PART TWO • SHAPING JUDGMENT AND NATIONAL TASTE

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3 · Music as Political Culture

From Active Listening to Active Citizenship

"Who said that frivolity was the lot of the French, and the Parisian in particular?" objected a critic after one of the Concerts populaires de musique classique on 19 October 1873. On Sunday afternoons in a dark circus on the edge of the eleventh arrondissement, the hall still reeking from the stench of horses, Jules-Etienne Pasdeloup's orchestra attracted four to five thousand souls (fig. 19). A third of the seats cost only a little more than bus fare, although some people had to wait for hours in the wind and rain to get tickets. A "naïve and sincere" audience of petit bourgeois and workers sat spellbound, squeezed onto hard wooden benches, half of them facing musicians' backs. Many were totally ignorant of music. Families seeking stimulating leisure came together, as well as students, piano teachers who "adored Pasdeloup like a father," and bourgeois music lovers shut out of the prestigious Conservatoire concerts, whose subscriptions were passed down in families for generations. Composers, music critics, and the occasional aristocrat or foreign dignitary enjoyed the best seats at the Concerts Pasdeloup.[1] For this first performance of the season, the Orléanist pretender to the French throne, Philippe, comte de Paris, and his wife attended, their presence being noted in the press.[2] The city was tense and apprehensive, because many expected an imminent return to monarchy. The attendance of the comte and comtesse de Paris would have demonstrated sympathy for the people and an interest in their education.

Such concerts instructed, fascinated, and infuriated listeners who came not only

1. According to police records, when the emperor and empress of Brazil attended on 14 January 1872, the huge crowd was forced to wait for them to leave. Archives of the Préfecture de la Police, Paris, Concerts Pasdeloup, Da 62.

2. "Paris et départements," *Ménestrel*, 26 October 1873, 382. Because the Legitimist pretender to the throne, the comte de Chambord, had no children, the comte de Paris was recognized as his successor by royalists, even though from a rival branch.

FIG. 19 John Singer Sargent, *Rehearsal of the Pasdeloup Orchestra at the Cirque d'Hiver* (ca. 1879–80), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

to escape their mundane concerns and enjoy something beautiful, but also to learn, to confront the unknown, and to express their opinions. After the first movement of a Schumann symphony some booed and whistled, thinking "they had to bring down" a composer they associated, however erroneously, with Wagner. Many felt insulted by Wagner's publication of a contemptuous satire ridiculing the French under the German occupation of Paris. The audience was more receptive to new French music. They unanimously called for an encore of Massenet's "elegant and colorful" new work. But then "strange" Russian airs by Glinka elicited another

affront. Afterwards, Beethoven's C minor symphony "calmed the nerves of this overly impressionable public."[3]

Four days later, Henri Baudrillart, in a speech before the five Académies, wondered if Sunday concerts could not serve as "a model for others in different genres."[4] That they disciplined the lower classes escaped no one. When Wagner was performed, "lots of whistling" clashed with exuberant applause, but police records also document many concerts in "perfect tranquility" and "without any disturbance."[5] More important, such concerts offered occasions for all classes to be uplifted spontaneously through music and to feel as one, momentarily realizing a revolutionary ideal elusive in French society since revolutionary festivals. While those nostalgic for monarchy or the empire wished to forget that the Revolution had taken place, republicans sought to incorporate its legacy, assimilate its various factions, and render permanent its impact on French society.[6] Like their revolutionary predecessors, they believed it was possible, in Rousseau's words, to "form a people," the source of all legitimacy. Serving the public good would be the goal of government. The arts were part of this project, their utility a function of how aesthetics and artistic practices could support nation-building.

Devastated by defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and humiliated by the Commune, France was fiercely divided in the 1870s. The monarchists, who dominated government for much of the time, hoped to reinstall a king. Bonapartists yearned for a return to empire. Republican strength grew steadily, but differences among moderates, socialists, and radicals caused turmoil. Whatever the depth of their dissension over the nature of government, the role of the Church, and the priorities of the nation, however, this generation did not want its struggles to end in violence.[7] Culture offered a nonviolent, secular domain in which to face their differences and explore what they shared. It could help revitalize the nation. In the

3. From Charles Bannelier, *Revue et gazette musicale*, 26 October 1873, 341; *Ménestrel*, 26 October 1873, 382; Adolphe Jullien's reviews reproduced in his *Musique* (Paris: Librairie de l'art, 1896), 308–24; and Maurice Griveau, "Impressions musicale de jeunesse," *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 15 December 1910, 662–70. Jullien, who considered Pasdeloup the most popular conductor in France ever, attended almost every Sunday.

4. Henri Baudrillart, *Les Fêtes publiques* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1873), 17.

5. Archives of the Préfecture de la Police, Concerts Pasdeloup, Da 62, 24 September 1872, 22 October 1872, and 15 October 1874.

6. How the French sought closure to the Revolution is the central theme of François Furet, *La Révolution de Turgot à Jules Ferry, 1770–1880* (Paris: Hachette, 1988), trans. Antonia Nevill as *Revolutionary France, 1770–1880* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).

7. As Edgar Quinet pointed out, if the Republic was to survive, they had to repudiate the violence of their revolutionary predecessors or risk the failures of the Jacobins. See Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 1–2.

early 1870s, liberals and conservatives alike looked to "serious" music expressing high ideals to nurture "moral strength" in the country.[8]

With the fine arts annexed to the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1870 and the arts a branch of national education until 1958,[9] music was expected to serve a political function. Certainly there was a continuation of values, practices, and institutions from the Second Empire and earlier, along with careful negotiation of compromise. Traditional forms of state patronage, particularly of opera, and paternalism remained, but elsewhere there were increasingly important differences and the launching of more ambitious democratic ideals. Republicans envisaged an almost mechanical relationship between musical practices and social change for workers, bourgeois, and elites—one that was easier to articulate than it was to prove. However overly optimistic and idealistic it might sound, we need to take their discourse seriously. In focusing on music's public utility, their widespread efforts to encourage musical practices and shape musical taste laid the foundations for broad public support of the arts in France and shed light on why democracy took hold there and lasted.[10]

To the extent that they helped the Republic address its need for political legitimacy and cultural integration, the language and practices of music emerged as aspects of political culture.[11] As a new mode of aesthetic activity for many, they

8. In his "Tablettes artistiques, 1870–71," *Ménestrel*, 7 January 1872, Arthur Pougin refers to the *force morale* necessary to resist defeat and chaos (44).

9. Who controlled the arts changed over the years. In 1792 the Administration of Royal Buildings under the Ministry of the Interior was responsible, in 1830 the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works. The Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Public Instruction, and the Directorate of National Museums were jointly responsible in 1848; the Ministry of State took over in 1853. Civic buildings (including museums) were placed under the Ministry of Public Works in 1870, technical instruction (the Conservatoire and Ecoles d'arts et métiers) under the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. See Marie-Claude Genet-Delacroix, *Art et Etat sous la IIIe République: Le Système des beaux-arts, 1870–1940* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1992), app. 17, 356, and Antonin Proust, *L'Art sous la République* (Paris: Charpentier, 1892). In 1878, the government also appointed an *inspecteur de la musique* (Vaucorbeil) within this ministry to advocate for music.

10. Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), mistakenly claims that before 1900, the Republic "had largely neglected to imprint its values through music" (7).

11. In *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, vol. 1: *The Political Culture of the Old Regime*, ed. id. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1987), xii, Keith Baker defines political culture as a "set of discourses and practices"; through these, James Lehning explains, "individuals and groups articulate, negotiate, implement, and enforce the completing claims that they made on each other" (Lehning, *To Be a Citizen: The Political Culture of the Early Third Republic* [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001], 3–4). Lehning argues that political culture is discursive, "expressed not only through institutional and constitutional arrangements but also in cultural representations of and discourses about the Republic. A discursive version of

prepared people to engage in voting, a newly consequential mode of political activity.[12] As at the Concerts Pasdeloup, listening entailed developing an opinion and defending it, for, as one writer described them, concert intermissions were "not for relaxation, but for combat," a time when "opinions are confronted, passion inflates nostrils and lights up pupils." To the extent that concerts stimulated empathetic, imaginative engagement with music, republicans sought to use music to influence *mœurs*, the beliefs and behavior proper and necessary to republicanism. When they presented opportunities for comparative judgment, concerts called on active listening, a corollary of active citizenship. Aesthetics could merge with ethics through music and musical practices as cultural identity interwove with political identity.[13]

POLITICAL LEGITIMACY AND CIVIC SOCIETY

To grasp how music and concert life could contribute to the debates over national identity and the public good, we first need to understand the tentative stability in which the early Republic teetered in the 1870s and its unnerving political crises. Political legitimacy was not easy to come by. The Republic began in September 1870 with a series of failures—the military's (for its manner of conducting the war), the new government's (for its collaboration with Prussia to end the war), and Parisians' (for their blind idealism and their inability to speak to the interests of those in the provinces, especially the peasants). Saddled with 5 billion francs in reparations and the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, and horrified by the destruction of Paris and the killing, jailing, or exiling of over 100,000 Parisians during the

political culture broadens the meaning of politics, emphasizing that discourses about republican politics were significant elements of the political system, forming a part of power relationships and guiding individuals as they participated in those relationships. It also suggests that these discourses were unstable, inconsistent, and constantly being renegotiated" (4). I see music as one of these discourses in Third Republic France.

12. Furet explains the subtleties of previous attempts at universal suffrage in France in his *La Révolution de Turgot à Jules Ferry*: what had been a brief experiment in 1792 and an erratic, imperfect practice beginning in 1848 was assured after 1876 (494–96). Others, such as Theodore Zeldin, concur that, even if it politicized the peasantry, universal male suffrage during the Second Empire had little effect on imperial policy.

13. Camille Mauclair, *La Religion de la musique* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1909), 12–13. In his memoirs, *Refuges* (Paris: Émile-Paul frères, 1942), Léon-Paul Fargue writes similarly, "At the time of Ravel's youth audiences would get up from their seats, demonstrate, intervene, wrinkle their nostrils, frequently whistle during concertos, and make a show of leaving the room to smoke the cigarette of freedom outside. . . . We needed this atmosphere to live happy and poor" (196–97). Such accounts refute James Johnson's and others' assumptions about increasingly disciplined, silent audience behavior over the nineteenth century.

Commune, many French craved order and were willing to entertain compromise. Some had new objectives as well: respecting gender, social, and economic differences while assuring equal rights, and infusing energy, courage, and willingness to go off to war into a populace tired of conflict. Foremost, the country needed to deepen the bonds between the needs and interests of people and those of the nation and to inspire an imagination of the future on which many could agree. Arguments over these remained at the center of public discourse for decades, influencing aesthetic and musical choices as well as political ones.

The 1870s were characterized by political compromises. From 1871 to 1873, President Adolphe Thiers, who had been prime minister under King Louis-Philippe,[14] organized a government that was both conservative, not interfering with the customs and interests of elites (including at the Opéra), and definitively republican, embodying the rights and principles of 1789.[15] He appointed the moderate Jules Simon as the first minister of public instruction, religion, and fine arts (1870–73), rather than the populist Léon Gambetta.[16] An active, anticlerical republican in the minority party during the Second Empire, Simon was among those for whom the idea of a republic implied a kind of sacrosanct idealism—the result of having been "dreamt about during long years of combat, presented and exalted as the antithesis of [the previous] regime."[17] Like others, he prioritized the Republic's indebtedness to the French Revolution, the importance of freedom and the democratic process, the separation of Church and state, and the government's duty to help the masses. Among his first actions in 1870 was to abolish theatrical censorship. Still, the quintessential *républicain opportuniste*,[18] Simon believed

14. Thiers was prime minister in 1836 and again in 1840.

15. Maurice Agulhon, *The French Republic, 1879–1992*, trans. Antonia Nevill (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 3.

16. The son of a Genoese grocer, Gambetta was deputy for the working-class district of Belleville and a powerful orator; preferring to continue the war rather than negotiate with the Prussians, he led France's armies in the provinces in an effort to relieve Paris in fall 1870. In November 1871, he founded the antimonarchist, anticlerical newspaper *La République française* to promote democracy, universal suffrage, and free secular education. For a sympathetic portrait of Gambetta, see Gabriel Hanotaux, *Contemporary France* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), 2: 52–66, 620–21.

17. Raoul Girardet, "Jules Ferry et l'image d'une République à fonder," in *Jules Ferry fondateur de la République*, ed. François Furet (Paris: Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1985), 246; see also Louis Girard, "Jules Ferry et la génération des républicains du Second Empire," in ibid., 49–57.

18. In his *Contemporary France*, Hanotaux defines opportunism as "a compromise, a search for balance, for measured equilibrium. . . . It reacts against the abuse of authority . . . but takes care not to break with discipline, and it sees in tolerance the only control of moral unity. . . .

in working toward compromise, balance, and equilibrium. As a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques since 1863, he was highly respected in conservative circles and, through his policies and appointments, had a significant impact on the arts. With his support, the musical world could begin to focus on reviving patriotism, a deep concern of monarchists and republicans alike.

