau," in *Political Culture of the French Revolution*, ed. Lucas, 213–32.

58. Ozouf, *Festivals,* 27, 33–34.

59. Duruy, *Instruction publique et la Révolution*, 312–13. Robespierre believed that "a system of festivals would be both the sweetest bond of fraternity and the most powerful means of regeneration" (Julien Tiersot, "Les Fêtes de la Révolution française, XVIII," *Ménestrel*, 22 April 1894, 122).

many, including Michelet, it was the central principle of the Revolution and "the beauty and the strength of the society to come."[60] Republicans hoped that recalling memory of these festivals would revive a shared sense of community in the country, still divided by class, politics, and regional distinctions.

Equality was a more elusive problem. In the early federative festivals, citizens of all trades, villagers, mothers, and children took part. Yet this did not mean an absence of social divisions. The 1791 Constitution instituted a controversial way of distinguishing citizens, depending on the taxes paid. Those with sizeable property were eligible to serve as elected representatives. Other male, adult, French tax-paying nationals were considered active citizens. Women, children, foreigners, servants, prisoners, beggars, vagabonds, the sick, and other social dependents—called passive citizens—were protected by the law but had no political rights. Robespierre, a disciple of Rousseau, led a rebellion against this idea and the insurrection of August 10 overturned the division into active and passive citizens. However, for Robespierre, the only good crowd was an organized one. For his Festival of the Supreme Being on 8 June 1794, "the people" consisted of 2,500 chosen in equal numbers from all the neighborhoods of Paris to sing national songs, of whom ten old men, ten mothers, ten girls, ten adolescent boys, and ten male children served as representatives. In this highly organized event, however, only women and children could march "indiscriminately"; men were "always carefully categorized." Festivals thus seemed to be about equality, but were a world of coexistence in which everyone had a role.[61]

Republicans also looked on revolutionary festivals as "the vastest means of public instruction" and "the most powerful means of regeneration."[62] They made it possible "to conceive of a society in which propaganda and social manipulation could be explicit.[63] As the state's coordination of festival activity grew, legislator-pedagogues made them subject to approval by the Committees of Public Instruction or Public Safety. Since each was "a lesson in everyday morals, the

60. Michelet, *Nos fils*, 411.

61. Tiersot, "Fêtes de la Révolution française, XVIII," 122; Ozouf, *Festivals*, 41, 115; William H. Sewell Jr., "Le Citoyen / la citoyenne: Activity, Passivity, and the Revolutionary Concept of Citizenship," in *Political Culture of the French Revolution*, ed. Lucas, 105–13. As Sewell writes, in such a system "passive citizens would not be citizens at all, but *subjects* of an aristocracy of wealth." For this reason, the 1791 Constitution was soon overturned.

62. Duruy, *Instruction publique et la Révolution*, 314–16.

63. Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 2; Ozouf, *Festivals*, 275–76. Cynthia Gessele points out in "The Conservatoire de Musique and National Music Education in France, 1795–1801," in *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), that in the 1791 Constitution, the guarantee of public instruction and the institutionalization of national festivals were in adjacent articles (205n45).

impregnation of every citizen by the spirit of the Republic," and because "the movement of eyes, the exchange of feelings and ideas, seemed to carry with them an immediate teaching," the experience went beyond what books could provide, the "action of signs on ideas and ideas on morals" functioning like a "contagion."[64] Festivals' increasing popularity led to a call for an overall plan in 1793 and to a law in 1795 that established seven national festivals, coordinated with the new revolutionary calendar, as part of a bill on public education. Between 1789 and 1799, there were literally thousands of festivals around the country, varying in tone and purpose. The larger, more formalized ones celebrated military victories, the funerals of great men, or the Republic. Others were organized around abstract ideas or moral values such as Youth, Old Age, Agriculture, Reason, and the Sovereignty of the People. Conceived as integral to social change and a form of "national upbringing," festivals showed how a government could transform individuals into civilized citizens, the banner of the nation and the general interests it symbolized subsuming regional and class differences.

## VIBRATING IN UNISON

As Constant Pierre's description of the 1793 festival reveals, music played an integral role in revolutionary festivals, much of it determined by the state. On the most basic level, the sound of drums called everyone to action, waking them at 5 A.M. on festival days and accompanying processions through the city. This was not without a certain power. On 21 January 1793, when Louis XVI, now styled Louis Capet, was being driven from prison to the Place de la Révolution (later called Place de la Concorde), military drums accompanying the two-hour procession effectively drowned out any expression of support for the king. Drums continuing to beat at the scaffold stifled his last words.[65] At the festivals, besides structuring these events, music's primary purpose was to give everyone a way to participate and thus to identify with what was going on. Typically, especially at the large festivals of the Champ de Mars, every section of the public would have its own orchestra as well as orator, and at regular intervals of the ceremony, all the orchestras would play the same music as everyone sang.[66] The idea was to make

64. Ozouf, *Festivals*, 325n4, 197–204.

65. Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson summarizes contemporary accounts of this procession in her *Paris as Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 36.

66. For the Fête des Victoires in 1794, Opoix proposed twelve orchestras with singers from all over France, and Merlin, thirteen orchestras, accompanying citizens singing first in dialogue and then in unison "to symbolize the emergence of a single will" (James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995], 127).

participation easy and appealing, so that people could "vibrate in unison" and become "even more receptive to revolutionary ideas."[67] Music helped discipline people's natural tendencies, focusing their attention (especially when the speeches were inaudible) and, with their lyrics, served an instructive function. Republicans admired how such music both contributed to the external spectacle and expressed an intimate feeling, sometimes translating a common thought.[68] They also gave the participants something to take home, so to speak, music that would continue to instill republican ideas into them in everyday life.

Late nineteenth-century republicans marveled at how extensive state support had been for revolutionary festivals and how they had involved the country's best composers. Various governments commissioned compositions, paid for the free distribution of sheets of music and text or text alone, and issued directives concerning the music performed. In 1789, Gossec left his position as director of the Académie royale (the Opéra) to help the cause. For the Festival of Federation on 14 July 1790, he wrote not only the Te Deum mentioned above, but also a "Chant du 14 juillet" for male chorus, one of the first revolutionary hymns, and one that served as a prototype for others, including the "Marseillaise."[69] He also wrote hundreds of songs, choruses, marches, and wind band symphonies conceived specifically for the immensity of festival sites.

Whereas previously Te Deums had been used to accompany processions, consecrate new leaders, and give thanks after victories of one sort or another, after this point, secular hymns or anthems—that is, patriotic sing-along songs—and, to a lesser extent, marches, symphonies, or overtures for wind ensembles took their place.[70] Through such music, as Tiersot saw it, "the people" become more than an "abstraction": "This is a living, active being, whose thousand voices merge into a single one and whose thousand hearts beat as one, stirred by the same feeling and

67. Louis-Marie de La Réveillière-Lépeaux's 1797 *Essai sur les moyens de faire participer l'universalité des spectateurs à tout ce qui se pratique dans les fêtes nationales* (Essay on How to Get All Spectators to Participate in All Aspects of National Festivals) is discussed in Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, 1789–1830*, trans. Sylvain Frémaux (Portland, Ore.: Amadeus, 1996), 41.

68. Tiersot, *Fêtes*, xv,

69. David Charlton, "Revolutionary Hymn," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan; Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1980), 15: 777. Tiersot calls the "Marseillaise" a song of action, a song of war, and the "Chant du 14 juillet" a song of contemplative faith, a song of love for humanity ("Les Fêtes de la Révolution, II," *Ménestrel*, 14 January 1894, 9).

70. On this subject, see Tiersot, *Fêtes*, and Pierre's three immensely erudite volumes, *Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales* (Paris: Leduc, 1893), *Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la Révolution française* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1899), and *Hymnes et les chansons de la Révolution*.

the same disinterested, burning, and sincere passion."[71] Borrowing revolutionaries' electrical concept of musical performance, he believed that "when voices are united, hearts understand one another better; this creates a kind of sympathetic current among singers that draws them together and orients them to the same goal."[72]

No song was more important to Revolutionaries than the "Marseillaise." Many believed that it exercised a powerful influence on the revolutionary armies and contributed to their successes. With the "Marseillaise" "more useful and more consistent with the public spirit," the Te Deum, associated with the French monarchs, soon became "out of date." Cognizant of the ability of the "Marseillaise" to remind people of their armies' glory and keep alive the spirit of the Revolution, government leaders called for its performance on various public occasions, ranging from the sessions of the Convention to evenings at the theater.[73] Through its staging in Gossec's patriotic scene *L'Offrande à la liberté* (1792), a work symbolizing national pride, the "Marseillaise" became known, not only for its martial qualities, but also for the religious aspect of its verse, "l'amour sacré de la Patrie."[74] In the 1870s, this symbol of patriotic resistance remained alive in Paris cabarets before republicans made it their national anthem in 1880. Tiersot considered it a hymn "in which are expressed all the lofty and generous aspirations of not only the Revolution, but modern France as well."[75]

71. Tiersot, *Fêtes*, xiii.

72. Julien Tiersot, "La Musique dans les fêtes de la Révolution," *Nouvelle Revue*, 1 August 1884, 592.

73. In 1792, after the conquest of Savoy, the Convention voted to have the "Marseillaise" performed in the Place de la République, after which it became known as the "Hymn of the Republic." It was also sung at the Opéra for the first time that year. Eventually, each Convention session began with its performance, sometimes also in the middle when announcing military victories. A 1795 law required it performed by all military bands, along with Gossec's "Chœur à la Liberté" and other "civic" songs. And in January 1796, the government ordered the "Marseillaise" sung before the curtain went up in all theaters of the Republic. See Georges Kastner, *Les Chants de l'armée française* (Paris: Brandus, Dufour, 1855); Pierre, *Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales*, 61; Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, 44; Charlton, "Revolutionary hymn"; and Frédéric Robert, *La Marseillaise* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1989).

74. According to Pierre, *Hymnes*, 223–31, the "Marseillaise" was variously thought of and published during the revolution as a war song, a march, a hymn, and an air. See also M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, "Gossec, *L'Offrande à la liberté* et l'histoire de la Marseillaise," in *Le Tambour et la harpe*, ed. Jean-Rémy Julien and Jean Mongrédien (Paris: Editions du May, 1991), 124–35.

75. In his "Les Chansons de la Révolution," *Nouvelle Revue*, 15 June 1884, 790–93, Julien Tiersot asks the questions that will later motivate him to write his book *Histoire de la chanson populaire* (1889), that is, "under what conditions, in what environment, and under what influences could such a national song arise, a song in which the soul of the country seems to vibrate" (797). In 1892, he published in *Ménestrel* an 18-part article on Rouget de Lisle, the composer of the "Marseillaise."

Between 1789 and 1803, over 1,300 songs or choruses were written for patriotic gatherings—some newly composed, some set to popular melodies, others to opera airs.[76] The utility of the new genre, the *chanson patriotique* or *chanson nationale*, was physical as well as intellectual. Such songs became state-sanctioned mediums of communal expression. At the same time, publicists and propagandists used them to promote diametrically opposed ideologies. Supporters of the new Constitution set its articles to music as a way to teach them to the lower classes, while royalist opponents used the same context to criticize the new doctrines.[77] Rifts developed in the streets and theaters between those whose singing expressed conflicting aspirations.[78] Tiersot compared the collective feelings that popular patriotic songs expressed to religious convictions. Both brought people's "souls together in one and the same thought [confondre leurs âmes en une pensée]", albeit sometimes to express their ideological differences.[79]

Constant Pierre stresses that these genres were meant to be accessible to a wide range of people—politicians, villagers with limited performance abilities, and the large crowds that gathered in the cities.[80] Consequently, patriotic songs and hymns performed at the festivals tended to be simple, three- or four-part choruses encouraging memorization. Most set strophic texts with the same music repeated for each verse.[81] Some were responsory, the chorus following the lead of a soloist, often in a refrain. Chénier's lyrics for the "Chant du départ," for example, were to be sung by soloists representing successively mothers, old men, children, wives, girls, and warriors, with each group in turn reiterating the choral refrain. The effect was to imply that everyone supported the call to live and die for the country. Many songs were written especially for the occasion only a few hours before the festival (*en temps utile*) and never heard again, especially those intended for celebrations after military victories. Others, like Gossec's "Hymne à l'Etre suprême," Catel's

76. Ralph Locke, "Paris: Centre of Intellectual Ferment," in *The Early Romantic Era*, ed. Alexander Ringer (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1991), 32–40.

77. See Herbert Schneider, "The Sung Constitutions of 1792: An Essay on Propaganda in the Revolutionary Song," in *Music and the French Revolution*, 236–75.

78. See Mason, *Singing the French Revolution*, and Michael McClellan, "Counterrevolution in Concert: Music and Political Dissent in Revolutionary France," *Musical Quarterly* 80 (1996): 31–57.

79. Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire* (Paris, 1889), 275.

80. To prepare for the festival of 10 August 1794, the Committee of Public Instruction ordered 18,000 copies of Méhul's "Chant du départ" to be sent to "the Convention, [various] citizens, and each of the fourteen armies" (Pierre, *Hymnes*, 346).

81. A good example of this is Gossec's "Chant du 14 juillet," which has twenty-six stanzas, of which he set only six to music.

"Hymne à la victoire," and Méhul's "Chant du départ," became so popular that they were added to all kinds of festivals.