After Thiers had paid German reparations and German soldiers left, royalists prepared a return to constitutional monarchy. In May 1873, they elected as president Marshal Patrice de Mac-Mahon, whom Napoléon III had made a duke for his distinguished service.[19] Mac-Mahon named Duc Albert de Broglie as prime minister and installed a government dedicated to restoring "Moral Order" *(Ordre moral)*, a coalition of conservatives supporting renewed alliance between Church and state. De Broglie was an Orléanist, an aristocrat, a Catholic, and a member of the Académie française. His majority was supported by those with money and property, as well as some aristocrats, many peasants, and rural landowners who feared socialism. With monarchists and Catholics then appointed to head the major ministries, including the Ministry of Public Instruction, Religion, and Fine Arts, the Moral Order government not only restrained republicans' projects to secularize society and reintroduced censorship, but also required conservative approval of what the state would support in the musical world.

In many ways, the Moral Order solved the problem of the Republic's legitimacy by practical consensus both within rival factions and between them, albeit for contradictory purposes. Legitimists and conservative Orléanists agreed on the need for another monarch. The former, the descendants of Ancien Régime aristocrats whose families had installed Louis XVIII as king in 1815 and Charles X in 1824, wished to crown the comte de Chambord as dynastic successor under the title of Henri V. The latter, descendants of the liberal bourgeoisie who had elected Louis-Philippe d'Orléans in 1830, looked to the comte de Paris as heir to the throne. Whereas Legitimists hoped for a return to the Ancien Régime, Orléanists wanted to integrate the French monarchy into the modern world, as under the so-called

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Absorbed with other cares, it does not concern itself with the evils which result from an unequal division of riches. . . . At the bottom of Opportunism lies Nationalism" (2: 716–17). See also Maurice Agulhon, in *Les Opportunistes: Les Débuts de la République aux républicains*, ed. Léo Hamon (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1991), 8–9, 13. In his *The Past in French History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994), Robert Gildea suggests that republicans dubbed *opportunistes* those who refused "to amnesty the Communards until the opportune time" (38).

19. Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848–1945: Politics and Anger* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 199.

July Monarchy of Louis-Philippe (1830–48).[20] But for both, the Moral Order was a context in which to prepare for a return to constitutional monarchy.[21] A third elite constituency, the Bonapartists, were nostalgic for the Empire, which they celebrated in Saint-Napoléon festivals.[22] Napoléon IV, Louis Napoléon (1856–1879), the only child and heir of Emperor Napoléon III, lived in exile in the United Kingdom. Distrustful of monarchy as well as idealistic republicanism and fearing another social revolution, the Bonapartists embraced political repression, imperialist expansion, and the illusion of representative government. Sharing an interest in property, social hierarchy, and the Church as a force for social order, these three constituencies saw a revival of Christianity as "the first condition of the recovery of France."[23] This kept many composers significantly engaged with religious themes and genres in the 1870s, regardless of their political orientations.

When it came to the arts, many monarchists continued to admire and use them as emblems of past achievement or class distinction and as stimulants to personal enhancement or pleasure. But during the Second Empire, Napoléon III had shown how culture could speak to the masses, especially in the provinces, and promote social and moral values. He believed in charity and compassion toward the working classes. Following the example of the Catholic Church, Christian ethics, and rigid hierarchical social relations, Napoléon III and others espoused paternalist patronage "where the superior protects and helps the inferior like a father to his children or a monarch to his subjects and receives recognition and devotion in return."[24] In this spirit, and perhaps feeling guilt after demolishing entire streets in the neighborhood, Baron Haussmann, prefect of Paris, subsidized Pasdeloup's *concerts populaires*, begun in 1861, for those living near the Cirque Napoléon, one of

20. In *La Droite en France* (Paris: Aubier, 1963), René Rémond distinguishes the Legitimists from the Orléanists by observing that whereas for the former, the monarchy was "a person," namely, the king, who demanded absolute devotion and loyalty, for the latter, it was "a principle, a form of regime" (138).

21. Whereas Rémond argues that the goal of the Legitimists and Orléanists was "counter-revolution" rather than monarchical "restoration" (ibid., 132, 135), Hanotaux sees the elections of May 1873 as a "prologue to a bid for the Restoration of the monarchy" (*Contemporary France*, 2: 118).

22. Throughout the nineteenth century, some French celebrated Napoléon I's birthday, 15 August, as "an official fête" during the two Bonapartist regimes, as well as an "anti-fête" during the Restoration, July Monarchy, and late nineteenth century. See Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Saint-Napoleon: Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

23. Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, 2: 35, 46–47. That July, as a sign of penance for the Commune, the Assemblée voted to subsidize building the Basilica of the Sacré Cœur atop Montmartre. Rémond, *Droite en France*, 142.

24. Rémond, *Droite en France*, 136.

the only buildings he had spared on the eastern boulevard.[25] Since the Restoration, conservative leaders had also supported choral singing, which, they felt, had a moralizing impact on the masses, "softening their manners and improving their intelligence," and taught respect for social institutions. Wind bands and *orphéons*, amateur male choruses drawn from the working classes, had grown steadily throughout the country; more than three thousand such groups were invited to perform at the 1867 Universal Exhibition. Charles Gounod, François Bazin, and Pasdeloup directed over 12,000 workers in the Paris Orphéon. So that they would not become breeding grounds for political dissent, the statutes of such choruses, which required government approval, spelled out that at meetings members could not discuss "politics or anything besides music."

To ensure the Republic's survival, conservative and *opportuniste* republicans participated in this regime. Republicans had long offered resistance to the various monarchists, its populists firing up rebellions in 1848, 1851, and 1871. But the working classes they wanted to represent were divided, the urban populace pitted against the peasantry, with the former inclined to social revolution and the latter opting for stability. Consensus was needed among conservatives (including Catholics), moderate republicans (the *opportunistes*), and broad sections of the middle class. If the French bourgeoisie was divided over how to pursue national interests in Alsace and Lorraine, Germany, the rest of Europe, and the overseas colonies, the majority agreed on the need for order, stability, and peace at home.

Some coherence in republican ideology was provided by its leaders, many of whom were anticlerical Freemasons opposed to the influence of the Church in the secular domain.[26] These included Gambetta (initiated in 1869), Jules Simon (1870), Jules Ferry (1875), and two presidents of the Republic, Jules Grévy and Félix Faure.[27] In lieu of the preeminence of faith over reason, Freemasons, according to

25. Haussmann fixed the rent of the Cirque Napoléon, which belonged to the city, as a proportion of concert receipts. *Journal officiel*, 15 February 1878, 1580.

26. Ironically, Freemasons used the concept of "moral order" in the late 1860s to describe a democracy in which everyone governs themselves according to a "universal moral dictated by natural law or universal religion" and seeks "the order of familial and social harmony." Freemasons considered clericalism the "adversary of natural moral order." See Le Gérant fondateur, "Le Passé et le présent, le surnaturel et le naturel," and "Qu'est-ce que la bonne nouvelle du XIX siècle?" *La Bonne Nouvelle du XIXe siècle* 1 (March–April 1868): 1–3.

27. Other Freemasons served variously as minister of foreign affairs, of commerce and industry, and of public instruction and fine arts. The latter included Ferry (1879–81, 1882, 1883), Pierre Berthelot (1886), Eugène Spuller (1887), Edouard Lockroy (1888), and Léon Bourgeois (1890, 1892, 1898). The number of Freemasons grew in France from 10,000 in 1862 to 20,000 in 1889. Pierre Miquel, *La Troisième Republique* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 362–67, and Jérôme Grévy, *La République des opportunistes, 1870–1885* (Paris: Perrin, 1998), 141–49.

their 1877 Constitution, believed in "the search for truth, the study of universal morality, science and art . . . liberty of conscience and human solidarity."[28] Their camaraderie helped them to push through legislation (particularly on education) and build political alliances. Freemasonry may also have predisposed its members to see value in music and festivals, since they sang at their banquets. Many republican leaders, including Jules Simon, also espoused Saint-Simonian ideas from earlier that century, especially a belief in the "care and salvation of the collectivity."[29] They wished to shift power from the landed aristocracy to bourgeois entrepreneurs, believed in scientific progress, and saw art as a means of influencing people's behavior.[30] Most (including Ferry and Gambetta) were lawyers, too, and pragmatic as well as utopian humanists.[31] And all were members of the bourgeoisie, a class determined by education more than by birth, who believed in eloquence and the written word, respectability, and consideration—qualities that made them well-suited to public administration.[32]

This combination of reason, progress, pragmatism, and public service proved an increasingly compelling alternative to the restoration of privilege and the dominance of the nobility and clergy. With republicans joined by liberal-minded Orléanists, feeling betrayed by the reactionary politics of the Moral Order, a new constitution was passed on 29 January 1875, which instituted a new Chambre des députés and a Senate. The next day, the government became known as the Republic.[33] Republicans were not in control until March 1876, when elections brought a majority of them into the new Chambre. In December 1876, Mac-Mahon summoned the moderate Simon to form a government.[34] In rising from minister of public instruction, religion, and the fine arts to prime minister, Simon (and later

28. Charles Sowerine, *France since 1870: Culture, Politics, and Society* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 42–45. On the radical utopianism this implied, see Nord, *Republican Moment*, chap. 1.

29. Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, 2: 701.

30. For these ideas earlier in the century, see Ralph Locke, *Music, Musicians and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

31. From 1877 to 1914, one minister in three was a lawyer, as were many in the Chambre des députés. All were trained in writing, public speaking, and statesmanship. See Nord, *Republican Moment*, chap. 6.

32. Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, 2: 545–47.

33. The vote was 353 to 352. Before this, apparently no one had formally named the regime. See Furet, *Revolutionary France*, 530. In his *Contemporary France*, 3: 341, Hanotaux explains that some on the monarchical Right voted for the Republic because the attempt at a "fusion" among themselves had failed and the comte de Chambord, the Legitimist pretender, insisted on restoration of the white Bourbon Banner as the flag of France.

34. Simon was also a member of the Académie française and of the new Senate beginning in 1876.

many of his successors, a third of whom made a similar move within the government) helped make arts and education policy an integral part of national policy.

The republicans' support for music was based on its public utility, not paternalism. They continued to support *orphéons*, the *concerts populaires*, and opera, but considered philanthropy, in Simon's words, "an ineffective response to the needs of the working poor."[35] They also saw music as a way to build class unity among the bourgeoisie. Antonin Guillot de Sainbris, Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray, and others directed amateur choruses for the bourgeoisie and upper classes, including women and girls. To elevate the genre, they commissioned new works from major French composers. Instead of bowing to the lowest common denominator, they wanted artists to "raise the level of art and reform the taste of the public." This required music that could compete with the *musique frelatée* (not pure, not natural) of the *cafés-concerts*, perceived as unhealthy and immoral, together with numerous occasions for ordinary people to hear it.[36] And it meant challenging the taste and music that had dominated the Second Empire and its limited definitions of bourgeois society. Saint-Saëns thought that the bourgeoisie hated art and pushed composers to express "little ideas." If music, language, and society were to remain interconnected (and not just through the model of "conversation," as Hervé Lacombe brilliantly observes of opera in the 1860s), and if public taste were to remain a criterion of judgment, it was necessary to lay the foundations for a more enlightened public opinion, one that would demand more from life.[37] Considering the French as "great by their intelligence and character," Jules Simon called for "noble" works.[38] In 1876, Saint-Saëns likewise called on composers to "be great, be strong, be sublime" instead of writing music that was "easy to understand."[39] Subsidized theaters should have "a more elevated, more noble goal" than mere

35. Janet Horne, "Presenting Modern France: The Rhetoric of Reform at the 1889 Universal Exhibition," in *Unfinished Revolutions: Legacies of Upheaval in Modern French Culture*, ed. Robert Denommé and Roland Simon (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1998), 156.

36. Ernest L'Epine, "A propos des auditions périodiques," *Ménestrel*, 24 February 1878, 103.

37. In his *Les Voies de l'opéra français au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), Hervé Lacombe points out that "the idea of satisfying public taste at any price" was the most notable characteristic of French lyric opera during the Second Empire. As Daniel Auber once put it, "to please is to succeed." This opera pandered to the bourgeois taste for "the pretty, the gracious, and the light." Lacombe compares it to conversation and describes the aesthetic as "marked by a *savoir-vivre* transposed onto music," characterized by politeness, elegance, and a preference for the real over the ideal (23, 294–98).

38. This came in discussing funding of the national theaters in 1872. See Genet-Delacroix, *Art et Etat*, app. 44, 408–9.

39. Saint-Saëns, *Harmonie et Mélodie*, cited in Lacombe, *Voies de l'opéra français*, 295.

entertainment and should help "refine [*épurer*] public taste."[40] Because ideally a "stream of tightly unified emotions" bonds "the soul of the composer and that of the listener,"[41] music, in expressing such aspirations, could contribute to the common good. Thus, even before the republicans were in power, they looked to musical practices to help lay the foundation for republican values.

Under the Moral Order then, a new patriotism and taste for the serious pushed aside Second Empire frivolity and hedonism, even if, while Mac-Mahon and the monarchists were in power, some works written during the Second Empire continued to dominate the Opéra and Opéra-Comique. These institutions remained for the elites, regardless of their politics. Composers who had made careers earlier, such as Gounod and Ambroise Thomas, also thrived. But as republican power grew, the musical world grew increasingly open to new voices and attentive to new values. Certainly, patriotism revived *l'esprit public*, but, perceived as a vice as much as a virtue,[42] it was not enough. While conservatives embraced laws and preventative censorship to assure public order and police public morality, republicans wished to develop mutually agreed upon *mœurs* that would not only discipline personal desires and internalize public values but also build a civic society characterized by "widespread trust" and "confident mutual reliance."[43] Whatever instilled such *mœurs*, such as music, could play a significant role in establishing the conditions of democracy and articulating its legitimacy.

SHAPING *MŒURS*

To inculcate bourgeois values broadly in the population, help people imagine community, and build support for republicanism, the *opportunistes* needed not "identity thinking"—useless in a country whose divisions were rarely rigid and often bridged by alliances—but rather an "action-oriented sets of beliefs" that would legitimate their power and help turn their ideals into reality.[44] They wanted

40. Ernest Reyer, "Revue musicale," *Journal des débats*, 27 September 1873.

41. See Antoine Marmontel, *Eléments d'esthétique musicale et considérations sur le beau dans les arts* (Paris: Heugel & fils, 1884), 259, 261, 275.

42. H. Eugène Carlu, *Etudes sur la république démocratique et morale* (Mantes: Beaumont, 1883), 6–15, 26.

43. Philip Pettit, *Republicanism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 281. See also chap. 1, n. 94.

44. In thinking about the internal divisions within France, Adorno's and Fredric Jameson's concept of ideology as a form of "identity thinking"—"a rigid opposition between the self or familiar, which is positively valorized, and the non-self or alien, which is thrust beyond the boundaries of intelligibility," as Terry Eagleton puts it—is not as useful as his own notion of an "action-oriented set of beliefs" in his *Ideology* (New York: Verso, 1991). Since ideas like

people to desire democracy and support the survival of the Republic. For this, they needed *mœurs* that brought personal meaning into the social arena and could adapt to multiple contexts and experiences as fluidly and relevantly as the concept of utility. Because this was long a concern of the Church as well, it was necessary to theorize *mœurs* from a specifically republican perspective. No one did this better than Jules Simon.

Although historians have given him little attention, Simon best represents the moral position of the *républicains opportunistes*, with links going back to Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Robespierre.[45] A student of Michelet's as well as a protégé of Victor Cousin's, Simon took on traditional notions of religion, public education, work, and the working class in numerous books, most of which appeared in multiple editions. Among the most important are *Le Devoir* (Duty) (1854; 8th ed., 1867) and *Dieu, patrie, liberté* (God, country, freedom) (1883).[46] Like his colleagues, Simon hoped that certain virtues and values, if understood as desirable and natural, would help people transcend their troubling social divisions, find internal cohesion, and stimulate long-lasting stability. In *Le Devoir*, he points to two sources of order in a society that combat or control internal differences: laws and *mœurs*. *Mœurs* has multiple meanings here. It refers to the habits, customs, manners, and practices of society, as well as those of individuals, whether they

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liberty, equality, and fraternity do not always connote the same things to everyone, ideology from this perspective is a process for producing "meanings, signs, and values in social life," a self-conscious construction in constant process of being negotiated and changed, depending on "who is saying what to whom for what purposes." It concerns "the actual uses of language between particular human subjects for the production of specific effects" (1–2, 5–6, 9, 126). This emphasis on the use of language harks back to the concerns of Aulard and the revolutionary orators and stresses the means of communication for instilling an ideology. It leaves room for differences rather than an insistence on absolute consensus, especially important during periods of dissent and instability.

45. Claude Nicolet discusses the origins of the moral aspect of republican ideology in his *L'Idée républicaine en France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982), esp. 492–97.

46. During the Second Empire, Jules Simon published editions of *Descartes* and *Nicolas Malebranche* and wrote book-length essays on religion (1856), political and civil liberty (1859), female workers (1861), popular instruction (1864), work (1866), radical politics (1868), the death penalty (1869), and the family (1869). During the Third Republic, he wrote books on politics, *L'Instruction gratuite et obligatoire* (1873), *La Réforme de l'enseignement secondaire* (1874), *Le Livre du petit citoyen* (1880), *Dieu, patrie, liberté* (1883), *Une Académie sous le Directoire* (1884), *Victor Cousin* (1887), and *La Femme* (1891), an introduction to the *Rapport du jury international: Exposition universelle internationale de 1878 à Paris*, as well as several memoirs. Simon was also a professor, journalist, and organizer of the 1878 Universal Exhibition and the labor section of the 1889 Exhibition. For an analysis of his ideas as they relate to arts policy, see Miriam R. Levin, *Republican Art and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986).

agree with the social norms or not. The word also connotes morals, or the beliefs and principles underlying behavior, encompassing not just practical wisdom, but also sacrifice and devotion.[47] *Mœurs*, like utility, articulate the malleable boundary between various interests in a society; at the same time, they negotiate a relationship between beliefs and behavior. In the context of postrevolutionary thinking about the permeability of private and public values, *mœurs* takes on a specific meaning for Simon. As he puts it, laws repress more than they prevent; they punish but don't destroy wrongful tendencies; they are only external forces and sometimes veil hatred and discord. *Mœurs*, by contrast, "make laws useless and disorder impossible; they lead everyone to conduct themselves voluntarily as the law would command." To the extent that people share certain *mœurs*, Simon posits, idealistically, citing Plato, every citizen should have "no other interest or care than the well-being of the Republic."[48]

The Revolution, Simon points out, was accomplished in the name of "liberty through the law" and "fraternity in *mœurs*."[49] Whereas laws had gone a long way toward assuring certain liberties, *fraternité*—the sense of belonging derived from family, but meaning more than blood ties among people, the belief in the existence of an emotional bond and solidarity among humans (related to the republican notion of *le peuple*)—remained "only a word." During the Revolution, some argued that fraternity came from sharing affections and called for a new "communal liturgy" in the huge outdoor festivals that brought people together to hear moral instruction and participate in patriotic singing and dancing.[50] But gradually the country's tendency to skepticism and sometimes hypocrisy undermined the trust underlying common values. The remedy, Simon argued, was education. *Fraternité*, he suggested, could only be engendered through reaching children at an early age, "no one having the will or the power to restrain the freedoms of a mature person."[51]

Among the values Simon believed would most encourage "fraternity in *mœurs*" was love of family,[52] which Cicero had defined as the foundation of the Roman

47. Félix Pécaut, *L'Education publique et la vie nationale* (Paris: Hachette, 1897), xxiii.

48. Jules Simon, *Le Devoir*, 8th ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1867), 187–88.

49. Ibid., 416. As Marie-Joseph Chénier pointed out in his *Rapport fait à la Convention nationale au nom du Comité d'instruction publique* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, an III [1794–95]), important new values like liberty not only needed wise laws to be strengthened, but also *mœurs* to be perpetuated.

50. Jean-Baptiste Leclerc, *Essai sur la propagation de la musique en France, sa considération, et ses rapports avec le gouvernement* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, an IV [1795–96]), 27, 28.

51. Simon, *Devoir*, 416–18.

52. Simon, *Dieu, patrie, liberté*, 12th ed. (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883), 298.

Republic. Ideally, the members of a family would feel active sympathy for one another. A father's love is the origin and source of all devotion, Simon asserted. Although in the late 1860s, he saw increasing individual freedom threatening the "spirit of family," what republicans wanted to encourage was not the "spirit of family as it existed in our old society," based on political and legal ties, but rather the "feelings and duties of family" emanating from "natural and moral" ties that needed strengthening.[53] Simon's point was to suggest that love of family gives rise to love of *patrie* (or fatherland)—something "useful for the prosperity of the state."[54] When asked in 1870, "Is Alsace German or French?" Fustel de Coulanges said that *patrie* is "what one loves."[55] Songs in republican school manuals later stressed a connection between home and love of family with *patrie* and love of country.[56] Such a loose definition allowed those using it to avoid potentially divisive political connotations, offend as few people as possible, and concentrate on what was shared. As a poet put it in 1875, "I was looking for meaning, I found it in love. . . . To love God, one's parents, and one's fellow man is to carry out the laws going back to the prophets."[57]

A problem arises, however, when different kinds of love clash, as when a family member needed at home is called upon to defend his country. Simon acknowledged these "principles and feelings that conflict with one another" as characteristic of complex, multifaceted people. Rejecting Stoic and Roman answers to this dilemma—necessarily choosing country over family—he proposed that "we must try to reconcile rather than stifle" these inner contradictions.[58] His key to resolving them was duty [*devoir*]. For Simon, duty was not a legal obligation or an implied contract, such as between soldier and country, requiring coercive means to ensure its enactment. It was a rational feeling that came naturally, expressing

53. See M. Guizot cited by Eugène Spuller in the introduction to his speeches, *Au Ministère de l'Instruction publique* (Paris: Hachette, 1888), xxi.

54. Simon, *Devoir*, 190. One should remember that Robespierre defined *patrie* as consisting of those who possessed "virtue," or morals.

55. Cited in Raoul Girardet, *Le Nationalisme français, 1871–1914* (Paris: Seuil, 1983), 64. Nicolet, *Idée républicaine*, 498–99, sees a "confusion of the spiritual and the temporal" in republican notions of *patrie* and attributes the attempted "sacralization" of the Republic and its politics to the use of such words.

56. See, e.g., in Adolphe-Léopold Danhauser, *Les Chants de l'école*, vol. 1 (Paris: Lemoine, 1881), "La Patrie" with text by Arrenaud: "La patrie est le foyer / Béni de notre enfance"; also in Oscar Petit and Charles Manso, *Chants scolaires du nord de la France* (Tourcoing: Rosoor-Delattre, 1885), "Hyme à la patrie (a school song for boys and girls): "Nous adorons la France / Du fond de notre Cœur . . . / La France est notre mère."

57. Télémaque-Charles Maureau, *Etude de l'Ordre moral* (Périgueux: Dupont, 1875).

58. Simon, *Devoir*, 188, 418–20.

a deeper concept of the person.[59] While we may think of duty as opposed to love, or, as Corneille depicts it, synonymous with glory, Simon saw it as the reflection and expression of love. In other words, whereas today we might think of duty as something we are bound to despite what we love, Simon understood duty as what we feel because of what we love. Love in this sense means putting the interests of others over self-interest.

Duty expresses love's extent and determines its limits.[60] Duty to family, other citizens, and the state, as Simon saw it, should shape one's will, behavior, and *mœurs* in the service of some interest greater than one's own. In his introduction to an 1880 school manual about civic instruction, the republican deputy Paul Bert wrote similarly that duty is what one learns when one loves and understands the motives and consequences of love, that is, how to give back.[61] Jules Ferry thought of duty as loving the *patrie* like a mother and obeying it like a father.[62] Late nineteenth-century French republicans saw duties as the natural consequence and companion of rights for individuals as well as governments. Earlier generations of republicans had concentrated on citizens' rights and worked to establish certain freedoms, but a pronounced need remained for more *fraternité* and the "teaching and promoting" of citizens' duties. Duty, the essence of one's utility to one's country, thus became central to the Third Republic's moral agenda.

By defining patriotism as an extension of familial feelings, and duty as patriotism in action, Simon turned ideas into feelings that seemed inborn, easily understood. They could be encouraged by education, but were not dependent on it. Such a notion neither derived from religious convictions, as it often did for the French Right, nor relied only on concepts of French greatness and pride, which charac-

59. Simon's concept of duty was influenced by Cousin, from whom he learned that "the voice that sometimes commands me to prefer suffering to pleasure and to sacrifice my own interest and even my life to the general interest is an inner voice that resounds from within my reason and speaks a different language than that of the world" (Simon, *Cousin*, 47). As such, duty comes from reason.

60. Although Simon advocated protecting love for family and country as "sanctuaries of our most tender feelings," he also believed that love should have limits. In the case of arguing that love for humanity prevents one from going to war, this love for humanity—loving everyone to justify loving no one in particular—is "only an illusion" (*Devoir*, 193–94). This harks back to the Revolution, when school manuals emphasized that "love of *patrie* must be our first duty and our first feeling." James A. Leith, "French Republican Pedagogy in the Year II," *Canadian Journal of History* 3, 1 (March 1968): 60.

61. Paul Bert, *L'Instruction civique à l'école* (Paris: Alcide Picard & Kaan, n.d.), 5, from Bert's speech to the Chambre on 6 December 1879 in which he proposed a new law introducing civic instruction into elementary schools. This little book stayed in print at least through its 29th edition (1905). In 1886, Bert was also resident-general of Annam and Tonkin, where he died.