Tiersot and Pierre were both taken with the Gossec hymn that the Committee of Public Safety chose for the Festival of the Supreme Being (1794) (ex. 1). It could not have been simpler, in C major and 6/8, with a choral refrain echoing the soloist's music.[82] To help people learn the hymns, two days before the festival, there were rehearsals at the Conservatoire, and its members taught the words and music to schoolchildren assembled from each district. More than a thousand copies of the score were sent out the next day, and experienced singers directed three hours of rehearsals with the masses just before the festival began. The goal, as Pierre concluded, was not to worry too much about the artistic result, but to have a "moral effect."[83] Such music suggested how composers could get back in touch with "the people," something republicans envied in the late nineteenth century.[84]

Lest one think that simplicity was all there was to revolutionary hymns, imagine the challenge of getting thousands of people to sing in unison. Other difficulties also explain Pierre's comment—Méhul's homophonic choruses sometimes use chromaticism and multiple scales. Moreover, not all were meant for amateurs and were entirely homophonic. Some choral hymns, often second and third versions of the simple ones,[85] were written for professionals to perform at notable points of the festival. During the transfer of Voltaire's ashes, for example, the procession from the Bastille to the Panthéon stopped three times for the performance of choral hymns setting Voltaire texts—at the Opéra, in front of the house where the writer died, and at the Odéon theater. For this occasion, Gossec wrote his first work for a male chorus accompanied by wind instruments: an excerpt from Voltaire's *Samson*, "Peuple, éveille-toi!" (People, awake!). Its martial rhythms and energetic

82. Pierre reproduces this in *Musique des fêtes*, 239. The first version of this hymn, commissioned by the Committee of Public Safety, sets a Marie-Joseph Chénier text for four-voice chorus and wind band in 4/4 (232–37). Apparently, Robespierre was so upset at the choice of Chénier, a political enemy, to write this "national hymn" that he demanded a second one written by another poet and in a version to be sung by the people (Pierre, *Hymnes*, 308). Pierre suggests that Gossec then wrote a different piece, the simple hymn in 6/8 discussed above, first with the Chénier text, then a Desorgues text, before returning to the original hymn in 4/4 and substituting the Desorgues text for the Chénier one.

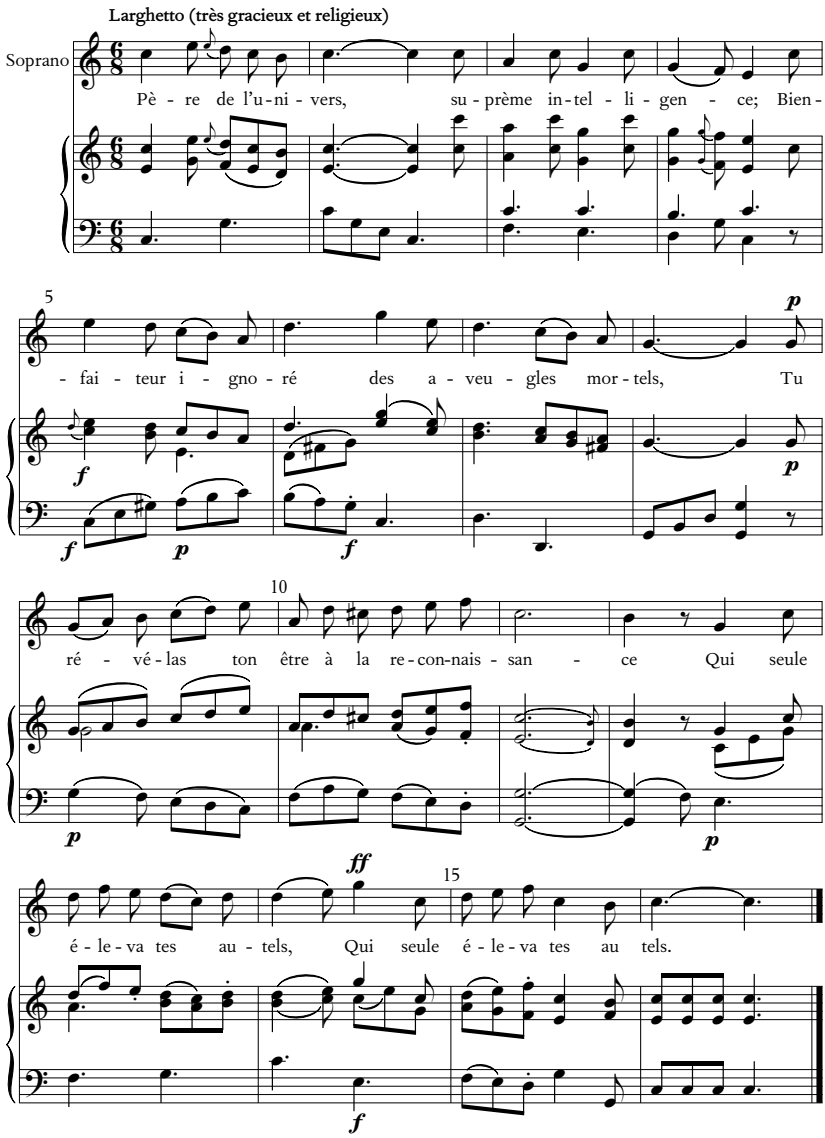
83. Pierre, *Hymnes*, 323. See also his essay on the teaching of this hymn to school children in *La Révolution française* (1899), 53–64.

84. Tiersot, *Fêtes*, xxi.

85. See n. 82 above. As for Gossec's "Hymne à l'Etre suprême," the Committee of Public Instruction commissioned two versions of Catel's "Battle of Fleurus," one for simple song with refrains for the people, another for large chorus and orchestra. See Pierre, *Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales*, 66.

EX. 1 Gossec, "Hymne à l'Etre suprême," popular version (1794), in Constant Pierre, *Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la Révolution française* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1899).

On the morning of the Festival of the Supreme Being in the Tuileries gardens, trained singers led the singing of the solo stanzas and the harmonized parts of this simple version of the Gossec hymn, alternating with everyone else singing the main line of the refrains. Later at the Champ de Mars, the 4/4 version of the hymn was performed, sung exclusively by the trained singers. In telling this story, Tiersot notes that the multiple changes made in responding to Robespierre's severe criticism led to insurmountable problems in trying to teach the song to the mass audience, and that they had to give up performing the main song at the festival (Pierre, *Les Hymnes*, 322–24; and Tiersot, "Les Origines du Conservatoire," *Ménestrel*, 25 August 1895, 266)



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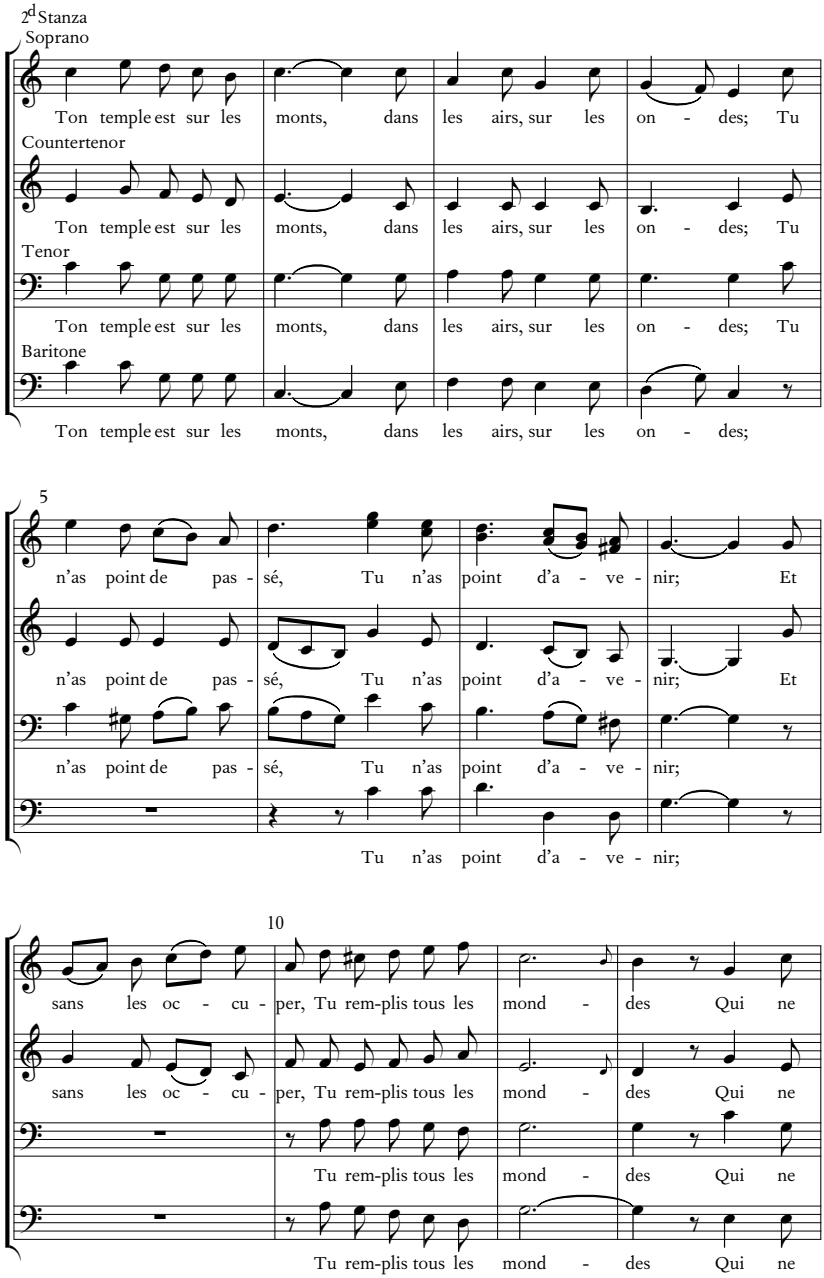


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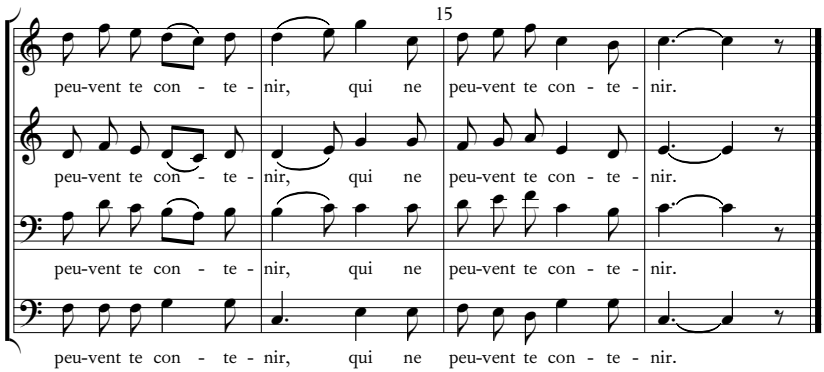


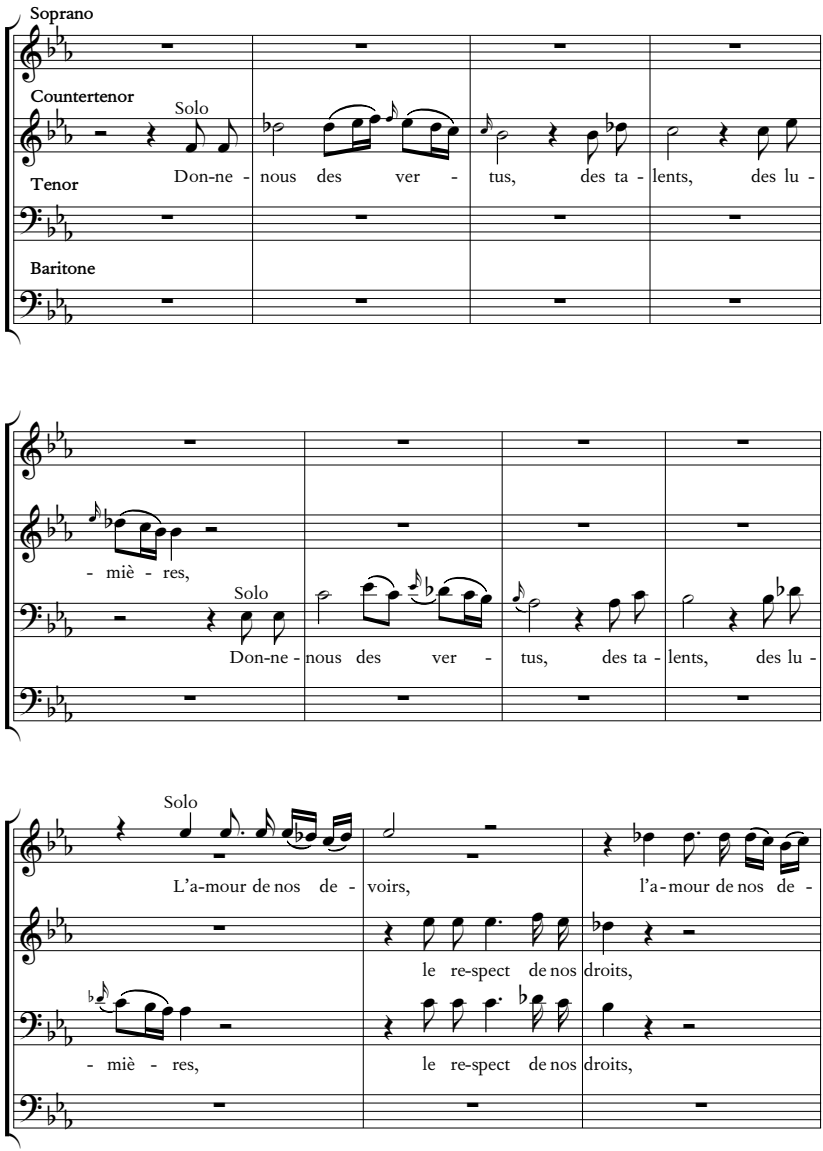

call for freedom could be heard at all three stations. In front of the Opéra, singers and musicians from its orchestra also performed Gossec's "Invocation."[86] This piece, setting the last two stanzas of the Voltaire text, is extraordinary for the virtuosity and coordination it requires, sometimes in imitative passages, other times together in intense sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The work's juxtaposition of woodwinds with strings and powerful *fortissimo* chords with *pianissimo* scalar passages are especially dramatic. Also powerful is the first utterance of the word "God," when the full orchestra and chorus hold a major triad *fortissimo* twice for an entire measure, followed each time by a subdued *piano* interjection, "God of liberty." This is followed by imitative entries of each voice, building to a tutti chorus (ex. 2). Despite their complexity, words in such works were set in such a way to make them clearly understandable even in large-scale music influenced by Gossec's symphonic writing before the Revolution.

Marches, also important in the revolutionary tradition, helped turn the civic religion into one of action. They did this in several ways. Military music coordinating the movement of soldiers dressed in similar uniforms not only roused soldiers and inspired fear in their enemies, it exemplified how sound could induce a large number of individuals to appear as one collective body with one collective mind. Whether played by large wind ensembles or fifes and drums, marches at festivals coordinated processional movement. Marc-Antoine Désaugiers's 1790 *hiérodrame La Prise de la Bastille* depicts the people advancing on the Bastille to the accompaniment of a military march.[87] Archival documents describing the various festivals are full of indications of who follows whom—"the order of the march."

86. Ibid., 11, 51.
87. Pierre, *Hymnes*, 191.

EX. 2 Gossec, "Invocation" (1791) for chorus and symphonic orchestra, in Constant Pierre, *Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales de la Révolution française* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1893).

After the instrumental prelude and choral passages on "God of liberty," come two short stanzas introduced by solos and repeated by duets, trios, and tutti passages. The second stanza—"Give us virtues, talent, and luminaries, love of our duties, respect for our rights, . . . and customs [*mœurs*] meriting our laws"—is introduced in one part. It then builds momentum with imitative repetition by a second and then third solo, and finally climaxes in the simpler syllabic writing of choral homophony. This symbolizes the group's gradual embrace of concepts introduced by individuals.

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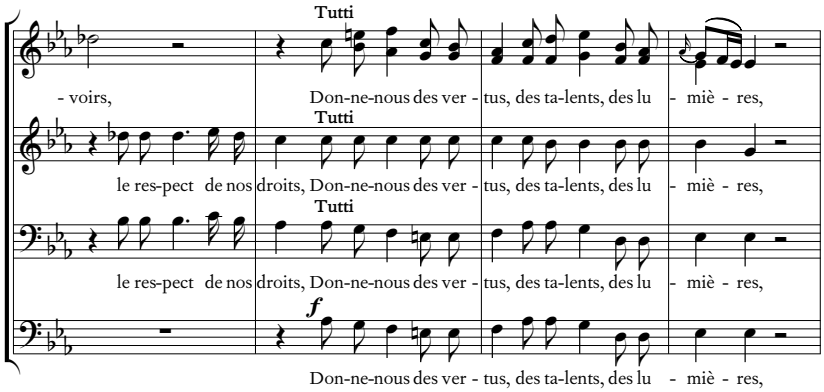


The marches Constant Pierre reproduces are all AABB forms, whose sections could be repeated as many times as necessary.[88]

Marches' emphasis on movement also contributed. Like many of his contemporaries, the *liègeois* composer André Grétry (1741–1813) believed that music "acts more directly on behavior" than any other art form, and that music "whose movement predominates over melody and harmony affects people most." Movement then becomes critical, whether in marches or in songs with march rhythms such as Méhul's "Chant du départ." In such music, Grétry writes, "energetic accents fortify souls that are too soft." This association of marches with energy is significant: "Energy in the arts is born of self-assurance [*aplomb*] and the balance [*équilibre*] that truth alone provides." Because of this, "when the most savage of men consent to march in time to the beat of military instruments," marches serve as civilizing forces, their balanced binary forms inscribing order on bodies as well as minds.[89]

Neither eighteenth-century revolutionaries nor nineteenth-century republicans saw this emphasis on bodily movement as disengaging the mind, unlike later critics such as Adorno.[90] Nor did they see this as denying music's potential to address mental perceptions and encourage cognitive conclusions. Marches indoctrinated a mode of consciousness that linked physical movement with certain feelings and mental constructs. In most marches or *Pas redoublés*, revolutionary composers accomplished this by creating effects more than memorable tunes. Opening motives, with frequent dotted rhythms, give a sense of decisiveness. Juxtapositions

88. Pierre, *Musique des fêtes*, 545–60.

89. Grétry, *Mémoires*, 294, 335, 413, 420–21.

90. In her *After Adorno, Rethinking Music Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Tia DeNora discusses Adorno's criticism of Stravinsky from this perspective (18).

of *fortissimo* and *piano* sections and sometimes high and low registers impress by their power and strength, especially in Gossec's marches. To the extent that listeners get involved with the music, the regular pulse and repetitive patterns of marches can synchronize their heartbeats and breathing, while the constant return to the same themes suggests internal coherence. Because of this, marches give people a sense of solidarity and help them feel as part of one movement. Surrender to a march rhythm, if only in the imagination, gives group consensus a physical reality and renders citizens' different positions, classes, and political attitudes irrelevant. This can inspire boldness and courage, as if the group force is irrepressible. Marches also encourage an association of joy and vitality with this bonding, a shared *esprit public*, and an association of male energy with the country's regeneration, important to both revolutionaries and republicans after the Franco-Prussian War.

Music's new function in service of public utility and its destination for performance outside churches and concerts halls demanded an appropriate style that would maximize such effects without debasing the concept of music. In writing choral songs, it was easy for composers to reject elegant vocal lines and ornaments, audible symbols of luxury and prestige in the previous era, in favor of simple, syllabic tunes. Their similarity to liturgical hymns reinforced the sense that festivals created an alternative sacred space with its own secular rituals. Innovation in such a context was less vital than comprehensibility and easy memorization.

Yet republican scholars were quick to point out that such contexts presented composers with significant challenges, to which the latter responded in innovative ways, bringing about a "new era of music" and helping to propel France into the "first ranks of musical nations." In writing his Te Deum for the Festival of the Federation in July 1790, Gossec renounced the tradition of using soloists, fugues, and an orchestra with strings, as in similar works by Haydn and Mozart. Instead, he called for 300 musicians playing wind instruments including trombones, and fifty serpents reinforcing the chant in the bass.[91] In his "Marche lugubre," written for a state funeral ceremony in September 1790, he expanded the size and composition of the normal military band, adding not only trumpets and trombones (used as melodic rather than harmonic instruments), but also three exotic tuba corvae, inspired by depictions of an instrument on ancient Roman vases, each of which sounded like six serpents.[92] With a large and small drum alternating

91. Julien Tiersot, "Les Fêtes de la Révolution française, V," *Ménestrel*, 7 January 1894, 1–2.

92. Julien Tiersot, "Les Fêtes de la Révolution française, VII," *Ménestrel*, 21 January 1894, 18; Adélaïde de Place, "Les Chants et les hymnes de la Revolution française: Rôle moral et fonction

with a tam-tam (gong), heard here for the first time in Paris, he pushes the slow tempo and drum articulations of funeral marches to an extreme and fragments the work's themes into numerous short sections. These unusually bold juxtapositions, the frequent interruptions of the line, the empty void of the rests accompanying them, and the dissonant chord progressions in the woodwinds give the work great expressive power (ex. 3). Audiences found it thrilling, the gong inspiring terror, and the work was performed at many subsequent funeral festivals, sometimes by very large ensembles. Republicans, who pointed to its formal novelty and the absence of melody, ironically appreciated both its severity, its "masculine expression"—unusual at the time for military bands, which played mostly operatic pots-pourris—and its sensational qualities, which Pierre saw as a predecessor of impressionist music.[93] Its popularity suggests that revolutionary music did not have to be devoid of structural or innovative interest to be valued.[94]

To animate the large spaces with a sense of grandeur, composers also experimented with spatial effects, with multiple choruses and divided ensembles replacing melodies. Catel's "La Bataille de Fleurus," written for chorus and woodwinds to celebrate a military victory in 1794, was explicitly conceived for the out-of-doors. Except when backing up the voices, its chordal successions aim for massive effect, while its flute and clarinet arpeggios and arabesques give the impression of "a thousand sounds of the wind."[95] Méhul's "Chant National du 14 juillet 1800" uses three orchestras, each with its own chorus, to be placed in different locations. Spatial effects resulted from the dialogue between the first two with timpani, trombones, tuba corva, drum, and tam-tam; and the third with only a solo French horn and harps accompanying an all-female chorus.[96] Composers, state patrons, and audiences found significant symbolic utility in the emotional impact of such works; republicans later looked to them as examples of an emerging French style.

By incorporating images and music, however, festival organizers were treading a problematic path. Just as in the arguments for beauty over utility in the arts, they

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sociale," in *Musique et médiations: Le Métier, l'instrument, l'oreille*, ed. Hugues Dufourt and Joël-Marie Fauquet (Paris: Klincksieck, 1994), 187. On the tuba corvae see Malou Haine, "Sonorités nouvelles aux fêtes de la Révolution française," in *Fêtes et musiques révolutionnaires: Grétry et Gossec* ed. Robert Mortier and Hervé Hasquin (Brussels: Université de Bruxelles, 1990), 193–209.

93. Pierre, *Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales*, vol. 2, and Tiersot, *Fêtes*, 52, 274.

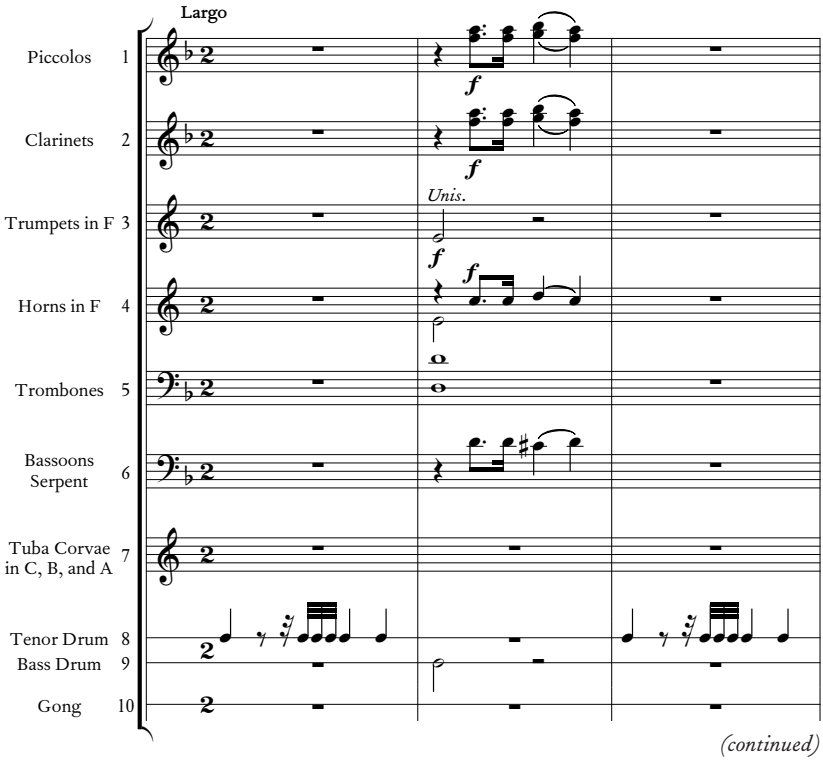
94. The march later had numerous imitators, including Berlioz's Funeral March in *Hamlet*.

95. Catel also wrote a simple song based on this piece, with a choral refrain for "the people" (Pierre, *Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales*, 64–65).

96. Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, 47.

EX. 3 Gossec, "Marche lugubre" (1790–91), in Constant Pierre, *Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales de la Révolution française* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1893).

The juxtaposition of the drums and brass with high woodwinds, horns, and bassoons playing strident dissonances (diminished sevenths) and then of the gong (tam-tam) with all the other instruments creates an eerie effect. Although there is no evidence that Gossec knew Asian music, in some ways this march resembles *gagaku*, an ancient ritual music in China, Korea, and Japan, usually played by sixteen musicians: three flutes, three oboes, three mouth-organs, two lutes (biwas), two citharas (kotos), a small gong (Shoko), a large drum, and a drum played with sticks by the leader. As in Gossec's "Marche lugubre," the pulse is deliberately slow and solo drum beats interrupt or punctuate the melodic line, dividing it into fragments.



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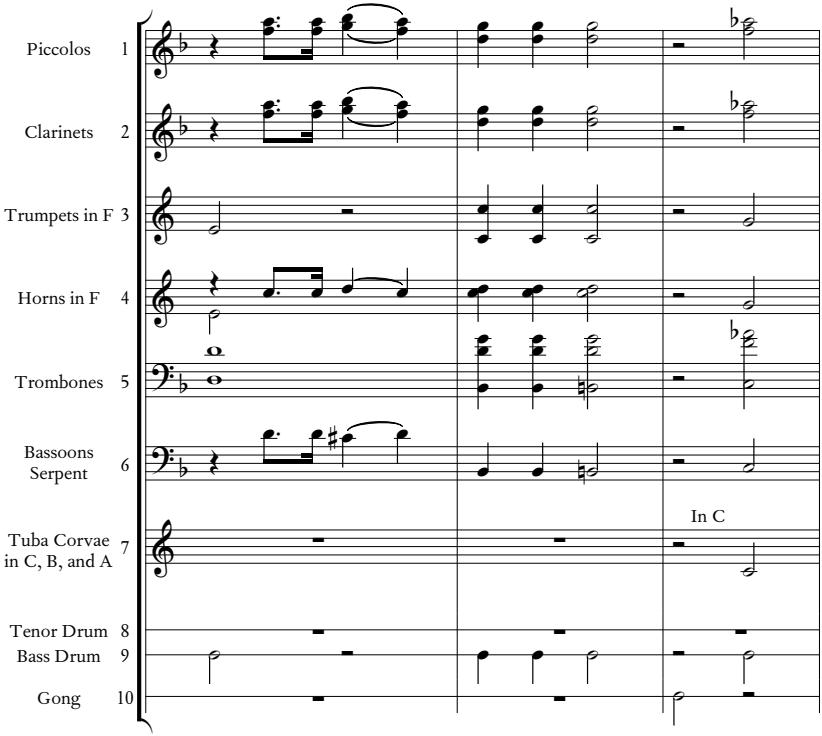


had to recognize the arts' capacity for distracting as well as instructing. While many may have wished for festivals without any spectacle, thereby avoiding the possibility of exhibitionism, exaggerated effects, and any association with the king, festival organizers realized the power of the theater to draw people and keep their attention. They increasingly incorporated elements drawn from it. In this spirit, for the Festival of Reason (1793), conceived as the Festival of Liberty, the government asked the Opéra to contribute a decor as well as singers and dancers. Although Liberty in the form of a woman was meant to be a secular replacement for the Virgin Mary, a reference to the Roman goddess of Liberty, a reminder of the queens of traditional, popular rituals, and an allusion to an abstract quality in all people, she was in fact an actress.[97] Opéra singers, assisted by musicians of the National Guard, also rehearsed and led the performance of the hymns, as did

97. Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 65–66. In her *Festivals*, Ozouf also reflects on the problematic relationships between sensualism, symbols, and spectacle that revolutionary organizers found in the festivals.