62. Jean Foucambert, *L'Ecole de Jules Ferry* (Paris: Retz, 1986), 169.

terized patriotism for the extreme Left.[63] Patriotism, as articulated by Simon and Bert, helped republicans address feelings of naturalness and belonging on which many could agree. It spoke to their need for legitimacy and consensus. Simon later credited the "powerful inspiration of patriotism" with getting the French through the war of 1870, but he bemoaned the return of skepticism and patriotism's gradual retreat from their consciousness in the late 1880s.[64] The sociologist and philosopher Alfred Fouillée later agreed that patriotism was the best way to teach morality. However, he was more optimistic and rejoiced in how much patriotism had come to affect the hearts of French youth by the 1890s.[65]

MUSIC, MORALS, AND *MŒURS*

The French were divided over whether *mœurs* could be rationally and scientifically taught, or whether they are "not so much learned as inspired" or "breathed [*respirés*]." Novels and short stories published in installments in newspapers provided the masses and the bourgeoisie with various perspectives on their lives and suggestions for self-improvement. Simon, among others, believed that citizens had a duty to "develop their capacities through exercise and culture."[66] As more and more people learned to read (subscriptions to the working-class newspaper *Le Petit Journal* increased from 220,000 in 1872 to 700,000 in 1882), the press grew into an increasingly powerful influence on society's *mœurs*.[67]

Since the Revolution, music had been considered, not just a "thermometer of *mœurs*," but also, through affecting our feelings, a powerful influence on *mœurs*.[68] Some believed it could be extremely useful in instilling values, for, unlike print journalism (or poetry, from Plato's perspective), "it can't lie." Oscar Comettant explained:

> Of all the arts, music [that is, pure music, music without words] is the only one in which it is impossible to be dishonest, the only one that does not allow

63. Agulhon juxtaposes these two kinds of patriotism in his *French Republic, 1879–1992*, 5.

64. Jules Simon, *Nos Hommes d'état* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1887), chap. 1 on "La patrie," 5–10.

65. Alfred Fouillée, *Education from a National Standpoint*, trans. W. J. Greenstreet (New York: Appleton, 1892), 214–15.

66. Simon, *Devoir*, 390.

67. For contemporary French reading tastes and habits, see Anne-Marie Thiesse, *Le Roman du quotidien: Lecteurs et lectures populaires à la Belle Epoque* (Paris: Seuil, 2000).

68. In his "De l'enseignement public de l'art musical à l'époque moderne," *Ménestrel*, 15 October 1876, F.-A. Gevaert considers this idea so clear as not to need demonstration (365).

> for showing a perverse feeling or vicious thought. What is dishonesty? It is a transgression against the good and the just with which man is born and which makes up the conscience of every responsible being. To do something against the good and the just, one would have to struggle against one's conscience and, to hide it from others who disapprove, conceal it and, if necessary, lie. One cannot conceal or lie by means of music. . . . The only feelings it evokes are those of order and justice, along with the feeling of the beautiful. . . . Music is thus essentially an honest art, the most honest of all arts . . . because it lacks anything that could corrupt a weak mind by either the sight of external objects or nasty sophisms.[69]

Suggestive of the revolutionary notion of transparency in terms of music's capacity to influence people, music was thought not to lie because it has the capacity to communicate the unveiled truth.[70] As Antoine Marmontel put it, "the first law of the beautiful in the arts is *la vérité d'expression* [truthful expression], the idealized but also *living and true* manifestation of a thought, a passion."[71]

Truth for many late nineteenth-century French, especially Freemasons, meant moral truth, truths that both regulate and inspire *mœurs*.[72] The popular music weekly *Journal de musique*, perhaps to attract subscribers, echoed this in its first issue in 1876: "Alone among the arts, [music] is the translation of moral feelings. The cry of passion, the idealized accent of feeling makes a melody, the movement of the soul furnishes the rhythm."[73] That is, just as feelings are usually imprecise but understood through one's attitude or behavior, those "translated" by music, equally diffuse, are communicated through tone, accent, and movement. Republicans believed that music encouraging transparency to the truth gives rise to a taste for order and beauty in life as well as in art; it can express moral virtue and encourage progress. "Expressive truth" should be the "first quality" of French

69. 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), 410–11.

70. During the Revolution, transparency was understood as antithetical to theatricality, associated with appearances, dissimulation, corruption, and the hypocritical aristocratic culture of the Ancien Régime. While monarchists were thought to "hide their political and social action under the mask of religion," First and Third republicans looked to transparency, because linked to sympathy, as the basis for a new society. Fabre d'Eglantine believed that sympathy was the foundation of morality and the basis of all virtue and that the arts could nurture it. See Maslan, *Revolutionary Acts*, 4, 79, 121, and Eugène Spuller, *Hommes et choses de la Révolution* (Paris: Alcan, 1896), 301.

71. Marmontel, *Eléments d'esthétique musicale*, 246, 255.

72. Pécaut, *Education publique*, xxii.

73. *Journal de musique*, 21 October 1876, 2.

music, "transparency" the "essence" to which the young French musician should "cling as a soldier to his flag."[74]

What made the subject of music and *mœurs* of particular concern in the 1870s was the perceived threat to *mœurs* posed by popular culture, the "invasion of bad taste," as Minister of Public Instruction, Religion, and Fine Arts Agénor Bardoux called it, especially in urban centers. Both Moral Order politicians and republican educators attacked *cafés-concerts* for leading to the "ruin of *mœurs* as well as the ruin of music," their "antisocial and antimusical" nature making musicians "slaves to public whims."[75] They looked to art music to "strengthen resistance to the invasion . . . of bad taste, bad literature in all its forms, and especially *cafés-concerts*, the most formidable competitor of great music."[76] Some felt that its study taught one to "distinguish the expression of laudable and virtuous feelings from the expression of despicable and criminal ones."[77] Republicans and monarchists agreed on the need for an art that was "true" and "noble," an art that "consoles and fortifies," helping people to resist anything that would corrupt their spirit and their *mœurs*.[78] Legislators concurred that the goal of subsidizing music was "raising the level of art and reacting against the public's pronounced taste for light works of an inferior order, associated with periods of decadence."[79]

Because of its narrative use of these musical attributes, opera was particularly able to serve as an embodiment of *mœurs*.[80] No one questioned its capacity to represent. What was important was its transparency, not just to rational thinking, but also, and especially, to character and sentiment, as if these, perhaps more than ideas, were capable of influencing those of a listener. In opera, the simplest way to promote or reinforce certain *mœurs* was for the librettist to identify them with

74. Marmontel, *Eléments d'esthétique musicale*, 421; Victor Wilder, "Semaine théâtrale" (review of Massenet's *Eve*), *Ménestrel*, 20 April 1873, 163.

75. Albert Dupaigne, *Le Chant dans les écoles* (Paris: Delagrave, 1878), 12; Bardoux, *Journal officiel*, 15 February 1878, 1580.

76. Ibid., also cited in Ernest L'Epine, "A propos des auditions périodiques," *Ménestrel*, 24 February 1878, 103.

77. Adolphe le Doulcet, marquis de Pontécoulant, *La Musique à l'Exposition Universelle de 1867* (Paris: Art musical, 1868), 150.

78. A.-E. Vaucorbeil, "Mémoire présenté à l'Assemblée nationale," *Ménestrel*, 26 June 1874, 270.

79. M. de Tillancourt at the Assemblée nationale, cited in Henri Moreno [Henri Hengel], "Semaine théâtrale et musicale," *Ménestrel*, 2 August 1874, 275.

80. By referent, like Tia DeNora, I am less interested in what music may signify than in how it serves as "a cultural 'work space' for the articulation of meaning and action, a real structure upon which one can 'map' or 'hang' non-musical associations and activities." See DeNora, "The Musical Composition of Social Reality: Music, Action, and Reflexivity," *Sociological Review* 43 (May 1995): 306, 309.

sympathetic characters and for the composer to translate their feelings into music. With music and character serving as a ground for understanding one another, music and texts were "co-productive of each other." In other words, "we look for ways that the music 'illustrates' character and plot and we look for how plot and characterization help to clarify the dramatic import of the music."[81] If the words and music do not make the message clear, seeing the action on stage could suffice. Gounod once rejected a libretto he had commissioned from his longtime collaborator Jules Barbier because its final gesture seemed to condone adultery.[82]

To understand its ideological impact, however, one should not think of opera, even grand opera supported by the state, as propaganda. As Lacombe points out, it is the reception of the work in a given context that shapes its meaning.[83] Critics sometimes discuss the ideological dimensions of libretti, especially when patriotic. At other times, they ignore such issues. Summaries of libretti (which inevitably began all theatrical reviews, sometimes to serve as a "guide" for the musical analysis that follows)[84] made listeners aware of the situations and feelings with which they might identify, whether tragic or humorous, idealistic or caught up in the struggles of life. Reviews could also suggest what kind of imaginative leaps and compassion might be appropriate responses. As André Michael Spies has argued, such a context helped to define and promote values useful to the dominant elites precisely because it often implicitly reproduced their prejudices. To the extent that appealing, uncontroversial stories seemed ideologically neutral because they expressed the interests of the opera-going public, they would tend to encourage uncritical acceptance of their values.[85]

81. Ibid., 308. This argument has a long history in analysis of music-text productions, particularly of Wagner, and is most pertinent when music and text leave expressive space for one another. Not everyone, however, has agreed. In 1875 some critics believed that a libretto's language "matters little," especially since feelings can be expressed by music. For a discussion of this in nineteenth-century opera, see Lacombe, *Voies de l'opéra français,* 146 and chap. 6.

82. In his *Opera, State, and Society in the Third Republic, 1875–1914* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), based on studying 138 French operas, André Michael Spies makes a strong case for taking opera libretti seriously. He points out that Gounod rejected Barbier and Carré's adaptation of Dante's *Francesca da Rimini* because the last act portrayed Beatrice assuming Paolo and Francesca into heaven in spite of their illicit affair. In its place, Gounod set their libretto on a Christian martyr. *Polyeucte* premiered at the Opéra in 1878 (3, 4).

83. Hervé Lacombe, "The 'Machine' and the State," in *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera,* ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 35.

84. Paul Bernard, "Théâtre national de l'Opéra: *Le Roi de Lahore*," *Revue et gazette musicale,* 6 May 1877, 138.

85. Spies, *Opera, State, and Society,* 12–13. For Spies, this reinforced the cultural hegemony of French elites: "Unable to recognize their own values, conveyed through the medium of opera, the audience elites genuinely believed that opera had no ideological function. As long

Music by Meyerbeer, a Freemason, remained popular at the Opéra in the 1870s, as well as Gounod's *Faust* (1859), a Christian drama, which entered the Opéra's repertoire in 1869.[86] But it was perhaps Ambroise Thomas's *Mignon*, the most successful work at the Opéra-Comique from its premiere in 1866 through the next three decades, that best addressed the heart of Simon's concerns.[87] Jules Barbier and Michel Carré's libretto, based on Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, promoted a paternalist society structured by familial love. Mignon, we are told, comes from "a faraway country"; her origins are as unclear as those of Maeterlinck's Mélisande. As the male characters point out, she is the embodiment of "grace and charm," but also innocent, simple, and, above all, naïve. The men around her constantly refer to her as a "poor child," and she implicitly calls on men (and God) to protect her. When the gypsies trot her out to dance at a tavern, she prays to the Virgin Mary, but it is two men who come to her defense, Lothario and Wilhelm. The latter subsequently buys her freedom. When Wilhelm asks her about her name, her age, and her parents, the music pulls back. Rather than lively, rhythmically punctuated recitative, Mignon responds that she doesn't know, in a series of bare, repeated C♯s, alone and accompanied by a violin, that suggests her lack of voice as well as touching simplicity (ex. 4a). This recalls Marguerite's song on a single note in the garden scene of *Faust*, when she wonders who Faust is.[88] But when Mignon remembers her home and begins to dream of it, she modulates to D♭ major and sings a strophic song *dolce* with a lilting boatlike rhythm in 6/8 expressing nostalgia for her homeland, "Connais-tu le pays où fleurit l'oranger" (ex. 4b).

Thomas's achievement lay not only in the easily remembered tunes, but also in the manner in which his music translates character, its expressivity communicating

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as the opera repertoire bore messages compatible with their interests, critics, librettists, audiences, and the Tout-Paris of the opera failed to remark that it did so, because such messages seemed to them to be common sense, and therefore unremarkable" (177). Such an observation recalls current race theory focused on the blindness many whites have to race when it applies to themselves.