Conservatoire teachers and students for the Festival of the Supreme Being in 1794. Such preparatory steps and collaborations raise questions about the nature of festival experience as essentially popular. However, they do not deny the importance of collective enthusiasm and participation as the festivals' primary purpose.

## IDEOLOGIES IN FLUX

Focus on music was convenient for republicans studying revolutionary festivals because it kept attention on what was shared instead of what divided. Because music remained a part of festivals over the years, republicans could downplay the extent to which festivals evolved between 1789 and the an VIII (1799–1800), largely dependent on the aims, purposes, and ideology of their organizers.

Nonetheless, as republicans point out, song lyrics and allegories document certain ideological shifts. Tiersot gives many examples of how political songs became, beginning with the use of "O Richard, O my king, the universe abandons you" from Grétry's opera *Richard Cœur de Lion* as a royalist symbol, with text or without it.[98] He argues that all political songs from the Revolution arose during the most violent popular uprisings as the "spontaneous expression of ideas that would arouse the masses."[99] Although their meaning has been subject to interpretation, Pierre too traces a close relationship between revolutionary politics and hymn texts. He sees a progression from religiously inspired hymns invoking the divinity to moralizing ones that speak of Liberty and Country, then texts focused on tyranny and oppressors, songs of victory, and finally hymns celebrating the glory of the Republic.[100] Robespierre's severe censuring played a role in this, as did M.-J. Chénier, except while in prison. Allegories, especially allegories with utopian implications, also reflected the political changes. These were particularly important, for not only did they address the problematic relationship with spectacle mentioned above, they also put a veil over reality, necessary in such a turbulent period. Allegory produces allusion rather than verisimilitude, substitution rather than reproduction. Its tendency to "tone down whatever features might otherwise be too vivid" defuses the

98. In his *Méhul* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1889), Arthur Pougin cites Chénier who recounts that Robespierre put Sarrette into prison when one of his students played this song on his horn (108).

99. Tiersot, "Chansons de la Révolution" (cited n. 75 above), 790–93.

100. Pierre, *Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales*, 2. Jean-Louis Jam sees these changes differently. He finds that during the earlier years, the hymn lyrics by the most important poet and playwright of the period, Marie-Joseph Chénier, concern anticlericalism and the abolition of privilege; in later ones, they focus on war and the English enemy, then a return to anarchy and a call for forgiveness. See his "Marie-Joseph Chénier and François-Joseph Gossec: Two Artists in the Service of Revolutionary Propaganda," in *Music and the French Revolution*, 234–35.

weight of reality and "the invitation to brutality" in the stories being told. By keeping the emotional charge of their images at a distance, allegories also encouraged participant/listeners to keep a lid on their own ignitable emotions.[101]

Perhaps the most compelling role played by allegories during the early 1790s was the use of women to suggest alternative models of authority. From 1789 to early 1793, as women gained recognition, such as for their valor in the army (sometimes in disguise),[102] an abstract woman was often used to represent the nation, the French "motherland." The most popular was the goddess of Liberty. Everywhere she appeared in place of the king or the Christian God, most notably on the seal of the Republic beginning in 1792. She symbolized fertility, renewal, and varieties of the public good.[103]

All this did not last for long. Some leaders objected to using women as symbols, particularly when Liberty became Reason in the reconceived 1793 festival. With this shift came a dismissal of women's desire to become active outside the home and influence their husbands' politics within the home. When Robespierre rose to power, there was a backlash. Sexual order was seen as necessary for social order.[104] The Constitution of 1793 excluded women from politics and the army, and in 1795 the Convention banned them from attending any political debates even as spectators. For women to espouse *l'esprit public* and act in the public interest meant going back home, raising children to love their country, and making any sacrifices

101. For this essential irony, Ozouf suggests, festivals were limited in their actual power of persuasion (*Festivals*, 211–12).

102. Throughout the country, women organized women's clubs to develop their political consciousness and take part in political life. In 1791, a group in Lyon published "The Rights of Women and Female Citizens." In 1792, women won the right to divorce. For discussion of these clubs, women's political activism, and the challenge they presented to society and traditional notions of feminine sensibility, see Suzanne Desan, "'Constitutional Amazons': Jacobin Women's Clubs in the French Revolution," in *Re-Creating Authority in Revolutionary France*, ed. Bryant T. Ragan Jr. and Elizabeth A. Williams (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 11–35, and Sewell, "Activity, Passivity, and the Revolutionary Concept of Citizenship," 115–20. See also Ozouf, *Festivals*, 44, 51–52, 76–77; Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne au combat: L'Imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1789 à 1880* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979), trans. Janet Lloyd as *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); C. Marnard-Fouquet, *La Femme au temps de la Révolution* (Paris: Stock, 1989); and Bartlet, "New Repertory at the Opéra during the Reign of Terror," 114–17.

103. During the Revolution, the Catholic name Marie-Anne was used in populist circles to refer to the Republic, but by others pejoratively to put it down. In *Marianne au combat*, Maurice Agulhon shows why Liberty was the more widely preferred female allegory of the nation until the Second Republic.

104. Desan, "'Constitutional Amazons,'" 30.

required by their government, including the lives of loved ones. Méhul's "Chant du départ" (1794) mirrors this new attitude. It features mothers who entreat their sons to go off to war:

> Expect no tears from mothers' eyes . . .
> We have given you life, warriors,
> But your life's no longer yours;
> Henceforth your days are your country's.
> She is your mother before us.

A wife and a girl, each with her own stanzas, make similar self-sacrificing entreaties.[105] As recent scholars have shown, these notions were not entirely enforceable. However, such allegories and the conflicting attitudes they reflect returned during the Third Republic, whose leaders held equally complex views of women and their public utility.[106]

With order firmly established under Robespierre, festivals turned to celebrating peace and calm. As Tiersot points out, "to express this, nothing was more effective than music." For 14 July 1794, the Committee of Public Safety sponsored a concert in the Tuileries gardens. There were no speeches, no ceremonies, only music, a "Concert of the people." This time, "wanting a concert worthy of a great people," organizers called for "sublime and well-known pieces." After negotiation, they decided on the chorus from Gluck's *Armide* and a Haydn symphony, in addition to favorites by revolutionary composers. Of course, they ended with a massive performance of the "Marseillaise," but otherwise this was the first time in such festivals that music was performed for its own sake. And perhaps more amazing, according to Tiersot, people listened "en grand silence." As such it was an important predecessor to the "popular concerts," orchestral music for the masses, that began in the 1860s.[107]

For republican music scholars, this was clearly a high point; after the fall of Robespierre, much changed.[108] The Thermidor government reintroduced the distinction between active and passive citizens based on property, invoked justice and social order instead of calling on the general will or popular sovereignty, and

105. Etienne-Nicolas Méhul, *Chant du départ*, score ed. M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet and D. Kern Holoman (Davis: University of California, Davis; San Francisco: Consulate of France, 1989).

106. See n. 198 below.

107. Tiersot, *Fêtes*, 174–89.

108. In *Fêtes*, after devoting entire chapters to earlier individual festivals, Tiersot devotes a mere sixty pages to festivals from 1794–1800.

viewed *sensibilité* and the emotions as suspect. The song that best expressed this regime was the "Réveil du peuple," a reactionary piece by an actor at the Théâtre Feydeau that focused on rousing people to rid their "unhappy country" of "horrible cannibals." Tiersot found the tune "utterly ordinary." Although politicians tried to replace the "Marseillaise" with this on 14 July, musicians refused to perform it, and in 1796, the Directory forbade its performance at theaters.[109] For the festival celebrating "the death of the tyrant," Gossec had his "Marche lugubre" performed, but this time politicians took it as an offensive suggestion that they were mourning Robespierre's funeral instead of celebrating their deliverance.[110]

Festivals continued to include new and popular revolutionary pieces, but many took place indoors at the Assemblée and Notre Dame cathedral, where there was little room for "the people." Jean-Baptiste Leclerc, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, hoped that festivals would engage people "in the same ways that opera had engaged the audiences of the Ancien Régime."[111] Still, not everyone wanted to turned back the clock entirely.[112] In his *Essai sur les moyens de faire participer l'universalité des spectateurs à tout ce qui se pratique dans les fêtes nationales* (Year VI), the president of the Directory, Louis Marie La Reveillière-Lépeaux, refutes the commonly held notion that popular participation was excluded from festivals under his regime. He advises the government to use anything that could help people "identify with the government" and encourage them to participate. Among the other government-sponsored activities at festivals, he calls for 200,000 to 300,000 people singing together, "all conscious of the same feeling."

In spite of these intentions, however, the public spirit was changing. A reviewer writing in the *Journal de Paris* on 30 July 1796 described a festival audience that year: "No enthusiasm, but the forgetting of positions and parties, the abandonment to pleasure, simple and frank happiness. . . . Today the Revolution and Constitution are accomplished. It is up to the government to tend to our affairs,

109. Ibid., 197–98. See also Tiersot, "Chansons de la Révolution" (cited n. 75 above), 807–8, and id., "Les Origines du Conservatoire, VI," *Ménestrel*, 1 September 1895, 274.

110. Tiersot, *Fêtes*, 273.

111. Gessele, "Conservatoire de Musique and National Music Education," 201, summarizing Jean-Baptiste Leclerc's *Essai sur la propagation de la musique en France, sa conservation, et ses rapports avec le gouvernement* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, an IV [1795–96]).

112. While in his *Nationalism in France: Class and Nation since 1789* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 27–29, Brian Jenkins sees the Thermidor government as one that crushed the popular movement, rendering the people "victims or spectators," Suzanne Desan and Lynn Hunt point to the reforms that were maintained. See Desan, "Reconstituting the Social after the Terror: Family, Property, and the Law in Popular Politics," *Past and Present* 164 (1999), 92, 113–14, and Hunt, *The Family Romance of the Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 160–63.

and the public spirit cannot show it better than by enjoying the pleasures offered it with confidence and security."[113]

As Directory leaders turned festivals into an ideological apparatus of their regime, they instituted an increasingly rigid festival format. In his essay on spectator participation, La Reveillière-Lépeaux said he would no longer permit the "hideous filth and horrible confusion" that had characterized previous gatherings. Pamphlets publishing the order and "exact details" of the festivals in advance document not only the use of patriotic songs, but also "the most beautiful symphonies by our contemporary composers," to be performed one hour each night of the festivities by a large orchestra in a central place. They also give a place to dance music at the end of each morning's games and each day's activities, which suggests that by the late 1790s, music's entertainment value was again being recognized.[114]

As Albert Duruy later describes it, people increasingly resisted these constraints, especially when laws in 1797 turned festival days into obligatory days of rest and in 1798 forced citizens to attend and participate by law. Eventually, the spirit of Voltaire—including hatred of intolerance—replaced the cult of Rousseau. Also, a period of reaction set in. People returned to church. Students abandoned the new public schools (*écoles centrales*).[115] Attendance at festivals dropped dramatically. By December 1799, when Napoleon came to power, the government had reduced its sanctioned festivals to two, and in 1800, popular festivals were virtually extinct.[116] Parallel to this, by Constant Pierre's count, revolutionary hymn production fell from 701 songs in 1794 at its peak to 25 in 1800.[117]

113. Cited in James H. Johnson, "Revolutionary Audiences and the Impossible Imperatives of Fraternity," in *Re-creating Authority in Revolutionary France*, ed. Ragan and Williams, 77.

114. The many pamphlets entitled *Ordre, marche, et détail exact des cérémonies* spell out activities for the five days before the festivals, and the exact succession of events during the final day. For the Festival of the Foundation of the Republic in Year VII (B.N. Lb42–1969), trumpet calls gathered people to the Champ de Mars at 6 A.M., morning games and dances followed, accompanied by orchestras playing patriotic songs and music for the dances. Trumpets also announced the beginning of the afternoon games. The orchestras then accompanied the arrival of dignitaries with patriotic airs, after which Conservatoire members played a triumphal song. Then, after the president's speech came a song by Martini, with words by Chénier, a series of awards, more games, military music, and orchestras playing dance music.

115. Duruy, *Instruction publique et la Révolution*, 330–35, 336ff., and app. 17, 480–91.

116. The "truly popular national festival ended" with Napoléon; "imperial festivals" meant to celebrate the monarchy tended to be banal and "never had the power to move *le vrai peuple*," Drumont asserts (*Fêtes nationales de la France*, iv), but in *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), Sheryl Kroen shows that people remembered the revolutionary festivals, the dates of which were used to organize resistance to subsequent monarchs.

117. Gessele documents this decline in "Conservatoire de Musique and National Music Education," 205.

Some, including M.-J. Chénier himself, considered the revolutionary festivals a failure, "colossal in their intention, limited in their execution."[118] Henri Baudrillart's opinion in 1880 was more mixed. He depicted the festivals as attempts to address the problem of luxury in a democracy, "public luxuries" meant to bring joy and pleasure to all, albeit with the element of luxury reduced to a minimum. In a 1873 speech, the first addressing the genre during the Third Republic, Baudrillart bemoaned the "frivolity" associated with festivals, which followed largely from their connection to monarchical celebrations, and the lack of "utility and moral grandeur" in contemporary festivals. Asking if it would not be possible to "add the useful to the beautiful," he called for reviving national festivals and proposed historical and patriotic ones as a means of reinvigorating the French people.[119] However, although they would succeed for a short while in expressing grandeur and elevated ideas, elements missing from traditional festivals, he worried about the limited educational value of revolutionary festivals, some of which fell back into cult performances resembling those of religious practice. "Stay away from imitation," he then warned his contemporaries, and "reject the idea that the state can do everything." The people should be free to create their own public luxuries, just as they had their own ideas and made their own art. Legislators could only help and encourage. Baudrillart concludes that state support of the arts would be more useful than festivals.[120]

Despite such attitudes and the demise of the genre, festivals nevertheless carried a valuable legacy, especially for the Third Republic. First and foremost, they created a collective body of the populace and made it aware of its own presence and identity. This required encouraging citizens to reconceive public space, to merge private or individual concerns with public ones, and to map these experiences onto

118. Text of 28 September 1794, from Chénier, *Œuvres*, cited in Henri Baudrillart, *Histoire du luxe privé et public depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Hachette, 1880), 4: 576.