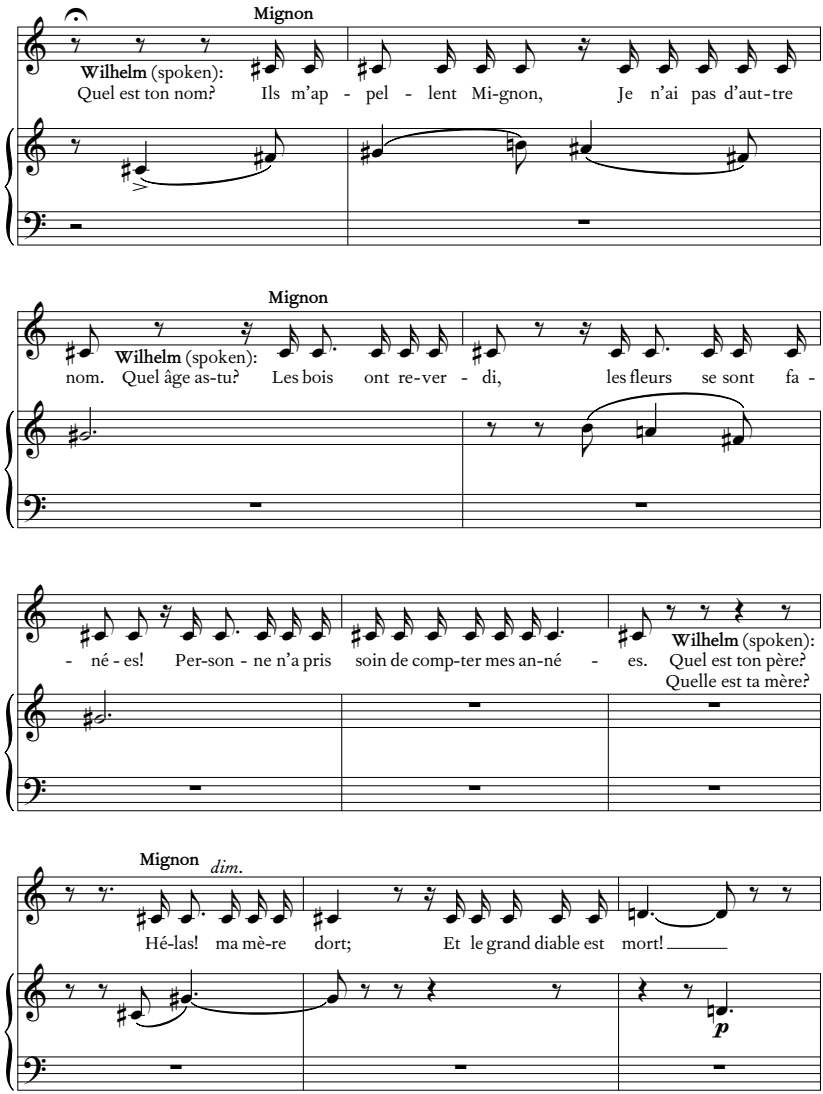
86. The Opéra produced a thousand performances of *Les Huguenots* by 1903 and of *Faust* by 1905.

87. Reputedly Jules Barbier had written the libretto for Meyerbeer, who found it too light, and then offered it to Gounod, who found it too serious.

88. Steven Huebner points out in "Gounod," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie et al. (New York: Grove, 2001), "how bold the understated first appearance of Marguerite" in the first act of *Faust* appeared to early audiences. In their "*Faust* et *Mignon* face à la presse" in *Sillages musicologiques*, ed. Philippe Blay and Raphaëlle Legrand (Paris: Conservatoire national de Paris, 1997), Marie-Hélène Coudroy-Saghaï and Hervé Lacombe see this simple writing as the effect of a *science rentrée;* the grace of these charming works is the result of their composers' immense erudition and knowledge (103).

EX. 4 Thomas, *Mignon* (1866), act 1.

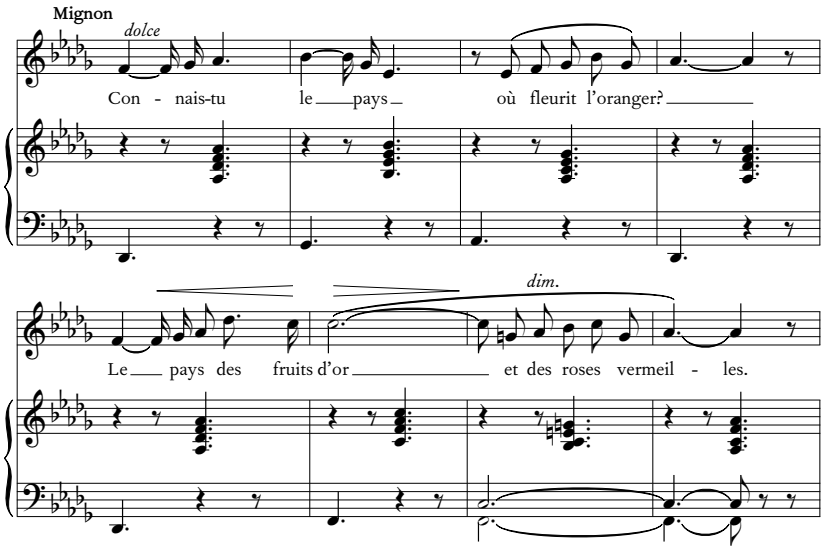
a. Recitative, Wilhelm and Mignon. When Wilhelm first meets Mignon, the scene turns from traditional recitative, accompanied by a momentary orientalist passage, to one of extreme simplicity and weighty suspense as Mignon sings on a single pitch.



EX. 4 *(continued)*

b. "Connais-tu le pays où fleurit l'oranger?"

In this famous romance from act 1, Mignon answers Wilhelm's questions about her past by singing of her homeland, painting a picture of a land with "an eternal spring under an ever-blue sky." "It is there," she tells us in the refrain, "that I would like to live, to love, and to die."

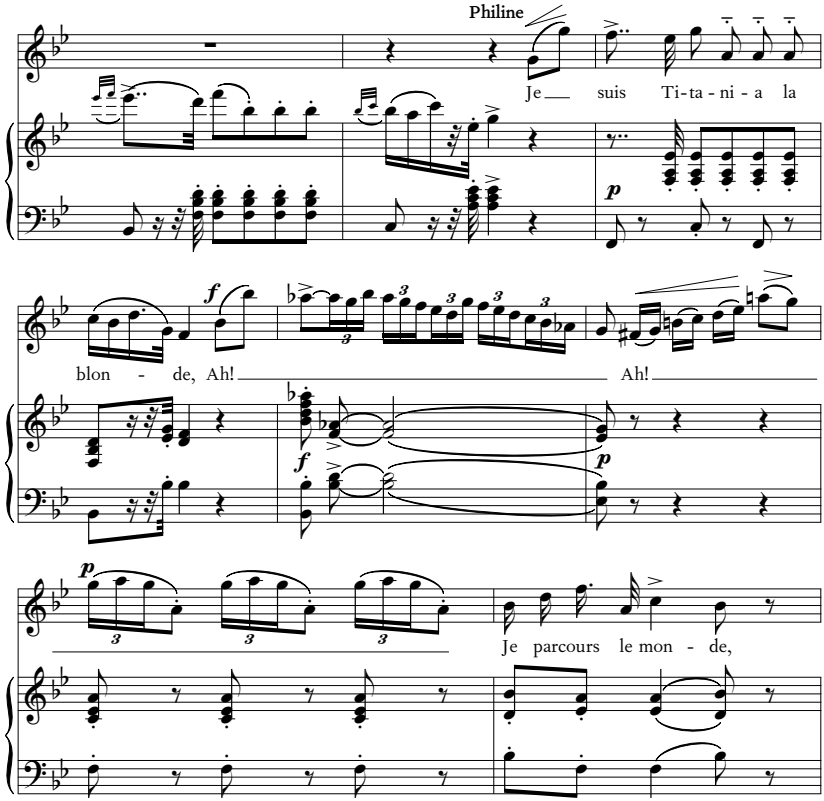


truth.[89] The laughter and exuberant vocalises of Philine, whose tunes often include leaping octaves, grace notes, and virtuoso showmanship and borrow rhythms of the polka and waltz, give musical form to her seductive playfulness, pride, and self-confidence (ex. 5). In contrast, Mignon's mezzo voice and more restrained melodic lines suggest her modest, pious, affectionate, and docile nature, as well as her touching sadness. The contrast of music underlines that of character. The challenge of listening involves negotiating one's attraction to Philine's gaiety, laughter, and liveliness with one's empathy for Mignon's sweetness amid her suffering and loneliness. In act 3, Wilhelm must rise to this challenge when Philine's music interrupts his love duo with Mignon. There is irony here for, as Mignon and Wilhelm

89. A critic for *Ménestrel*, 8 March 1868, noted that Mignon, Philine, and others "have a way of expressing themselves musically specific to each of them and analogous to their temperament as well as the situations. This individualization of the elements of lyric drama, including the instrumentation accompanying each of them, is a new concept whose success is complete." Cited in Elisabeth Rogeboz-Malfroy, *Ambroise Thomas, ou la tentation du lyrique* (Besançon: Cêtre, 1994), 217.

EX. 5 Thomas, *Mignon*, act 2, "Je suis Titania la blonde."

At this point in act 2 of *Mignon*, the theater troupe has just performed Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, with Philine in the role of Titania, queen of the fairies. After the performance, crowds cheer for Philine with cries of "Philine is truly divine!" Intoxicated by her success, she reprises her role by singing this virtuoso polonaise, in which her own character blends with that of Titania.



sing of their happiness, three out of every four measures of their opening melody are unstable, with an accented second beat emphasized by leaping up an interval of a sixth. Still, in the end, he chooses her naïve sincerity and innocence over the manipulative charms of the "beautiful enchantress" Philine, and Mignon wins the wealthy, educated Wilhelm as her husband. She also learns that Lothario is her father, the marquis of Cipriani. At the end of the opera, they sing the last lines of her nostalgic strophic song at the octave. With father and the fatherland recuperated, she turns out to be one of "us" and thanks God as the curtain falls.

Although in an earlier version, and one written for the German stage, she dies

overwhelmed by happiness, the librettists changed Goethe's ending to accommodate the conventions of the Opéra-Comique, replacing the death of the young woman with her marriage. Families loved the opera, with its implicit elevation of bourgeois values and normative gender roles: modesty, sincerity, sweetness and restraint in women and dependence on men for their identity; confidence and protective benevolence in men. With a story about a search for origins, the importance of faith as a conduit to truth, and the attendant implications of social stability, such an opera articulated terms on which the bourgeoisie, otherwise divided by politics, might agree. Audiences attended 100 performances in its first eight months. Between 1866 and its 1,000th performance on 13 May 1894, it never left the repertoire of the Opéra-Comique and was performed there an average of 35 times a year (fig. 20).

Thomas's influence on music and, through music, on French *mœurs* was institutionalized in spring 1871, when Daniel Auber died and Simon was forced to appoint a new director of the Paris Conservatoire. Thomas did not nominate himself, but he felt "public opinion" had already chosen him.[90] And he was right. Thomas was ideal for the job. He had been born in Metz in 1811, a city in Lorraine recently lost to the Germans, with the surrender of an army of 140,000, one of the great catastrophes of the war. To defend his country, he had served in the army in 1848 and again in 1871 at the age of 60. He was a patriot, albeit a conservative, and an ideal representative of Moral Order compromise, someone committed to the country's traditions as well as its regeneration. Thomas had an impressive background as composition professor at the Conservatoire and as member of the Académie des beaux-arts since 1851, when he'd been elected on the first ballot over Berlioz. Highly respected by the most prestigious artists in the country since his stay at the Académie de France in Rome, in 1855, he had served as president of the Institut. Moreover, Thomas had written fifteen choruses for amateur singers in *orphéons* and was known for *opéra-comique*, the quintessential French genre. His first success at the Opéra came with *Hamlet* (1868), a work based on Shakespeare, but cast to foreground bourgeois values: a son's duty to avenge his father's wrongful death and the fragile inconstancy of women. With it, Thomas established his reputation as "the most brilliant representative of the French school."[91] In choosing

90. Arthur Pougin, "Ambroise Thomas, notes et souvenirs," *Ménestrel*, 16 February 1896, 51–52. Jules Simon explains in "Ambroise Thomas," in id., *Figures et croquis* (Paris: Flammarion, n.d.), 335, that although at first he hesitated between Gounod and Reber, he decided on Thomas in part because Thomas had experience as inspector-general of fine arts. He needed *un savant et un patriarche*, and Gounod agreed. See Rogeboz-Malfroy, *Ambroise Thomas*, 55–56.

91. *Ménestrel*, 3 March 1868, cited in Rogeboz-Malfroy, *Ambroise Thomas*, 47. By March 1874, *Hamlet* had received 100 performances in Paris, and by 1883, 200.