119. Henri Baudrillart, *Les Fêtes publiques* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1873), 1, 5–6, 13; see also Charles Rearick, "Festivals in Modern France: the Experience of Third Republic," *Journal of Contemporary History* 12, 3 (July 1977): 440.

120. Baudrillart, *Histoire du luxe privé et public*, 4: 573, 577, 713. In his "Festivals in Modern France," Rearick suggests that some officials may have shared Baudrillart's perspective. The government's involvement in July 1880 amounted to no more than "small and belated initiatives," while there was extraordinary "grass-roots inventiveness" and "an outpouring of strong and local initiatives, both governmental and private." Moreover, while the government tried to curtail political opposition during such gatherings, in fact, "modern festivals have been occasions for conflict," touching off dissent from those who did not identify with the Republic and rejected their integrative function (444–45).

their imagination of a new collective life, despite any internal contradictions they might have sensed. Without these, the nation could not exist. Second, festivals conceived by state officials and executed under state command gave governments the locus for a new kind of power. Despite serving as "spaces of discipline and moralization"[121] for both propaganda and surveillance, they made state power acceptable, sometimes appealing to the masses. Third, music proved itself useful and durable in such contexts, regardless of the regime in power. If festivals gave people an idea of the public sphere, music showed them what could be enacted in such spaces.

As an embodiment of the rhetoric promoted by revolutionary speakers and a way for people to experience their connection without losing their individuality, music was at the center of the project to induce the masses to imagine, feel, and behave like citizens of a nation. Like other means of serving public utility, it permeated the unstable boundaries between the public and private: it enabled political leaders to touch and harness private emotions for public purposes. Especially when coupled with words having a moral or political purpose, Leclerc recognized that music could "insinuate itself into souls," as the "Marseillaise" and "Ça ira" had shown. These songs could recall the memory of these feelings even if there were no words, enabling "all souls, open to the same impressions, to merge for a moment in the same rapture," bringing "unanimity to the passions." He understood the potential of this music, not only to instill useful feelings of fraternity and devotion to the *patrie*, but also to "create similar morals throughout the republic."[122] In 1796, Leclerc called on the government to take advantage of this "new explosion of feeling" by supporting the creation of a "national music." From later republicans' perspective, festivals laid the foundations for such music. While establishing a precedent for state support and providing its rationale, they suggested how slippery were the boundaries between state support and state control.

Festivals in turn had a major impact on the understanding and reception of music. Music in the mid eighteenth century had largely been a sensuous affair, seldom touching the souls of spectators. As James Johnson has explained, "sentiment was a quality of a plot and not an effect of the tones." During the Revolution, music was understood, not only to have affect, but also to cause affect in its listeners and listener/performers as in ancient Greece, what Johnson has called exultation rather than passive amusement.[123] Certainly the texts of revolutionary music played an important role in this transfer of emotion, but, as I have suggested, so

121. Paul Rabinow uses these words to refer to reform efforts through the 1870s in his *French Modern, Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989), 82.

122. Leclerc, *Essai sur la propagation de la musique en France*, 2, 6, 26, 33, 48.

123. Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, 35, 119.

did its rhythm and movement. Festivals encouraged understanding music based on its physical impact and its influence on group behavior as well as its emotional and moral content. And they provided the first really large-scale public concerts (involving hundreds of thousands of people), more than music used in popular religious processions and festivals before the Revolution. This transformed music written by the country's finest composers into something for the masses. Except for the concerts at the Conservatoire that at first did not attract the fashionable crowd, the main concert organizations from 1789 to 1814 continued to serve the old elites largely hostile to revolutionary ideas. They continued to be social events at which to see and be seen.[124] Meanwhile, festivals were open to all, illiterate villagers as well as city dwellers and intellectuals, an ideal that republicans later sought to revive.

The constant debate over what should be the nature of each successive festival and the wide-ranging perceptions about their utility also served a purpose. In the short term, festivals served various political factions in their struggle to defeat opponents. Ozouf concludes that "the meaning accorded them by the organizers always triumphed over the meaning experienced by the participants," and that changed depending on who was in charge. In the long term, however, this variability taught future leaders that it was natural for notions of the public good to change over time, along with what was needed to fulfill it. Festivals suggested that, regardless of the political fluidity that constituted life in a republic, there was faith in the ability of the state to "form a people." Festivals thus created a precedent for taking action on behalf of "the people" and for embracing Rousseau's concept of public utility as justification.

## NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

### OPÉRA

The Opéra's legacy was more complicated. During the Revolution, the orchestras and choruses of the Opéra and Opéra-Comique contributed to the major festivals. But the Opéra remained a symbolically problematic space associated with aristocratic pleasure and monarchical privilege. It continued to address a very limited public and as such was a "club good" (see above). Court patronage played a role as well. In her *Grétry* (1884), Marie Bobillier fleshes out the composer's close ties to the court, where he served as music director for Marie Antoinette, who was the

124. On the Feydeau concerts and those at the Rue de Cléry in particular, see Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, 205–24.

godmother of his third daughter, before becoming sympathetic to the revolutionaries.[125] Also troublesome, some of the Opéra's repertoire with Ancien Régime origins, including Gluck and Grétry's *Richard Cœur de Lion* (1784), continued to be performed during the Revolution and remained on stage throughout the nineteenth century. During the Third Republic, administrators worried that, because the Opéra remained an "institution of luxury" with little relationship to the "new necessities" of a democracy, opera risked disappearing with the simple elimination of state subsidies.[126] The arguments needed to muster continued support for this elitist genre, the country's most expensive cultural production, depended in part on understanding how revolutionaries thought of the genre and the extent to which their ideals infused its history.

Opera's potential contribution to public instruction and the representation of a new political identity were hotly contested during the Revolution as well as under the Third Republic. In 1789, Bailly, using words later used to describe the effect of festivals, saw the theater, "where many men gather and are mutually roused [*s'électrisent mutuellement*]," as part of "public education [*enseignement*]."[127] Others agreed, including M.-J. Chénier, who sounds like Horace here: "In a good stage work, pleasure induces the spectator to be instructed without his being aware of it or being able to resist."[128] However, he refused to consider opera's "little airs and *pas de deux*" of instructional value. And Rousseau had a problem with theatrical representation in general, arguing that if we empathize with the characters, they can evoke passions that interfere with both reason and the perception of truth.[129] There were other problems too. Many people distrusted performers because of their close relationship to aristocratic patrons, and some were fired.[130] Perhaps because audiences needed variety and relief from politics, in the early years of the Revolution, operas with nonrevolutionary content dominated. In 1791, the government abolished the Opéra's subsidy, begun in 1757, and made it possible for anyone to open a theater, eventually creating competition with around sixty new venues.

Under the Terror, however, turning the theater into a "school of patriotism"

125. Michel Brenet [Marie Bobillier], *Grétry, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1884), 93–94.

126. Gustave Larroumet, *L'Art et l'Etat en France* (Paris: Hachette, 1895), 280–82.

127. Cited in ibid., 262.

128. M.-J. Chénier, *De la liberté du théâtre en France* (1789), cited in Elizabeth Bartlet, "A Newly Discovered Opera for Napoleon," *Acta Musicologica* 56, 2 (1984): 266.

129. Dugan and Strong, "Music, Politics, Theater," 344.

130. Pougin, *Opéra-Comique pendant la Révolution*, 64; Johnson, "Revolutionary Audiences," 57–62.

became one of the government's highest priorities. In August 1793, the Committee of Public Instruction took control of the dramatic arts and the moral policing of spectacles.[131] With the possibility of censorship assured, in November 1793, leaders renewed the Opéra's subsidy. They withdrew traditional repertoire, such as Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide,* although Gluck's music was partly responsible for the interest in music's capacity to evoke emotional responses.[132] Censors previewed all works and made changes (such as removing kings or changing them into generals). Revolutionary rhetoric and subjects reduced the risk that spectators could read their own meanings into the works.[133] Not only did many of the operas and patriotic scenes incorporate revolutionary oaths—serious French operas in 1793–94 included at least one—but they used historical tales, current events, or everyday scenes to illustrate love of country, self-sacrifice, or group heroism. Emphasis shifted from dramatic effectiveness to truth from a revolutionary perspective. Stage "fiction" almost disappeared, as if tantamount to falsehood. If late nineteenth-century republicans had not been so eager to forget the Terror, they might have found reasons to revisit this repertoire.

In fact, as recent scholars have shown, the priority of spectacle over plot in most of these operas made the Opéra in some ways an ideal theater in which to learn about and experience group solidarity. Composers found numerous musical ways to reinforce the mass enthusiasm generated by the festivals. In his *Le Triomphe de la République* (1793), Gossec recalled the grand, oratorio-like ceremonies of the open-air festivals, with their successions of hymns, marches, *chansons,* and choruses.[134] To draw attention to the people's sovereignty, he and his peers reduced the role of soloists and solo airs, avoided heroes and strong women characters, and gave greater roles to choruses and marches, even when not suggested by the text or dramatic action. They preferred allegorical figures such as Liberty to individual characters. And they experimented with all kinds of eccentricities, including frequent diminished seventh harmonies, huge instrumentations, and bold transi-

131. As Jacqueline Letzer has suggested in her "Making a Spectacle of Oneself: French Revolutionary Opera by Women," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 11 (1999): 215–32, women composers were "surprisingly vocal in protesting their continuing exclusion" from the benefits of the Revolution. Ironically, however, two operas by women with family connections in the theater found great success during the Jacobin repression of women (215).

132. Johnson, *Listening in Paris,* 81–95.

133. Bartlet, "New Repertory at the Opéra during the Reign of Terror"; Johnson, "Revolutionary Audiences," 69.

134. The year before, his *Offrande à la liberté* (1792) presented a huge staging of the "Marseillaise" and other tunes, typical of those later performed at the Opéra to celebrate military victories. See Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism,* 52, and Bartlet, "Gossec, *L'Offrande*."

tions—reflections of what could be considered liberty without limits.[135] Perhaps for these reasons, the Opéra maintained its preeminent status. The use of choruses, soldiers and military fanfares, the exaltation of virtue, and the setting to music of subjects drawn from Greco-Roman antiquity so popular at the time were part of its heritage.[136] Ironically, operas using them took over vocabulary and conventions from the older lyric tragedies of the 1780s. All that was necessary was a change in the emphasis and interpretation of the stories.

Audience reaction to opera—public opinion as a manifestation of *l'esprit public*—was just as essential as it was for festivals. As those sympathetic to revolutionary ideals filled the hall, the Opéra became a highly politicized space for the expression of clashing opinions. Before the Terror, traditional classics provoked outbursts between royalists and revolutionaries and came to be seen as potential threats to public order. When administrators replaced them with operas promoting explicit revolutionary content, perhaps to meet what they believed were the standards of the day, the genre began to induce the revolutionary ideal of transparency between the real and the imagined. In these operas, performers often dressed as ordinary citizens and sang songs of the people. Spectators responded by sometimes behaving like participants in the drama, jumping on stage or singing along. At the end of *Toute la Grèce*, for example, when "the Greek warriors on stage swore to conquer for their country's sake, French soldiers in the audience reacted by declaring, 'what they have sworn, we shall do.'" Music was thought to succeed to the extent that it helped fuse the public through its common responses and "single, united applause." Reviewers liked to cite enthusiastic responses to choruses that made listeners feel like "witnesses and actors at one and the same time."[137] As James Johnson puts it, "this fluidity between actor and audience made citizens realize that the drama—that is—the Revolution itself—was still unfinished when the final curtain had fallen."[138]

By 1794, Opéra officials and the public alike agreed that this theater had lived up to its goal of "arousing public spirit to the degree that current circumstances require" and providing "models of an ardent patriotism and a passionate love for country, liberty, and equality."[139] Of all the theaters, some felt, it had done the most that year "to fire up the public spirit [*échauffer l'esprit public*] with patriotic

135. Bartlet, "New Repertory at the Opéra during the Reign of Terror."

136. Michel Noiray, "L'Opéra de la Révolution (1790–1794): Un 'tapage de chien'?" in *La Carmagnole des Muses*, ed. Jean-Claude Bonnet (Paris: Colin, 1988), 373.

137. Bartlet, "New Repertory at the Opéra during the Reign of Terror," 147–49.

138. Johnson, "Revolutionary Audiences," 69.

139. Cited in Bartlet, "New Repertory at the Opéra during the Reign of Terror," 109.

scenes designed to electrify [*électriser*] the coldest souls."[140] Because of its previous association with the court, the Opéra was perhaps an ideal place to combat the "coldest" of souls, possibly those most resistant to revolutionary ideals. Assuring the support of the Opéra and its "artist-patriots" meant continuing the work of the Revolution where it was perhaps most needed, that is, among the elites. For a variety of reasons then—educational, political, and social—in October 1794, the National Convention voted to increase the Opéra's subsidy to 460,000 francs. Making similar arguments for continuing this support, republicans let that sum grow in the late nineteenth century.[141]

*Opéra-comique* thrived during the Revolution. Using preexisting tunes and spoken dialogue (what we now call vaudeville) and performed in other Paris theaters beginning in 1762, this genre captured the interest of republicans in the 1870s, who considered it an "essentially French genre."[142] Michel Noiray explains its success by referring to its long tradition of social criticism: "Democratic values have always flowed in the veins of *opéra-comique*"—which was perhaps why later republican leaders thought of it as "one of the veritable glories of French art."[143] Before 1789, *opéra-comique* resembled pastorals and Watteau's *fêtes galantes*.[144] With its naïve and simple airs, written when *paysannerie* was in fashion, Grétry's *L'Epreuve villageoise* (1784), a good example of this, remained popular at the Théâtre de Opéra-Comique in the 1790s (and later especially during the Second Empire). Bobillier explains that parodies and *opéras-comiques* "strongly seasoned with Gallic salt" provided relief from the "pompous productions" at the Académie royale de musique.[145] During the terrifying years of the Revolution, however, "suave romances" were inappropriate.[146] Republicans, like Arthur Pougin, praised Méhul (1763–1817) for introducing "power and action" into *opéra-comique*. Inspired by Gluck, he sought to express "the great human passions, the most violent move-

140. Ibid., 124.

141. Antonin Proust, *L'Art sous la République* (Paris: Charpentier, 1892), 82.

142. M. de Tillancourt, *Annales de la Chambre des députés*, Procès-verbaux, 14 February 1878, 248, and M. le Rapporteur, ibid., 250. See also Albert Bertelin, "Le Nationalisme en art," *Courrier musical*, 15 June 1913, 363. Larroumet uses a similar expression in *Art et l'Etat*, 281.

143. Noiray, "Opéra de la Révolution," 375; M. le Rapporteur (cited in the preceding note), 250. In his "Dix scenes d'opéra-comique sous la Révolution: Quelques éléments pour une histoire culturelle du théâtre lyrique français," *Histoire, économie, société* 22, 2 (April–June 2003), Patrick Taïeb discusses other aspects that rendered the genre popular.

144. Gustave Chouquet, *Histoire de la musique dramatique en France* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1873), 181. According to Bartlet, "New Repertory at the Opéra during the Reign of Terror," however, *opéras-comiques* were more often melodramatic than comic, and a few were even tragic.

145. Brenet [Bobillier], *Grétry*, 26.

146. Chouquet, *Histoire de la musique dramatique*, 184.

ments of the soul and the senses," evoking "terror" in listeners. This was the result not of occasional effects, but of "a mature, considered theory, a truly new conception" in how music works in the theater.[147] Méhul's first *drame-lyrique*, *Euphrosine* (1790), overturned expectations, "elevating the tone of our second lyric theater" by "the strength of his ideas, his faithful translation of the words, sincere accents, and strict obedience to the laws of theatrical truth." This was "male" music, "sometimes sublime." Even Grétry appreciated its dramatic duo.[148]

After this, much changed. With the 1791 law giving rise to new theaters, competition with their rival, the reactionary Théâtre Feydeau, increasing use of revolutionary subjects, which pleased some but alienated others, and the requirement to remain closed on festival days, the Opéra-Comique suffered severe financial problems. In his careful study of repertoire, finances, and politics from 1788 to 1801, "based on unpublished documents and the most authentic sources," Arthur Pougin devotes the same attention to this institution as his contemporaries gave to its Third Republic successor.

Perhaps most interesting to nineteenth-century republicans were the effects of government involvement. The committee "in charge of enlightening and forming opinion" thought that theaters had for too long "served tyranny." From August through October 1793 (and again in 1794), the Convention decreed that three times a week republican tragedies such as *Brutus* and *Guillaume Tell* must be performed, and once a week, free performances, paid for by the government, must be given "by and for the people," that is "by the authority of the people and for its pleasure."[149] The Opéra-Comique put on four such spectacles in the first two weeks. Each time there was "a formidable dramatic catharsis," as at the Opéra, Noiray points out, "it was accompanied by an explosion in the orchestra and a cataclysm on stage, leaving the spectators stunned and also purified of the violent emotions to which they had been submitted during the piece."[150] But, as Pougin notes, the real spectacle was often in the hall, the hallways, and the staircases more than on stage: stormy discussions and noisy cheering between enemies and defenders of the Republic.[151] Whether theaters were ultrarevolutionary, moderately republican (like the Opéra-Comique), or audaciously and openly reactionary

147. Arthur Pougin, *Méhul* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1889), 46–47.

148. Ibid., 50–51; Chouquet, *Histoire de la musique dramatique*, 184.

149. According to a Convention decree in January 1794, the government would spend 100,000 livres on such performances in twenty major theaters in 1794, of which the Opéra would receive 8,500 and the Opéra-Comique, 7,000. Pougin, *Opéra-Comique pendant la Révolution*, 81–83, 127.

150. Noiray, "Opéra de la Révolution," 376.

151. Pougin, *Opéra-Comique pendant la Révolution*, 131, 158.

(like the Vaudeville), art had proved it could persuade, although by 1795 much had been "sacrificed."[152] Such free performances inspired later republicans and planted the seeds for a future *Opéra populaire*. When in 1796 the Opéra-Comique asked for government support, and in 1800 came under its direct authority, it posed the same "questions" about opera—whether and how to support it—that would plague republicans under the Third Republic.

Late nineteenth-century research thus suggests that the real utility of opera during the 1790s, as far as the state was concerned, was as more than a mode of instruction. Yes, it could inspire audiences with its revolutionary themes. But, as Pougin points out, the Convention allowed reactionary theaters to coexist alongside revolutionary ones, with booing and hissing at the "Chant du départ" in the former and at the "Reveil du peuple" in the latter. Music allowed people to express their opinions. Perhaps what impressed republicans most was that the genre could "electrify" people, energize them, "fire" them up with a common *esprit public*—words also used in arguing for the utility of patriotic hymns. As for festival music, opera addressed a fundamental need in the country—giving people, not only the motivation, but also the *energy* to continue the work of the Revolution. Though it might not be able to heal or mitigate people's differences entirely, through giving them the common experience of spectacle, it could rouse them to the same physical responses. With its diverse subjects, opera could explore the range of what would excite people, as well as the limits of music's power to excite. If the reviews are at all accurate, it was the physical effect of this music on listeners, perhaps more than the shared sentiments it encouraged, that assured the genre's continuity through this period.

After the Terror, opera's political function was redefined. To return to social order, leaders sought national unity through "collective forgetting" of previous political turmoil rather than collective enthusiasm, "a forgetfulness always aware of the need to forget." Works referring to the Revolution or current events did not disappear from the opera houses, but they took different forms. In 1797, Grétry returned to the Opéra-Comique with a new work, *Lisbeth*, which nineteenth-century reviewers saw as about "peace, harmony, and family serenity" and "full of charm."[153] At the same time, Gluck's kings and queens came back to the Opéra, and, although modified in revolutionary ways, these operas were "deliriously applauded";[154] their grand and monumental style had been an important predecessor to revolutionary music. Grétry argues that certain remembering, however, was useful. Putting on works

152. Ibid., 158.

153. Ibid., 190; Henri de Curzon, *Grétry* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1908), 70.

154. Johnson, "Revolutionary Audiences," 74. I'm grateful to the late Beth Bartlet for clarifying these distinctions.

by predecessors such as Pergolesi, Handel, Lully, Rameau, and others had "great utility" in reminding listeners of "the first seed of all our dramatic productions" and opportunities to judge "if we have surpassed them."[155] Regardless of what opera was composed and produced, what eventually became essential under both the First and the Third Republics was its contribution to national pride. To the extent that opera represented the work of the country's finest musicians and contributed to its musical posterity, it also represented the government that supported it as well as the people who attended it. As we shall see, this argument returned again and again in the next century. Regardless of its cost and luxurious image, opera was an emblem of the country that no one wished to debunk.

## THE NATIONAL CONSERVATOIRE

With increased attention to the importance of public instruction came many new institutions, predecessors of those under the Third Republic, some devoted to advanced study of various kinds. In June 1793, the Jardin des Plantes became a national museum and site for scientific research. The Ecole centrale des travaux publics (later the Ecole polytechnique) opened in 1794, as did the Ecole des langues orientales vivantes. In 1795, the Institut des sciences et des arts (the Institut de France) was conceived. In this context, music education became a national project. Revisiting the history of the Conservatoire, one of the most substantial legacies of the Revolution, Third Republic administrators found the "best arguments" for its continuing "utility." Not only had this institution proven that the French were as "apt at learning this art and profiting from it as anyone else," for a century, it had served as "the peaceful sanctuary of French art" and contributed to the country's glory.[156] With its library and instrument collection, it also laid the foundations for the invention of a French musical tradition.

From the standpoint of the Third Republic, it was not its royalist predecessors that gave rise to the Conservatoire, but rather the private initiative of Bernard Sarrette, director of the military band that performed at festivals.[157] It had long been assumed that the Conservatoire originated in Ecole royale de chant, founded in 1784 with the support of a minister of Louis XVI to compete with the Ecole de

155. Grétry, *Mémoires*, 3: 14–15.

156. Amédée Boutarel, "Les Origines politiques du Conservatoire de musique et de déclamation, I," *La Musique des familles*, 29 July 1886, 324; Larroumet, *Art et l'Etat*, 259; Henry Roujon's speech at the Conservatoire, 3 August 1895, reprinted in *Ménestrel*, 11 August 1895, 251; and Tiersot, "Origines du Conservatoire, III," 259.

157. See especially Constant Pierre, *B. Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation* (Paris: Delalain frères, 1895).

chant de l'Opéra, created in 1672 by Lully. The purpose of the former, directed by Gossec, was to train singers for the Opéra and provincial theaters producing *opéra-comique* as well as provide music for the king. As budgetary restrictions kept this new school from growing past seven girls and eight boys, it turned out *not* to be the most "useful" institution during the Revolution.[158] Instead, reflecting its relative importance in the early festivals, Sarrette's Paris National Guard took the lead. The city of Paris had sponsored its forty-five musicians since the taking of the Bastille in 1790. In 1792, with the support of Talleyrand and Quatremère, this turned into a government-supported school.[159] When he wanted to increase enrollments from 120 to 600 students, Sarrette joined with Gossec, music director of the early festivals, to ask legislators to upgrade his school to a national institute, placing it under the jurisdiction of the Committee of Public Instruction.

His reasons, as republicans later point out, were political as well as musical.[160] First, the country needed musicians and patriotic music, not only for national festivals, but also for the armies of the Republic. France was at war with Prussia, Austria, and England. In the initial conflicts of July through September 1792, the French armies were completely disorganized and a Prussian army made it all the way to Champagne. After six months of victories, the country was again invaded on all sides until the end of 1793 when, with added forces from the institution of the draft, the enemies were expelled and the country's borders reasserted. Music was expected to help prepare and energize the Republic's fourteen armies. Besides accompanying soldiers into battle, like a flag, it announced their presence on the battlefield and symbolized their reason for being there. Newspapers, citing the marquis de La Fayette in 1791, claimed that the musicians of the National Guard were more effective on the battlefield than bayonets.[161] Some historians credit the "Marseillaise," written for the army of the Rhine, with helping soldiers ward off fatigue, inspiring heroism, making their enemies tremble, and ultimately deciding the outcomes of battles.[162] As if to recall this role in recent military victories and

158. For a discussion of the distinctions between these two singing schools, see Michel Noiray, "L'Ecole royale de chant (1784–1795): Crise musicale, crise institutionnelle," in *Musical Education in Europe, 1770–1914: Compositional, Institutional, and Political Challenges*, ed. Michael Fend and Michael Noiray, 2 vols. (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 1: 49–77.

159. Tiersot, "Origines du Conservatoire, I," *Ménestrel*, 28 July 1895, 234.

160. Boutarel, "Origines politiques du Conservatoire, II," 332.

161. *Chronique de Paris*, 3 November 1791, cited in Julien Tiersot, "Les Fêtes de la Révolution française, III," *Ménestrel*, 25 February 1894, 57.

162. Georges Kastner, *Les Chants de l'armée française* (Paris: Brandus, 1855), 45, 47. As Beth Bartlet points out, the effectiveness of the "Marseillaise" in making enemies tremble is a myth

to incite the legislators' enthusiasm, Sarrette and Gossec began their presentation at the Assemblée on 8 November 1793 with a military march. Afterwards, one of the musicians explained that certain aristocrats had been pressuring them to play royalist music in public places, and their troupe needed "national protection." Pointing to the "public utility of instruction in music," Sarrette argued that "public interest" demanded such protection.

Second and no less significant, such instruction would aid in forming "national character." Since 1791, revolutionaries had been aware that although political changes could affect laws and "remove the chains of "slavery," they could do little to alter "our character."[163] Concentrating on this point, Sarrette borrowed binary oppositions made popular by Robespierre—the monarchy versus the Revolution, and despotism versus liberty[164]—on the assumption that there could be transparency between concepts, political systems, music and people's "virtue." Drawing on a gendered antithesis associated with these political systems, he then used them to distinguish the music revolutionaries rejected from what they promoted, as if, like old and new, the two were mutually exclusive. Under the Ancien Régime,[165] Sarrette noted, the arts had become so corrupt that "they were considered only instruments of superstition or simple objects of amusement." The French soul had been "softened by the effeminate sounds in the salons and temples devoted to Imposture" (i.e., the court) and "plunged into a voluptuous and lethargic languor conducive to slavery"—a model of the people's dependence on the king. Music's "treacherous caresses" had led to a lack of energy in the people, a listlessness, a softness associated with women and effeminate men. As such, art under the monarchy had mirrored what the revolutionaries abhorred and feared: not only superstition and religious fanaticism, but also the corruption and injustice of a world dominated by aristocratic privilege, ministers, and courtesans. Veiled with mystery and dissembling seduction, the arts at court were considered by revolutionaries as incapable of transparency with the truth, and therefore virtue. Under

whose origins date to the 1790s. See Léonard Bourdon, *Recueil des actions héroïques et civiles des républicains français* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1794), 10–11, cited in Bartlet, "Gossec, *L'Offrande*," 132n14.

163. From *Dictionnaire de la constitution et du gouvernement français* (1791), cited in Diego Venturino, "La Naissance de l'Ancien Régime,'" in *Political Culture of the French Revolution*, ed. Lucas, 26–27.

164. Like Venturino in "Naissance de l'Ancien Régime,'" Lynn Hunt also cites Robespierre's use of these binaries in her "Révolution française et vie privée," in *Histoire de la vie privée*, vol. 4, ed. Michelle Perrot (Paris: Seuil, 1987), 23–24.

165. During much of the Revolution, this was a vague term used to permit ambiguity. For more on its use, see Venturino, "Naissance de l'Ancien Régime,'" 11–40.

the leadership of the new Institut, Sarrette claimed, music would help lead people away from this past. Looking to military music, with its empowering energy, to promote what the nation needed—especially liberty, which Grétry later called "the mother of all virtues" and "the mother of the arts"[166]—Sarrette asserted that music could "exalt" its listeners, "imprint" them with character and energy, and (implicitly) give them what they need to act as free citizens.[167] Thus, it could be useful in helping them accomplish the personal revolution that must accompany that of the nation.