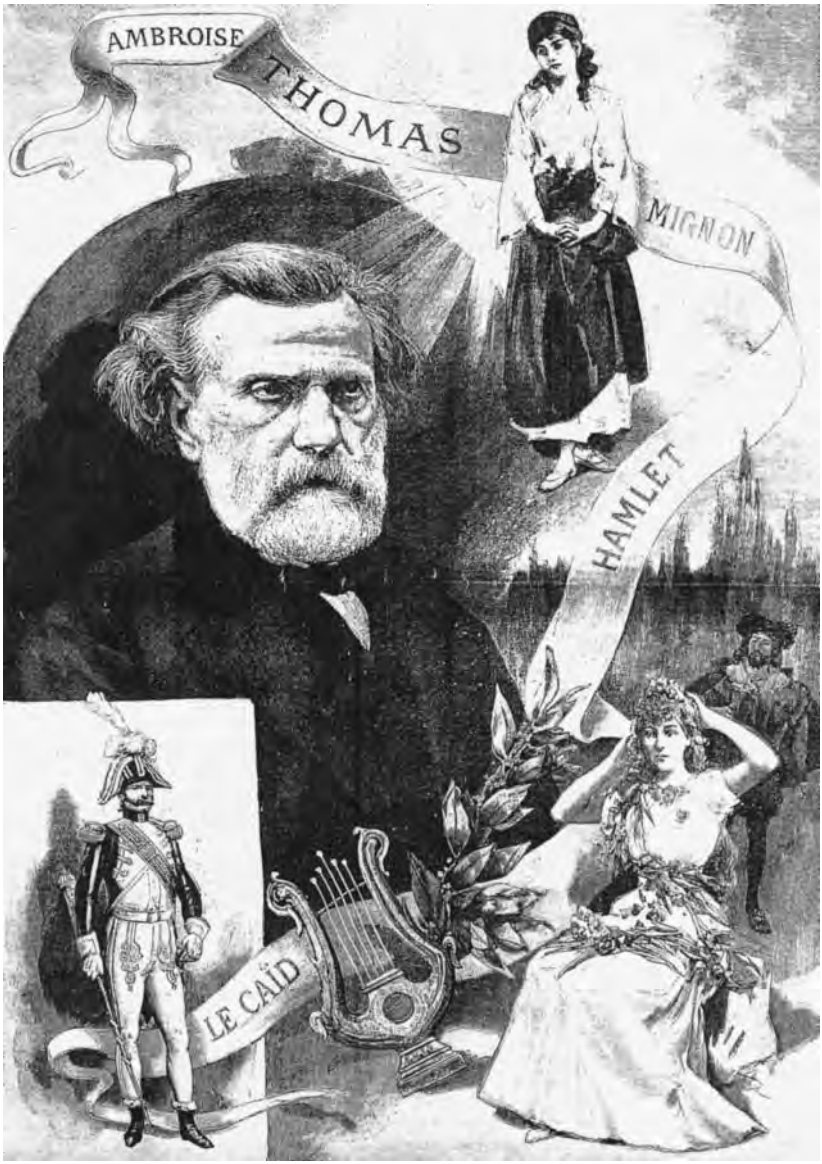


FIG. 20 The thousandth performance of Ambroise Thomas's *Mignon*. Illustrated supplement of *Le Petit Journal*, 13 May 1894.

This image, published in a newspaper supplement oriented to the working class, features operas that Thomas wrote about three kinds of characters: a poor, simple woman, a noble couple, and a military officer. These suggest a certain balance in his operatic subjects: female and male, poor and rich, simple and elegant and helps explain their immense popularity over time to a broad range of people, both in France and abroad.

Thomas, Simon assured a strong foundation for traditional values in the training of the country's finest musicians, especially since he remained as director until his death in 1896, and as president of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, the country's premiere orchestra and chorus. In hiring his own ex-students to fill its most important positions, Thomas ensured continuity into the next century.[92] Simon later praised Thomas, not only for his administrative skill, but also for reestablishing respect in the institution for "old as well as new masters," guarding against any spirit of exclusion, and caring for students like a father.[93]

Beyond Thomas's operas, in the immediate postwar period, many new compositions provided explicit ways to make Simon's ideals of fraternity and love of *patrie* accessible, understandable, and desirable to the population at large, including works expressing conflict between individual and collective interests. Leaders of the new Republic thought patriotic works in particular would inspire a sense of unity in the country, as during the Revolution, and confer emotional legitimacy. Among the many explicitly patriotic pieces was Gounod's very popular motet *Gallia: Lamentation* (1871), a work that combines patriotism and religious sentiment. After its premiere in London and then by an amateur chorus in Paris,[94] concert programs throughout France featured it. For this large choral and orchestral work, whose themes are both grief and revenge, Gounod wrote both words and music: "The idea came to me to represent France as she was, not only conquered and crushed, but also outraged, insulted, violated by the insolence and brutality of her enemy. I thought of Jerusalem in ruins, the moaning of the prophet Jeremiah, and on the first verses of Lamentations, I wrote a biblical elegy called *Gallia*."[95]

Ideally, the work helps listeners bond through mutual pain and suffering and find strength in that connection. The vocal writing is largely syllabic, so that the

92. Thomas's students included Théodore Dubois, hired in 1871 to teach harmony, later composition, and from 1896 to 1905, to direct the Conservatory; Massenet as composition professor beginning in 1878; Lenepveu as teacher of harmony in 1880 and composition in 1894; Lavignac as teacher of solfège as of 1875 and harmony in 1895; and Bourgault-Ducoudray as professor of music history starting in 1878, among others. César Franck's appointment in 1872 as organ professor is often cited as an example of Thomas's openness to diverse aesthetics. See Rogeboz-Malfroy, *Ambroise Thomas*, 60–61, for twenty other appointees.

93. Simon, *Figures et croquis*, cited in Rogeboz-Malfroy, *Ambroise Thomas*, 58.

94. Guillot de Sainbris's Choral Society gave the French premiere on 23 July 1871. Thereafter, it was the Société des concerts' "principal commentary on the siege and the Commune," according to D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 291–92.

95. Cited from his autobiography, 36–37, in J.-G. Prod'homme and A. Dandelot, *Gounod: Sa vie et ses œuvres d'après des documents inédits* (Paris: Delagrave, 1911), 123.

impact of the words can be fully heard;[96] the large orchestra, including four horns and three trombones, functions principally as support for the singers. As the four-part chorus sings, "Here is the city, the queen of all cities, alone, empty," the orchestra maintains a single chord on G until the cadence—a musical emblem of tenacity. It does so similarly for "Her children cry day and night." When they sing of "a river of tears," string figurations intervene between the words as if to tone-paint. Then when the chorus asks God, "the avenger," for "pardon" (*grâce*) and arms "against the insolent conqueror," the music proceeds in two- and four-measure blocks, sometimes abruptly juxtaposing different sonorities or alternating between one set of instruments and another without any transition, both groups fortissimo. This serves to build a sense of growing power and strength, a metaphor of what was needed to return to war. Although the religious text is addressed to Catholic France, the use of music to help people to come together in feelings greater than themselves and rebuild the country's trust and self-confidence harks back to the revolutionaries' understanding of grandeur in music and constitutes one of the most characteristic aspects of the "heroic style" *(style héroïque)* in French music of the time.

The conservative consensus of the Moral Order stimulated a response in the musical world that built on this sense of national fraternity, especially in the use of Joan of Arc to promote shared notions of patriotism, heroism, and the need for revenge *(revanche)*. Joan, who had emboldened her vanquished countrymen and led them to glory in the fifteenth century, was a model with whom many could identify and from whom the French could take inspiration. She was also a malleable symbol. Monarchists linked her with the Catholic Church, part of their base of support. Joan listened to God through angels' singing voices and followed His orders—a significant example of the power of music. In 1875, Pope Pius IX wrote the preface to a book on Joan by France's minister of public education, religion, and fine arts, concluding, "We hope that readers will learn from Joan's obedience, resolution, and suffering that it is always useful and glorious to submit to the will of God and serve one's country well."[97] Meanwhile, republicans recognized Joan's agency: she was a fighter, although a simple peasant from Lorraine. A heroine of the people, she represented masculine pride, strength, and determination.

96. As superintendent of singing instruction for Paris city schools and director of their choral society for years, Charles Gounod had learned "to utilize large masses of vocal sound so as to develop the maximum of sonority under very simple methods of treatment." *Autobiographical Reminiscences*, trans. W. Hely Hutchinson (New York: Da Capo, 1970), 149.

97. H. Wallon, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876), ii. The pope's letter is dated 25 October 1875.

Jules Barbier's play with Gounod's music, first performed at the Théâtre de la Gaîté on 8 November 1873, and Auguste Mermet's opera, the first work premiered at the new Palais Garnier in 1876, are two among many works about Joan of Arc performed under the Moral Order government. In his review of the former, the theater critic Auguste Vitu confirmed its patriotic appeal: "Alas, the disasters of recent times have made the story of Joan, *la bonne Lorraine*, only too contemporary. . . . I cannot speak of this pious girl without emotion, she who saved her country with the sword and the cross and who, in the middle of the rubble of medieval France, founded the religion of *la patrie*."[98] Republicans erupted at the premiere when the singers referred to the French as "the first people on earth," some in the upper galleries singing the revolutionary "Ça ira."

Other than several marches and the crucial "melodrama" scenes, Gounod's music is almost entirely choruses. An intimation perhaps of a certain ideal of the people—their unity of mind and spirit—all the choral scenes are largely homophonic and homorhythmic, with much of the music easily singable; members of the chorus sing together, sometimes in unison, perhaps to encourage the audience to imagine their participation in the drama. Some serve narrative purposes, most drive home the central message of the work, the need for collective action. In some ways, the work reaches out to republican interests. Pougin points to Méhul's music for Chénier's *Timoléon* as a predecessor to this "alliance of music and drama" wherein both maintain their integrity.[99] Others, including Victorin Joncières and Adolphe Jullien, note references in the work to Méhul's "Chant du départ." But some complained that Gounod had also imitated himself too much in this work, making no effort at any renewal.[100] Nonetheless at the premiere, "everybody applauded, everybody cried."[101] The work was performed thirty times through February 1874.

Mermet's *Jeanne d'Arc* reiterates these themes of duty, obedience, and courage and, like other works about Joan, gives a large place to marches and choruses. But here Joan appears simple and domestic, made the more so by love stories added to the tale. Her self-image as weak is important, for it implies that she is not a strong individual by herself and that only in fulfilling her "duty," that is, in obeying the

98. Auguste Vitu, "Premières représentations: Gaîté. *Jeanne d'Arc*," *Figaro*, 11 November 1873.

99. Arthur Pougin, "Semaine théâtrale," *Ménestrel*, 9 November 1873, 395–96.

100. Most critics focused on references in the work to Méhul's "Chant du départ," marches from Halévy's *La Juive* and Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*, and Gounod's own *Gallia*, *Faust* (the church scene), and *Reine de Saba*, Prod'homme and Dandelot found in a survey of fifteen reviews of the first performance (*Gounod: Sa vie et ses œuvres*, 147–49).

101. Un Monsieur de l'orchestre, "*Jeanne d'Arc*," *Figaro*, 11 November 1873.

angels' voices and promising "her life to France, her soul to God" does she find strength within herself. Musically, Mermet reinforces this sense of weakness by depicting her conversion as slow and gradual. The opera ends unlike most other works about her: Joan, despite a dream of burning at the stake, goes off to save France. This suggests that the salvation of France (in its current state of despair) may yet lie ahead. In the early 1890s, concurrent with another alliance of traditional conservatives and the Church, Joan returned to the French stage in a revival of the Barbier-Gounod collaboration, along with many new works about her. [102]

Love stories in opera helped promote the notion of love as the basis of patriotism. Many of these dwell on what Simon discusses—what happens when love between a man and a woman clashes with love for one's country. Predictably, such works often revolve explicitly around the idea of duty and suggest what its obligations imply. The opposition of love and duty was not only the basis of French classical drama (Corneille) and a theme recurring in music history (Lully and Gluck), but also a quintessential republican preoccupation. Libretti chosen for composers to set to music in their final exams at the Conservatoire often revolved around such a conflict. The 1872 cantata libretto *Calypso,* for example, centers on how duty to country is more powerful than love for a woman. Calypso fights her lover's call to leave for the sake of "duty" and "glory" by setting fire to his ship.

After the institution of the new constitution in 1875, some composers turned to Judith as a model for a patriotism and duty different from that embodied by Joan of Arc. Judith, as the Bible depicts her, is renowned for her tremendous strength of character. Like Joan of Arc, through prayer, Judith calls on God's strength to overcome her natural weakness. But in the libretto and music for the 1876 Prix de Rome competition, Judith, unlike Joan, looks to feminine charm as the key to conquering her enemies. The irony of their different intentions remains hidden as Judith and the king seduce one another with almost the same words and imitative patterns in the music. In Charles Lefebvre's three-act opera (1873–76), Judith is praised for her "grace and beauty"; she seems almost French. In this, Ernest Reyer's *Salammbô* (begun in 1875), and Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila* (1868–77), Judith and strong women like her are arguably allegories for a new kind of power associated with republicans coming into power, also possibly meant to reignite fervor for return to war.

In the wake of the defeat by Prussia and the Commune, music thus could help the French reconceive their strengths as a people. With its depiction of strong women

102. See chapter 12 below and my *Useful Music* (the forthcoming second book in this trilogy), which contains a chapter on Joan of Arc music.

and in genres ranging from patriotic choruses to opera, it encouraged imagination of a weakened people as strong—important to Legitimists, Bonapartists, and republicans alike. Although female, Joan and Judith exert agency. They also subsume private desires to public interests and in doing so show how to be transparent to the general will. However, while music about both Joan and Judith echoes Simon's bold and unusual concept of duty as a form of love, in the former, divine love is connected to duty, whereas in the latter, human love is a foil for duty. The example of Judith suggests that love of one's country must be as strong and as passionate as love for a beautiful, seductive woman. It is possible that even love stories without explicit patriotic content were valued for teaching about the nature of love, the basis of republican *mœurs*. Through love, a citizen's duties and rights come into harmony. To the extent that people empathized or identified with these models of love, the operas both expressed and embodied a political point of view and a certain consensus about French identity. As works on Joan gave way to works on Judith, music recorded shifts in the country's self-image.[103]

REPUBLICAN PEDAGOGY, CULTURAL INTEGRATION, AND CITIZENSHIP

In addition to addressing the challenges of consensus and legitimacy, the country needed ways to help people transcend their differences, revive their faith in one another, and pull together in ways distinct from those provided by religion. Yet addressing the state's needs in the context of internal dissension was not an obvious approach, given its long habit of trying to impose unity by decree. Some steps at finding common ground, however, were successful—the military, education, and especially music. Before radical changes could be made to public education, music offered a relatively neutral terrain to work out differences and discover commonalities. It was particularly valuable because it could reach children as well as adults, women as well as men, workers and the petite bourgeoisie as well as the elites. And it did not alienate some more than others or require speaking the same language or dialect.