M.-J. Chénier agreed. He reminded the Convention of the National Guard's "utility," that is, the character-building influence that music had had on patriots. Thuriot concurred, stressing that everyone was "aware of the utility of this institution. That's the point, the only point." The Institut's public utility having thus been established, the petition was adopted.

With this transformation from music school to national Institut came new responsibilities. Students ("chosen proportionately from all parts of the country") were obliged to participate in national festivals and other civic ceremonies. Gossec and four other composers were expected to write and direct the music used therein (a responsibility that gave them monopolistic control of festival music). Any piece performed at a national festival became "national property" and was printed for national distribution. At the Institut's first concert, patriotic choruses and marches dominated, including a six-voice "Marseillaise"—genres that subsequently became integral to any French music aspiring to have a patriotic effect.

In this context, two aspects of the musical world grew significantly, laying a foundation for widespread dissemination of music by wind bands throughout the nineteenth century. First, these instruments, associated with the Revolution, became popular. Under the monarchy, their role had been limited. A survey of instruments in 120 aristocratic houses of the time found wind instruments in the minority, even when there were multiple keyboards, harps, guitars, and viols.[168] Large festival venues needed instruments that could be heard at a distance in the open air. Since compositions written for festivals increasingly called for wind

166. Grétry, *Mémoires*, 3: 6.

167. Sarrette's comments in this paragraph are from his "Petition for the Creation of a National Institute of Music" read to the Convention on 8 November 1793, reprinted in Constant Pierre, ed., *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 88–90.

168. Michelle Biget, "Political Revolution and Musical Revolution: Coincidences and Contradictions," in *Culture and Revolution: Cultural Ramifications of the French Revolution*, ed. George Levitine et al. (College Park: Dept. of Art History, University of Maryland at College Park, 1989), 56.

instruments, the Institut "proved its utility by its discoveries in instruments," some modeled on those of ancient times.[169] By 1794–95, the Institut had engaged nineteen professors of clarinet, twelve each for bassoon and horn, six for flute, four each for oboe and serpent, two for trumpet, and one for trombone. Inasmuch as earlier instruction had concentrated on the voice, this constituted a revolution in teaching.[170]

The emphasis on wind instruments may also have had a symbolic meaning. Unlike percussion, which can also project loud sounds on large fields, woodwinds are tubes activated by the human breath. The sound produced by some of these instruments was thought to resemble the human voice. If the nation was to be understood as a living being, woodwinds in concert were like its collective voice—unified, disciplined, and uttering the same sounds.[171]

Second, the need to provide music for national festivals increased the status of military bands and their music. Earlier in the eighteenth century, the genre had consisted of only a few short marches and airs from *opéras-comiques* written for small wind ensembles. During the Revolution, the country's best composers enlarged the repertoire substantially. They contributed pieces of extensive length for a variety of instruments, some requiring huge instrumentations. They incorporated aspects of their symphonic writing, such as in the alternation of tuttis and solos, and this resulted in a grand style, especially when they added male choruses. With their musical textures thickening by the early 1790s, revolutionary composers preferred bold effects and energetic movement, appropriate for inspiring a warrior nation. As the armies under Bonaparte triumphed in battle after battle, their music became associated with masculinity and military glory, whose importance was reemphasized for the French after defeat in the Franco-Prussian War.

But the Institut was not yet the institution that would later inspire imitators across Europe down to the present.[172] Given its success in providing music for festivals and the army, in July 1795, only one month after the promulgation of the new Constitution, M.-J. Chénier asked the Convention to reconsider the Institut's status. Already in July 1794, the Committee of Public Instruction had subsidized the addition of singers and supplementary musicians needed in civic performances. In the spirit of integrating institutions, and acknowledging the crucial role sing-

169. Tiersot here cites Sarrette, "Les Origines du Conservatoire, III," 258.

170. Biget, "Political Revolution and Musical Revolution," 48.

171. Grétry, *Mémoires*, 3: 426, speaks of woodwinds as resembling human voices. I am grateful to Jean-Louis Morhange for encouraging me to reflect on this interpretation of woodwinds' significance during the Revolution.

172. See Fend and Noiray, *Musical Education in Europe*.

ing played in the festivals, it was proposed that the Institut merge with the Ecole (royale) de chant to become the Conservatoire National (Quatremère had proposed calling it the Conservatoire in 1791, borrowing the name from the Italian *conservatorio*, to distinguish it from the Institut des sciences et des arts).[173] While the Convention sought to exclude women from public life, the country needed female singers, so the Institut admitted women. This union of singers and instrumentalists would enable its leaders to begin to address another pressing social need, the creation of a truly national music.[174]

Festivals had offered the potential for a national music embraced by the people, something Tiersot wanted to recreate. But such an ideal was not easy to realize. Many citizens spoke other languages than French and clung to their regional music and dance. Some found these differences dangerous: "Federalism and superstition speak *bas*-Breton, emigration and hatred of the Republic speak German; counterrevolution speaks Italian, fanaticism speaks Basque. Let us crush these harmful and erroneous instruments."[175] In late spring 1794, revolutionaries passed a law that created a new grammar and vocabulary of the French language. Practically speaking, this decree meant sending someone out in the provinces to teach French at a time when six million French citizens did not know the language—thirty dialects were spoken—and another six million could not speak it well.[176] Teaching children the same songs could address this problem. But Sarrette's notion of creating thirty music schools for children in provincial towns never materialized. Unifying the country with a shared language and music was a long-term process, still elusive at the beginning of the Third Republic.

Although the centralization of music study in Paris was a holdover from the Ancien Régime, nineteenth-century republicans found much to admire in the Conservatoire. It not only trained professional musicians in a similar spirit, it produced fourteen method books that allowed music to be taught similarly throughout the country.[177] These helped the French compete with the strong traditions of their

173. Tiersot, "Origines du Conservatoire, I," 234.

174. The Institut became the Conservatoire on 3 August 1795 and received 240,000 francs from the Convention.

175. Decree of 18 Prairial Year II [June 1794], cited in Duruy, *Instruction publique et la Révolution*, 109–10. See Graham Robb, *The Discovery of France: A Historical Geography from the Revolution to the First World War* (New York: Norton, 2007) on the vast differences, notably of language, that divided the French.

176. Grégoire, "Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française," a speech to the Convention on 16 Prairial II [June 1794], reproduced in *La Révolution française* 1 (1881): 652.

177. Emmanuel Hondré, "Le Conservatoire de musique de Paris: Une Institution en quête de sa mission nationale (1795–1848)," in *Music Education in Europe*, 81–90.

neighbors and the many foreign musicians in their midst, who, Gossec declared, "corrupt our language and pervert our taste."[178] With the country's singers submitted to the same control as its instrumentalists, the Conservatoire's administrators thought they could address both these issues. In addition to creating a national music for national festivals, this integration would help them dominate the future of lyrical theaters in France, especially those producing opera, the genre with most international visibility and mobility. Strengthening the education of French musicians would free France from the need for foreign musicians. By promoting growth in the woodwind industry, the Conservatoire would encourage job creation and economic growth. With the Convention and the Committee of Public Instruction in charge of who was accepted into its various classes and what results were desired, the ground was set for the state, through the Conservatoire, to become the "supreme enforcer of a national musical style."[179]

In the final years of the Revolution, revolutionary leaders looked to the Conservatoire to play a somewhat different role. In one of the first of many such speeches that politicians would give at the Conservatoire throughout the nineteenth century, on 4 December 1798, the reform-oriented minister of the interior François de Neufchâteau reaffirmed the relationship between the Conservatoire and the state.[180] However, with the number of national festivals declining, he redefined students' usefulness, shifting emphasis from their patriotic to their civic function in the new society. Being a musician, he noted, entailed a number of "civic duties." Rejecting the notion of music as "the language of feelings and passions" and song as a "sort of natural soothing," because this leads to a kind of "slavery," Neufchâteau asked students to think of music as an art capable of teaching virtue. It should "inflame minds with the love of good . . . open souls to an enthusiasm for the beautiful, the powerful impact of virtue, the strength of good examples."

> Lead men to virtue, accelerate heroes' steps toward victory, help citizens connect to their institutions and national occasions, bind their organizations and affections to the memory of their country! These are the destinies that await you if you succeed in understanding the true direction the musician

178. Cited in Gessele, "Conservatoire de Musique and National Music Education," 198.

179. Many composers and theorists, including Grétry in his *Mémoires*, 3: 419–200, thought of style in terms of genre. They saw French music as different from Italian melody and German harmony, original in having rendered both dramatic, under the influence of French writers.

180. François de Neufchâteau, a poet, was twice minister of the interior, first in Year V [1796–97], and again in Years VI–VII [1797–99]. He renewed textbooks in the schools, instituted reviews of instructors, and created competitions for prizes and positions within the educational system. See Duruy, *Instruction publique et la Révolution*, 260–86.

gives to his art *if he is to be useful to his country* [emphasis added]. . . . Sing of the immortality of the country . . . In your instrumental music, let the pride of a free man and the harmony of a friend of order imprint its majestic character. Refuse an embarrassing marriage with the effeminate muses.[181]

Méhul reiterated these ideas in a letter of 1803 to Joseph Payan, secretary to the Commission of Public Instruction: "The French people are not yet musical, though they are very sensitive to music. With time, they will sing and sing well if our musicians, aware of the dignity of their art and the influence it can have on public spirit [*l'esprit public*], forget their effeminate music and give their new chords the grandeur and strength that must characterize the republican artist."[182]

Such words imply a shift from early revolutionary ideas about music. De Neufchâteau does not so much value it as a language of feelings and a way to the heart—for him, this view of music teaches passivity; rather, returning to Enlightenment concepts, he recommends music as a form of the beautiful, something abstract and distant, an ideal to be contemplated. The beautiful might be a metaphor for the good and the virtuous, but he does not associate it with the effeminate music of Ancien Régime aristocrats. Revolutionaries, like their republican successors, preferred grand music. While sensuous, "soothing" music might speak to the individual and create space for experiencing private sensations, grand music was hard to embrace. It set itself apart and impressed by its distance from the listener. It made one feel small, humbled, and respectful. If it taught, it was by example rather than by evoking empathy.

Conceived of in this way, music could be very useful to the state after the Terror, when leaders were seeking ways to downplay individual sentiment held responsible for the violent internal conflicts of the Revolution.[183] So too after the Franco-Prussian War. Grandeur in music supported both revolutionaries' and nineteenth-century republicans' need to rebuild the public's trust, to reassure them by both associating the state with strength and glory and inspiring confidence in its ability to instill the same feelings, even devotion, into its people. Music could help listeners comprehend the benefits of subsuming parts into the organization of a whole (as in the role envisaged for the law or in families), thereby supporting leaders' efforts to reconstitute the social order in ways that cut across class lines.

181. Reproduced in Pierre, *Conservatoire*, 900–902.

182. Archives of the Académie des beaux-arts, Paris.

183. Desan, "Reconstituting the Social after the Terror," 84, 115. See also Bronislaw Baczko, *Ending the Terror: The French Revolution after Robespierre*, trans. Michael Petherham (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

De Neufchâteau was aware that the public spirit was more of an imaginary ideal than a reality among the populace, and that, as such, it needed to be formed.[184] If the business of education was to teach virtue, meaning how to submit private interests to public interests, then, as he put it, music could be one of the "foundations of public instruction."

In supporting the Conservatoire, the government provided music with "an honorable sanctuary and a political existence," "a reproductive home for all parts of which this science is composed," and "a study center" in which to form the artists needed for republican festivals, military service, and the theaters, "whose influence is so important for the progress and the direction of good taste," thus establishing a tradition on which the Third Republic wished to build.[185] Its role, its utility for the state, was clear: to promote "national character" in music—independence, "superiority of mind," and "magnanimity of heart"[186]—to create new musical traditions based on revolutionary ideals, to "conserve" them while staying in contact with "the soul" of the nation, and to teach them to future generations. In this way what was taught would strengthen the construction of the nation and serve the public good for many years to come.

## MUSIC, CHARACTER, AND THE UTILITY OF GENDER

Music's utility during the Revolution brings to light a number of issues that help explain why, despite their differences, both the liberals of 1789 and the radicals of 1793 turned to music to support their goals, and why nineteenth-century republicans looked to them for inspiration. First, music was perceived as an explicit form of power, not just a symbolic power. At the theater and in festivals, it roused bodies and minds, eliciting comparison with an electrical charge. Its influence on the troops, in particular, was indisputable, recounted again and again, even in the Assemblée nationale. Constant Pierre notes that warrior tunes written to excite the enthusiasm of soldiers or ridicule their enemies accompanied battles at Hondschoote, Wattignies, Maubeuge, Landau, and elsewhere in 1793. The same was true of conflicts in the north and south in 1794. After battles, music's

184. Ozouf, "Public Spirit," 777–79, explains that Neufchâteau asked his subordinates to travel throughout the country evaluating the public spirit, but was told that if this meant "generous spirit" or "love of the Fatherland," there was little to be observed. But "there was at least an educable people, in whom it might be possible to form one."

185. From Sarrette's speech upon the opening of the Conservatoire on 22 October 1797, cited in Proust, *Art sous la République*, 73–74.

186. Neufchâteau, cited in Pierre, *Conservatoire*, 900.

expressive power helped the country celebrate its victories as well as mourn its dead. Gossec's "Marche lugubre" was first performed for the victims of Nancy in 1790. Méhul's "Chant du départ" was written for a festival on 4 July 1794 honoring a French victory over Austria and its allies, and his "Chant du retour" for Bonaparte's return to Paris in 1797. Patriotic songs document the long series of military victories from 1792 to 1797, the most popular being performed at celebratory public festivals.[187] With France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War came renewed need for such a genre.

Second, music was understood as something that encouraged the utopian goal of transparency, which was a key to its influence on people. Music's value was linked in part to its utility in helping people to feel and act as a collective body, transparent to one another and to some shared feeling or value. This feeling of transparency was encouraged by grand music that got people to conceive of something greater than themselves without turning to religion. The transparency critical to achieving a revolution *within* citizens depended on their embrace of certain moral values. Whereas honor (behavior based on the pursuit of personal distinction)[188] was a central value during the Ancien Régime, character was seen as indispensable to citizens. The notion of character has a long history in France. If it meant "outward signs that reveal essential inner qualities," "a mark by which one thing is distinguished from another," or a "habitual disposition of the soul," composers, nations, and music could have character. In music, Rousseau equated it with style, a kind of representation of the national character.[189] During the Revolution, character became associated with virtue, conceived of as the love of law and country. Essentially, this meant putting public interests over individual ones—being transparent to the general will as soldier or voter.[190]

The assumption that music influences character gave it legitimacy as well as a reason to be taken seriously. Not only did legislators listen to it and reflect on it, they included six musicians in the new National Institute of Arts and Sciences created in 1795 (later called the Institut de France) and ordered music taught as a

187. Pierre, *Hymnes*, 39–45. Perhaps for this reason, legislators increased the size of military bands to twenty-seven in Year V (1796–97) and to forty-eight in Year XI (1802–3).

188. Norman Hampson, "La Patrie," in *Political Culture of the French Revolution*, ed. Lucas, 125ff.

189. See, e.g., Jane R. Stevens, "The Meanings and Uses of *Caractère* in Eighteenth-Century France," in *French Musical Thought 1600–1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Press, 1989), 27–34.

190. In his *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Roberto Romani argues that the notion of national character was an effect of institutional government in the eighteenth century and a cause of it in the nineteenth century (5).

branch of national education. Music, they believed, could inspire power, majesty, and grandeur in the French people. Napoléon Bonaparte agreed: "Of all the arts, music has the most influence on the passions, [and it is] the art legislators should encourage most. A piece of moral music by a master inevitably touches one's feeling and has more influence than a good book about morals, which convinces our mind without influencing our behavior."[191]

Some revolutionaries had a precise sense of what music had the greatest utility. Building on an aesthetic associated with a Poussin painting, which would later reemerge in nineteenth-century pointillism, Grétry underlines the power of contrasts: "It is by contrasts, above all, that sensibilities are moved. . . . An idea does not strike our imaginations forcibly if it is not accompanied by shadow." He recounts seeing Louis XVI guillotined while he heard country dances nearby. The march in 6/8 used in the military procession that accompanied the king to the scaffold "so ill-suited to the funereal nature of the occasion," affected Grétry "by its contrast" and made him "tremble." As Anselm Gerhard explains, affects had previously been considered "sufficient unto themselves"; with the Revolution, people became accustomed to "unprecedented shocks." After Cherubini's *Médée* (1797), Berlioz and Meyerbeer built on this idea.[192] During the Third Republic, one can find this principle underlying many compositions, as well as concert programming.

Rhythm was particularly important to both musicians and politicians. Grétry believed that "rhythmic music" had the most impact. Submitting one's body to a rhythm affects one more than following a melody or mentally inhabiting a tonal space. La Reveillière-Lépeaux, the president of the Directory, concurred: music's rhythm alone "imprints true character." A hundred years later, the choral composer Camille de Vos also agreed, explaining that rhythm brings both movement and character to a melody.[193] This focus on rhythm as the primordial musical element is significant. It devalues the more intellectual or sensuous aspects long associated with Western music, foreshadowing the importance Debussy and Stravinsky give to rhythm. (In 1907, Debussy defined music as "de couleurs et de temps rythmés,"

191. In an address to the Conservatoire in July 1797, cited in Oscar Comettant, "De l'influence de la musique sur le style littéraire," in John Grand-Carteret, ed., *J.-J. Rousseau jugé par les Français d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Perrin 1890), 411. For more on Napoléon's relationship to the arts, see Jean-Caude Bonnet, ed., *L'Empire des muses* (Paris: Belin, 2004).

192. See Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera*, trans. Mary Whittall (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 51–56.

193. Grétry, *Mémoires*, 3: 420–21; La Reveillière-Lépeaux, *Essai sur les moyens de faire participer l'universalité des spectateurs;* Camille de Vos, "Composition musicale," *Nouvelle France chorale*, 16 January 1883.

and Stravinsky noted in his sketches for *The Rite of Spring* that "music exists if there is rhythm, as life exists if there is pulse.")[194] It also establishes a precedent for the way many have thought about contemporary popular music in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This interest in rhythm in the late eighteenth century may explain the prevalence and importance of marches and marchlike music, and why energy was often associated with character, as if indispensable to it.

The country's militarization and the ensuing changes in concepts of gender and masculinity underlay these preferences. To use gender differences, however, revolutionaries had to call on stereotypes that began with the human body and then transcended it. At first, they saw moral power in women's capacity to touch the emotions and move people, which was important both at home and in their clubs. Women were expected to inspire male courage and patriotism and act as "moral guardians and forces of regeneration within the new revolutionary society."[195] Finding this power of influence potentially dangerous, however, under the Terror, leaders shifted focus to women's "natural" tendency to mystery, seduction, and deception. They also used these traits to paint the private sphere as murky and potentially seditious and to link it, by analogy, with counterrevolution. In the new social order, women were to stay at home but had a vital role in educating their husbands and children in mercy, charm, and love, virtues integral to the ideal citizen.[196] To valorize a public sphere made up exclusively of male citizens, Jacobin revolutionaries defined masculinity in a way that excluded not only women but also men who frequented salons and the court of the king. What counted were military virtues such as energy and courage, especially after the military spirit had fallen off so much under Louis XV. This limited notion of masculinity allowed them to leave aside the Enlightenment's "man of sensibility"[197] and, by an essentialist logic, to associate reason and truth with the political activism expected of men, and emotions and mystery with the passive behavior associated with women. Radical republicans under the Third Republic who saw merit in Jacobin ideas tended to agree with these conservative attitudes, even if they represented the Left.[198]

194. If we read "rythmés" as modifying both "couleurs" and "temps," it implies that form is the "rhythmization" of sections, each with its own "color and sense of time." Debussy, *Lettres à son éditeur* (Paris: Durand, 1927), 55; Igor Stravinsky, *The Rite of Spring: Sketches, 1911–1913* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1969), 36.

195. Desan, "'Constitutional Amazons,'" 19.

196. Sewell, "Activity, Passivity, and the Revolutionary Concept of Citizenship," 119.

197. Garrioch, *Making of Revolutionary Paris*, 310–11.

198. "What we are asking of you is to form wives for the men of our free, equal, and fraternal society descended from the French Revolution. . . . While men are made for action, women's mission is to inspire," Eugène Spuller explained in a speech at the Lycée Racine on 19 October 1887 (id., *Au Ministère de l'Instruction publique, 1887*, 245).

When speaking of music, musicians and politicians made similar arguments during the Revolution (which republicans also echoed a hundred years later). Building on the backlash against women, in their 1793 petition to create a national Institut, Sarrette and Gossec depicted the music of the salons and the court as effeminate, and held up that of the battlefield as energetic and character-building. Effeminate music, they suggested, leads to slavery—a model of the people's dependence on the king. By contrast, military music, with its empowering energy, promotes the nation's needs, especially liberty. In 1798, De Neufchâteau used gender similarly to differentiate the musical values he rejected—the "voluptuous, lethargic languor" and "treacherous caresses" of "effeminate" music—from those he wanted Conservatoire students to espouse and promote—anything that would "incite listeners to great dedication *[grands dévouements]*," express "gaiety" and courage, "elicit virtues," and "strike down vices." From his perspective, the ultimate utility of revolutionary music lay in its capacity to form a different kind of people, characterized by virile energy instead of effeminate lethargy.

This discourse suggests that revolutionary leaders expected music to function like a woman—to teach, inspire, animate, and influence the behavior of those who heard it—to charm them, in the sense advocated by Horace.[199] Ironically, however, as "moral guardian" and regenerative force, music should still embrace masculine values. These were not mercy, sweetness, and love, or qualities associated with the bewigged ministers of the court, but those embodied by soldiers in the field. Revolutionary music was to function like the women in Méhul's "Chant du départ." To the extent that it could energize citizens, increasing their capacity or inclination to act, political leaders thought it could infuse (or inseminate) values crucial for the evolution of the nation. Music could thus contribute to the virilization of the people—something the country needed for its soldiers in battle and for its citizens in their struggle against counterrevolutionaries.

From this perspective, ascribing gender to music was useful, while not altogether adequate or accurate. Whether associated with effeminacy and people's enslavement or with virility and their liberation, it encouraged people to acknowledge music's impact on character and behavior. Opposing definitions of masculinity were meant to help people imagine revolutionary change, even if gender stereotypes veiled continuities or similarities with the past. (So, too, in music; with its instrumental interludes, lyrical adagios, and recitatives, a work such as Méhul's "Chant national du 14 juillet 1800" borrows elements from symphonic writing

199. In his speech advocating for the Conservatoire in 1795, Chénier calls music an "enchanting art." It not only "charms society," but also "enlivens both war and love, the hunt and pastoral life." See n. 37 above.

and the dramatic music of the Ancien Régime.) Gender, then, may say little about the actual nature of music at the time; however, as form of rhetoric, it suggests problems in a discourse that roots music's essence (and utility) in its sensuality and aural caresses.

The Revolution set an important precedent for late nineteenth-century republicans' use of gendered discourse to condemn the effeminacy and decadence associated with Second Empire entertainment and to promote strength, grandeur, and moral values in music of the Third Republic.[200] However, even if the music, including that of women composers such as Augusta Holmès, explicitly promoted masculine values, being seen to function socially as a woman did not put music in the best position. Under Napoléon, women never regained the rights they had earned in the early years of the Revolution. In exchange for "protection," they had to obey their husbands, and a woman could make no important decision without her husband's consent.[201] Likewise throughout the nineteenth century, music in public institutions continued under the control of the state, after 1870, mostly of the Ministry of Public Instruction. As we shall see, by making the premiere performance venues state-supported and discussion about their budgets an annual item in the Assemblée nationale, legislators controlled administrators the way a husband constrains a dependent wife. Music could reflect and teach "the nation's image," if agreed to by state administrators.[202] Whether it was valued for its own sake in the public domain was another matter.

The public spirit, as promoted and embraced during the Revolution, left a compelling legacy, "consubstantial with the project of Revolution itself," although it was never much more than an imaginary ideal and not really capable of replacing the

200. On the meaning of gendered discourse, see Annegret Fauser, "Gendering the Nation: the Ideologies of French Discourse on Music (1870–1914)," in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism*, ed. Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), 72–103, esp. 73–74.

201. Moreover, in 1806, the word "subject" replaced "citizen" and passive obedience was preferred to active citizenship even among men. The country as a whole became feminized in this sense. Although women again became political in 1848, writers in the 1850s like Michelet returned to the idea that if women were "productive," it was from their influence on men rather than from any inherent creativity. See Jean Rabaut, *Histoire des féminismes français* (Paris: Stock, 1978), 144.

202. Jane Fulcher develops this idea from 1830 to 1870 in her book, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

diversity of public opinion.[203] Napoléon hated the idea. Instead of trying to mold people's minds through education, he preferred the constraints of public order and a new Civil Code. With the Empire, national festivals were abolished. But after republicans gained control in the late 1870s and prepared to celebrate the Revolution's centenary, there were widespread efforts to understand, not what had gone wrong, but the elusive qualities the revolutionaries had coveted.

Stories about the past, the imagination they stimulated, and the memories they implanted contributed much to reviving interest in the Revolution, although conflicting interpretations of the Revolution's legacy remained, particularly in the wake of the Paris Commune. Just as during the 1790s, moderates and radicals, the latter owing much to Jacobin revolutionaries, clashed over their notions of liberty, equality, and fraternity, as well as over the use of state power. Others pushed for class revolution and international socialism. Still, there were principles they shared. In unearthing the past and renarrating the Revolution, they agreed on the need for national education, patriotism, and regeneration, together with whatever it took to revive them. They also wanted people to reexperience what had moved their predecessors as a collective body. Huge *orphéon* festivals with amateur musical ensembles, considered "useful for the people's education," attracted crowds throughout the nineteenth century. On 29 August 1875, in the Tuileries gardens, for example, 3,000 performed for 40,000.[204] But republicans wanted bigger, and more explicitly republican, celebrations that would spread their ideals throughout the country. Music was part of this. They believed that hearing the voices of the Revolution would help people connect to it, spark feelings of fraternity, and legitimate forms and expression associated with the people. Revivals could help republicans reengage with the music's original meaning while serving new needs in the Third Republic.

In the chapters that follow, I return to the Revolution again and again. The Revolution set republicans' agendas and outlined paths to realizing them. Music played an important role. Whereas historians have long acknowledged how republicans used the Revolution to articulate their differences, I show how revolutionary music helped them find commonality. Through performances in elite as well as popular contexts, revolutionary music broke down the barriers of class and politics. It reminded everyone of a tradition the French shared as a nation, infusing a sense of fraternity, albeit limited, among elites, the bourgeoisie, and workers. These experiences were useful in posing deeper questions, equally important to

203. Ozouf, "Public Spirit," 779.

204. This was a fund-raiser, though ticket prices were only 50 centimes. "Paris et départements," *Ménestrel*, 22 August 1875, 303, and 5 September 1875, 319.

understand in the Third Republic, and not the questions so easily raised by the music of the Ancien Régime or the Renaissance, two other traditions that were experiencing revivals at the time.[205] How could music provide a context, not just for momentarily forgetting social and political differences, but also for addressing the inner conflicts and contradictions of multifaceted individuals and groups? If music could turn ideas into feelings, teach virtue, and imprint character, and if these ideas were not just wishful thinking on the part of high-minded, idealistic leaders, how could it make certain values desirable? How could it make certain truths seem right, or create a sense of national identity? Not *could* music, but *how* could music help reconcile society's desire for both order and progress? Addressing such questions forced French of all political persuasions to interrogate, not just the Revolution, but also their own society and its music.

205. Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), examines the revival of music by such composers as Handel and Palestrina, but not revivals of revolutionary music.