In 1872, the Chambre des députés made three years of military service obligatory for all young men over 20. Although there were exemptions, and the aristocracy still dominated the higher ranks, military service leveled many kinds of differences and provided common experiences for large segments of the population.

103. See chapter 12 below, *Useful Music*, and Jann Pasler, "Politics, Biblical Debates and Judith in French Music after 1870," in *The Sword of Judith: Essays, Sources, Images*, eds. Elena Ciletti, Henrike Lähnemann, and John Nassichuk (forthcoming).

For many, the army was consubstantial with *la patrie* and all that it represented, a kind of "school of national *fraternité*," in which divisions in the population were subsumed under a higher cause.[104] In place of the revolutionary notion of nation as unifying principle, republican writers and propagandists preferred *patrie*, an older, less politically tainted concept of the country that was seen as stretching back to the Gauls and Franks. With this focus on *patrie* came ideas on which Catholics and anticlerical republicans could agree: not only love of country, but also the importance of military virtues and belief in France's civilizing influence around the world.

Since it reached all the population, republicans invested their greatest hope in pedagogy. At the most basic level, illiteracy, as Simon saw it, disinherited people. Teaching everyone to read and write would ensure that everyone was part of the "family" of humanity.[105] Republicans considered education and instruction keys to the country's regeneration, progressive forces that would lead to the moral and intellectual improvement of all humanity. Because they believed, like their revolutionary and Saint-Simonian predecessors, that people adapt and grow in response to their environment, they saw secular education as helping people adopt the *mœurs* that would render them happy. This would shape their identity and behavior.[106] Like Auguste Comte and John Stuart Mill, republicans also trusted that "man can, by his own efforts, save himself."[107] This implied faith in reason and confidence in a person's ability to determine his or her own destiny. Republican pedagogy thus focused on teaching people to observe evidence and look for causes and laws, that is, to examine, judge, and seek the natural order of things. As Inspector-General of Public Instruction Félix Pécaut put it in 1871, "the function of the state is to use instruction to place man in a position to develop himself."[108] As such, citizens' first duty was to self-instruct themselves. A process not dependent on schools or literacy, this could include musical performance and concert attendance.

Many motivations underlie this interest. The older generations were exhausted from years of political turmoil and losses suffered during the Franco-Prussian

104. In his *Problèmes politiques du temps présent 1900*, E. Faguet remarks, "*La patrie* is the army and the army is *la patrie*. . . . The army is, in the precise sense of the word, the conscience of the nation." Cited in Raoul Girardet, *La Société militaire de 1815 à nos jours* (Paris: Perrin, 1998), 157–58.

105. Simon, *Dieu, patrie, liberté*, 298.

106. *Grand dictionnaire universel*, ed. Pierre Larousse (Paris, ca. 1872), 7: 204, 210.

107. Nicolet, *Idée républicaine*, 501. For an extended study of the influence of Comte and others on Ferry, Gambetta, and Littré, see chap. 6.

108. Félix Pécaut, *Etudes au jour le jour sur l'Education nationale, 1871–1879* (Paris: Hachette, 1879), 35, 44.

War. They saw youth as their hope, the most important resource in the country,[109] and also understood the need to educate adults about the advantages of republican values. Attributing the German success at Sedan to the vitality of the German educational system, which was both progressive and secular, some thought strengthening French schools would prepare the country for a stronger, more secure future. For education to help heal the nation, they thought, it should educate the whole person, character and spirit along with intellect. Many also hoped a common education would bridge differences in the population, dispel inequalities, and promote a common language across vast provincial differences, a goal articulated during the Revolution but not yet realized. Education would help "domesticate" the working class needed by industry, ideally replacing their oppression and desire to revolt with their cooperation.[110] By opening the doors of higher education to the lower classes, it would broaden what might be thought of as the middle class and allow the country to benefit from a wider range of talents. As Jules Ferry put it in 1870, republican leaders believed that only with a sufficiently educated population could universal male suffrage lead to a "healthy democracy."[111]

Formal and informal education in its various modes—in school, at home, and through art—promised to solve the need for cultural integration by imbuing common notions of truth, history, and national interest. Walking around Paris, visitors as well as residents can notice the statues and street names alluding to people the French want remembered, even today a surprising number of them French musicians—five from the Revolution and fifty from the nineteenth century.[112] Patriotic figures esteemed during the early Third Republic abound, especially Joan of Arc on her horse across from the Tuileries garden on the rue de Rivoli and in front of the Saint-Augustin Church (fig. 21). Like medieval religious leaders who used sculpture and stained-glass windows in their cathedrals to teach stories from the Bible and the good deeds of the saints, republicans used such symbols to remind the French populace of their heroes and heroines and to commemorate critical moments in their history. Like everything else in nineteenth-century

109. "Rapport adressé à M le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, des cultes, et des beaux-arts par M le Directeur des Beaux-Arts," 6 August 1878, published as a supplement to Ministère de l'instruction publique, des cultes, et des beaux-arts, *Bulletin, 1877–78* (Paris: Société anonyme de publications périodiques, 1878).

110. Foucambert, *Ecole de Ferry*, 49.

111. From his "Discours sur l'égalité dans l'education" (April 1870), cited in Odile Rudelle, "Jules Ferry et le gouvernement de la République," in *Jules Ferry, fondateur de la République*, 132. Jules Ferry was elected *député* from Paris in 1869.

112. See the list in Nigel Simeone, *Paris: A Musical Gazette* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000), 259–62.

FIG. 21 Emmanuel Frémiet, statue of Jeanne d'Arc, rue de Rivoli, Paris.

Frémiet created this statue in 1874. This depiction of Jeanne suggests her rise in public esteem in France during the nineteenth century, particularly in that it is an equestrian statue—an honor reserved for great military heroes. Her zeal on behalf of both God and country enabled her to stand as an emblem of the conservative Moral Order, and, more recently, of the Front National.

France, these changed over time, depending on which government was in power and the symbols it wished to elevate.[113] But their pedagogical function did not.

Ideally, republicans hoped education would also encourage social reconciliation, collective idealism, and emotional solidarity, while assuring continuity of republican values over time. Reporting on the 1878 Universal Exhibition, its organizer, Jules Simon, made one's utility to the country dependent on one's education:

> In our current society, everyone must walk or run. Whoever stops is lost. Progress is everywhere. No one is permitted to rest . . . all must now go to school. Before there were battles between peoples, now it is science winning these battles. Who knows the most can do the most. Who can do the most is

113. For example, the statue of Louis XIV in the Place Vendôme was replaced by a statue of Liberty during the Revolution and later by an imitation of Trajan's Column, originally crowned with a statue of Napoléon as Caesar. An enormous fleur-de-lis was substituted for the emperor under Louis XVIII, but Louis-Philippe later restored a statue of Napoléon. The Commune took the whole column down in 1871, but in 1874, under impetus from the political Right, seeking to revive a symbol of French military victories, it was rebuilt. For discussion of the reconstruction, see Jane Mayo Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State (1866–1874)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 193–94.

the master. The people who have the best schools are the number one people. If they are not today, they will be tomorrow. . . .

Listen well, citizens, you must study or go under. There is no longer any place in the world for a useless people; there is no place among any people for a useless citizen. No one has the right to stop, no one has the right to rest, no one has the right to be ignorant.

Let us begin the holy crusade, the crusade of science. There is no superiority or security other than by it. We must run or die.[114]

As Gambetta put it in a speech on 2 February 1876, "What constitutes a true democracy is not recognizing equals, it is making them."[115] When republicans took control of the Chambre des députés only weeks later, they took on as many forms of education as possible, seeking to transform what had been the domain of the Church or the home into the public interest. Because significant changes were impossible until a republican government was fully installed in 1879, republicans hoped to influence other educational modes in French society, especially the arts.

THE UTILITY OF ARTS EDUCATION

In 1870, when the minister of public instruction simultaneously became minister of fine arts, major changes ensued. Undoing the reforms of 1863, President Thiers restored much of the power over the arts to the Académie des beaux-arts and appointed an academician as director of fine arts.[116] At first this administration—run by Catholics, conservative republicans, and academicians—stressed the production of art, particularly inspired by the Great Tradition. In November 1871 the government also restored jurisdiction over the Prix de Rome to the Académie and reestablished the history landscape competition. In 1875, however, the *opportuniste* deputy Edouard Charton proposed a closer relationship between art and public education.[117] And at the inauguration of the Conseil supérieur des beaux-arts that

114. Jules Simon, "Introduction," in *Rapports du jury international* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1880), 459, 576.

115. Nicolet, *Idée républicaine*, 492.

116. Charles Blanc, founder of the *Gazette des beaux-arts* in 1859, a member of the Académie and long a champion of the Grand Tradition, was first director of fine arts under the Third Republic from 1870 to 1873; he was succeeded by Marquis Philippe de Chennevières from 1873 to 1878. See Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), chap. 2.

117. Michael Orwicz, "Anti-Academicism and State Power in the Early Third Republic," *Art History* 14, 4 (December 1991): 572.

year, Minister of Public Instruction, Religion, and Fine Arts Henri-Alexandre Wallon proclaimed, "the fine arts have a rank equal to that of the sciences and letters."[118] In a culture that valued science highly and in which idealism and positivism intersected for many republicans, this meant a lot. It underlay their belief that taste was teachable and worth teaching. Noting that the state "teaches the arts as it teaches literatures and sciences," "buys works of art just as it buys books," and "creates museums as it creates librairies," as the arts administrator Gustave Larroumet once put it, they envisaged the arts as a "public service" with a function not unlike that of the public schools. This idea of service was the first definition of the role of the arts in a democratic society.[119]

Acknowledging their educational potential, republican leaders first focused on *dessin*. Miriam Levin explains that this term combines the active characteristics of drawing with the organizational implications of design. Citing Talleyrand's suggestion in 1791 for this to be part of elementary school reform, some saw it as a form of social engineering for the lower classes, giving them "an accurate eye, a sure hand, and good habits, for these are the elements of all the trades."[120] Indeed when it was instituted in schools during the Revolution, *dessin* quickly became one of the most popular classes, attended in particular by sons of artisans.[121] It was introduced in state schools in 1833, but only on a limited scale, and then eliminated under the Second Empire in 1850. Republicans wished to extend its instruction to everyone as a universal language that taught students to observe the world around them. As Levin notes, it would bring them "out of a state of self-absorption into active discourse with the surrounding world," helping them perceive relationships between subjective experience and its equivalent in reality. *Dessin* also confronted students with the fact that "perfection in a product and in life consisted of the precision and balance attained among the various elements, not in the erasure of distinctions." It emphasized being "self-critical in the organization of empirical information," that is, not copying details but analyzing parts and the relationship of parts to whole—learning methodologies that still characterize education in

118. Genet-Delacroix, *Art et Etat*, app. 2, 328.

119. Gustave Larroumet, *L'Art et l'Etat en France* (Paris: Hachette, 1895), 291–95. He traces these ideas back to Edouard Charton's 1875 speech cited in n. 117 above. The notion of public service refers to both the social demands it is meant to address as well as the general interest it is meant to serve. For more on this concept, see Jacques Chevalier, *Le Service public* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2003), and chapter 1, n. 72, above.

120. M. Talleyrand-Périgord, "Rapport sur l'instruction publique (10 septembre 1791)," cited in Mainardi, *End of the Salon*, 70.

121. Excerpt from minutes of the Conseil d'instruction publique, 16 pluviose an VIII [1800], in Albert Duruy, *L'Instruction publique et la Révolution* (Paris: Hachette, 1882), 395–96.

France. Republicans considered *dessin* of great utility to the country, because it would teach everyone, not just to manipulate materials and forms according to a preconceived idea, but also to organize their thoughts and perceptions in coherent ways, follow logical procedures, and work independently. In other words, *dessin*, as they conceived it, would not only build the technical skills needed by industrial designers, engravers, painters, sculptors, and architects, it would also instill discerning judgment and thereby contribute to building a rational society.[122] It would teach taste to students in *lycées* and those preparing for careers outside the arts.[123]

Associating drawing with the Ancien Régime aristocracy, the upper classes believed reviving it would help the French rediscover the integration of art and craft, artist and artisan, that had earlier been the "genius of our country," potentially "raising industry to the dignity of art."[124] Among workers who studied at technical institutions such as the Ecole professionnelle de dessin of the Silversmiths' and Goldsmiths' Union, it was thought to encourage students to create new forms, ensuring the future of French industry and thus the prosperity of the country.[125]

With these ideas in mind in 1876, immediately after winning their first legislative majority, republican legislators passed laws making *dessin* obligatory in elementary and secondary schools, and in 1877, they created the Ecole nationale des arts décoratifs, supported by the Union centrale des arts decoratifs. Women would not be allowed into this school until 1890, nor into the Ecole nationale des beaux-arts until 1896, but because they were thought to be particularly apt at *dessin*, they could attend the Ecole nationale de dessin pour les jeunes filles, reorganized in 1881.[126] With differences over their goals and teaching methodologies and resistance from the university and the Académie des beaux-arts, some republicans were disappointed that the net effect of this educational project was not as great

122. The language in this paragraph comes from Miriam Levin, *Republican Art and Ideology*, 79–85, 107, 111–2, and 244n9. See also Tamar Garb, *Sisters of the Brush* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994), 23, and Mainardi, *End of the Salon*.

123. Paul Dupré and Gustave Ollendorff, *Traité de l'administration des beaux-arts*, 1 (Paris: Dupont, 1885), cited in Orwicz, "Anti-Academicism and State Power," 575.

124. Debora Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley: University of California, 1989), 115.

125. Eugène Spuller, *Education de la démocratie* (Paris: Alcan, 1892), 231, 238–40. In 1881, Minister Spuller attended the awarding of the union's annual prizes, just as ministers did at the Ecole des beaux-arts and the Conservatoire. His administration believed that all the arts should be treated as a public service.

126. Inspecteur des beaux-arts Gruyer, in the ministry's *Bulletin*, *1877–78* (cited n. 109 above), 339–40, and Philippe de Chennevières, "Discours prononcé à la distribution des prix," 11 August 1875, ibid., 365–406. See also Garb, *Sisters of the Brush*, 77–79.

as desired.[127] Still, this belief in the educational value of art led to the government installing electricity in the 1879 Salon of the newest paintings so that workers could attend in the evenings—an innovation that led to much higher attendance, along with the objection that this threatened the "aristocratic" tone of the exhibition.[128] The Office of Museums was attached to the Education Ministry in 1882.

In many ways, the equivalent in music to drawing in the visual arts was singing.[129] Between 1834 and 1836, singing instruction was made obligatory in elementary schools for girls and an elective in schools for boys, but by 1850 it too had fallen out of favor in schools.[130] Along with their efforts to gain control of the government, republicans renewed attention to the importance of teaching singing. Like drawing, it was an activity taught in groups. Drawing instruction was oriented toward getting students to reproduce the same images, and republicans thought of singing as even more inherently social. In singing, voices blended together to produce one thing. Certainly, both taught the discipline and method of work and prepared those with talent to pursue more specialized training. However, singing also gave people opportunities to tune their expression to that of others and enjoy the pleasure of reaching collective harmony.[131] Harking back to Plato, some believed that the "harmony of sounds awakens in us, like an involuntary echo, a sense of moral harmony, order, accord, and consequently perfection that is our dream . . . our destiny."[132] Albert Dupaigne, another primary education

127. Antonin Proust notes that the Académie des beaux-arts was resistant to "any instruction other than that given for the past two centuries." For discussion of the value of drawing and its influence on arts policy in the early Third Republic, see id., *Art sous la République*, 15–21, 30–31, 60–63, and Larroumet, *Art et l'Etat*, 213ff. In *End of the Salon*, Mainardi presents the attitude of Academicians differently, arguing that they supported drawing and design instruction out of self-interest (70–71).

128. Mainardi, *End of the Salon*, 72.

129. Rousseau compared *dessin* in painting to melody in music. See Adolphe Jullien, *La Musique et les philosophes au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Bauer, 1873), 16.

130. The history of singing in French schools follows the flux of national politics. In 1833, it had the same status as history and geography. Laws in 1836 required all instructors to know how to sing and in 1838 allowed those who could not to substitute playing an instrument. However, in 1850 song moved down the ranks to join sports as the least important subjects to learn. In 1865, it was made obligatory in the teachers' schools (*écoles normales*), and in 1867, it was authorized in the elementary schools, but still not formally reinstated. Johannes Weber contrasts this with music in the elementary schools of Germany, where it was taught since 1745. See his *La Situation musicale et l'instruction populaire en France* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1884).

131. In his "L'Orphéon de Paris," *Ménestrel*, 7 April 1872, Emile Perrin distinguishes drawing, "more individual," from singing, "a collective art." "It is the habit of bringing all efforts together, of only existing as an ensemble, that makes music a useful art, healthy for young minds" (119).

132. Félix Pécaut, "La Musique ou le chant choral à l'école" (1880), in id., *Education publique*, 118–19.

inspector, suggested that singing was a powerful form of general education, its "inexplicable charm always awakening what is best in our soul."[133]

Republicans saw tangible benefits in singing quite distinct from those associated with drawing. Teaching children aged 5 to 9 how to sing—from matching pitches to concentrating on vocal timbre, articulation, breathing, pronunciation, and diction—was good for their health. It fortified their voices and ears when still in formation. Because singing also helped children memorize words, it could be used to teach particularly difficult subjects that needed to be remembered. It was a way of learning rhetoric and eloquence. It was reputed to help students develop a taste for discipline and appreciate the "charm of things of the mind," which they could then take to study of other subjects as well.

Singing would also prepare students to recognize beauty, forming a taste for the good as well as an understanding of music.[134] To the extent that these aptitudes were recognized, "the result of a slow, progressive education and the powerful impact of *mœurs*, habits, social milieu, and civilization," Marmontel writes, "having intelligence and a feeling for the beautiful in the arts" would no longer be a "monopoly of privileged people."[135] However, resistance to change was strong, and it was not until 1881 that Ferry, arguing that singing was obligatory all over Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and the United States, succeeded in passing laws requiring music in schools.

Before singing became mandatory in public schools, amateur choral groups reinforced the teaching of musical taste and values among adults as well as children. This movement began in 1833 with G.-L. Bocquillon-Wilhem's founding of a choral society known as the Orphéon—a specifically Parisian "orchestra of voices alone" made up of singers, most of them artisans, with only the most basic musical education. The *orphéon* tradition grew during the Second Empire and thrived in the early Third Republic, in part through the support of Jules Simon.[136]

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

134. Of the many essays on the merits of singing instruction, see M.-H. Boulay de la Meurthe, "Rapport au Conseil municipal de Paris sur l'introduction de l'enseignement du chant dans les écoles primaires communales, 6 mars 1835" (Paris, 1843); Paul Boiteau, *De l'enseignement populaire de la musique* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860); Albert Dupaigne, *Le Chant dans les écoles, Conférence faite à la Sorbonne le 25 août 1878* (Paris: Delagrave, 1878); "La Musique ou le chant choral à l'école (1880)," in Pécaut, *Education publique*, 115–25; Weber, *Situation musicale;* and Michèle Alten, *La Musique dans l'école de Jules Ferry à nos jours* (Paris: EAP, 1995).

135. Marmontel, *Eléments d'esthétique musicale*, 417.

136. Simon was a close friend of Pierre-Louis Torchet, *orphéon* director and founder of the newspaper *L'Orphéon*.

Musical kiosks went up in city gardens and parks, four thousand of them between 1850 and 1914. These introduced what Marie-Claire Mussat has called an architecture of transparency, an inscription of music in the urban geography, and a place to enact popular education through music.[137] As Philippe Gumplowicz points out, *orphéons* presented a civic model of transparency. They were open to all, including those of "dubious morality."[138] Some involved schoolchildren, others consisted largely of workers and employees. By 1873, there were 300 *orphéons* in Paris alone, involving 9,000 working-class singers. Members were expected to demonstrate their ability to take musical dictation, understand rudimentary music theory, and sing music composed by a wide range of living French composers. Works such as the Soldiers' Chorus from Gounod's *Faust*, a favorite, encouraged solidarity through loyalty and devotion to *la patrie*.

After blossoming all over France during the Second Empire, *orphéon* festivals and competitions continued to assemble groups from all over to sing huge homophonic choruses. In August 1875, for example, almost 8,000 children from local elementary schools performed together in the Tuileries gardens and eighty local choruses participated in a choral competition. Fifteen thousand sang during the 1878 Universal Exhibition, and groups performed in every neighborhood on 30 June. In performing music, these democratically run organizations were widely recognized for their utility in educating the masses and "preparing the future of the French democracy."[139] In 1878, legislators claimed that "today there is not one town or village that doesn't have an *orphéon* or wind band. Everywhere well-organized musical societies are engaged in these musical studies, which have advantages from all points of view."[140] Singing thus gave ordinary people an active role in culture.

As with drawing, the elites also turned increasingly to singing as adults. Numerous *femmes du monde* and *demoiselles* took lessons at Oscar Comettant's Institut musical, founded in 1870, which was considered very useful for teaching music to women. Those in Guillot de Sainbris's amateur chorus of bourgeois and

137. Marie-Claire Mussat, "Kiosque à musique et urbanisme: Les Enjeux d'une autre société," in *Le Concert et son public*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker, Patrice Veit, and Michel Werner (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2002), 317–31.

138. Philippe Gumplowicz, *Les Travaux d'Orphée: Deux siècles de pratique musicale amateur en France, 1820–2000: Harmonies-chorales-fanfares* (Paris: Aubier, 2001), 122.

139. See Spuller, *Education de la démocratie*, 129, and descriptions of these groups and festivals in *Ménestrel*, 25 May 1873 and 8 and 29 August 1875.

140. In "La Musique et les musiciens à L'Exposition 1878," *Orphéon*, 12 February 1880, Mathieu de Monter reported that in 1878 there were 3,243 such choruses and wind bands in the country, with over 147,000 members in all. On such groups, see Gumplowicz, *Travaux d'Orphée*, and Donna di Grazia, "Concert Societies in Paris and Their Choral Repertoires, c. 1828–1880" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1993).

aristocratic men and women considered this a form of continuing education for themselves and their audiences. Teaching music to women also had the potential for reaching their children. As such groups performed more and more difficult music, and in public, including works they commissioned from major composers like Gounod, Franck, and Massenet, and as their concerts began to be reviewed in the musical press, they began to break down the stereotypical distinction between amateur and professional performers, salon and concert-hall performances.

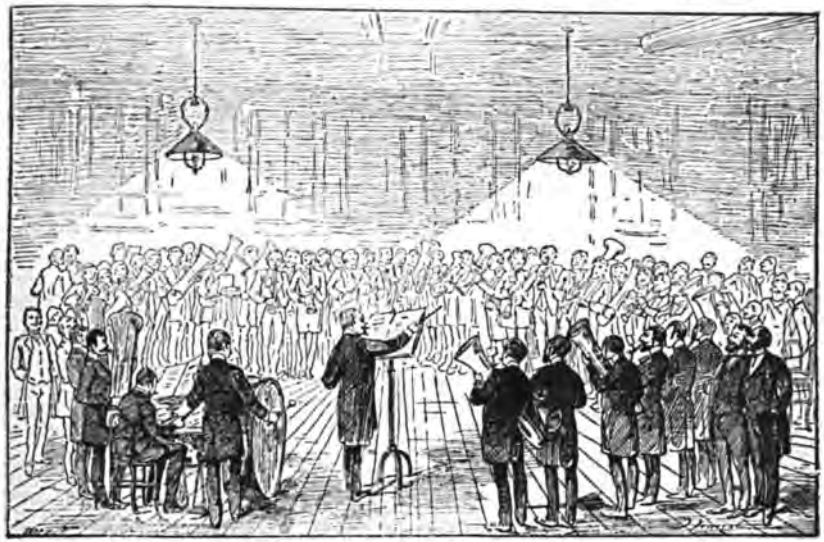
With the advantage of not requiring much training or expense, choral performances helped people to forge a physical connection with the musical imaginary and through it connect with others. Repeated performances of an evolving repertory, sometimes shared with other similar groups, reinforced singers' memories, self-observation, and possibly reflection, while instilling attachment to certain works and those performing them.[141] Amateur choruses also strengthened ties to family, profession, neighborhood, region, and class. Fathers, uncles, and sons, sometimes practicing the same trade, sang together in working-class and petit-bourgeois districts such as Belleville. Young male and female employees joined in department store choruses such as that of the Bon Marché, founded in 1872, when the store, in expanded quarters, sponsored music as well as English and fencing lessons to encourage self-improvement in its employees and provided a large salon for them to practice in (fig. 22). Husbands and wives, parents and their daughters, collaborated in ensembles of bourgeois and aristocratic amateurs, such as those directed by Guillot de Sainbris and Bourgault-Ducoudray.[142] Singing together could ease tensions and deepen bonds, strengthening community. Choruses encouraged a sense of responsibility and duty to something beyond oneself, as well as a taste for discipline, work, and self-control. Members typically practiced emulation, judging, respecting, and trying to equal or better one another's sound. In such contexts, emulation "as a rhetoric of competitive and collaborative achievement" stimulated the capacity for assimilating knowledge and experience.[143] Particularly useful were frequent local and regional competitions. Like sports teams or gymnastic societies,

141. In his "Pragmatics of Taste," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Culture*, ed. Mark Jacobs and Nancy Weiss Hanrahan (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), Antoine Hennion explains amateur taste as "the reflexive result of a physical and collective practice," involving self-observation, a continuity of interest, and attachments (136–37).

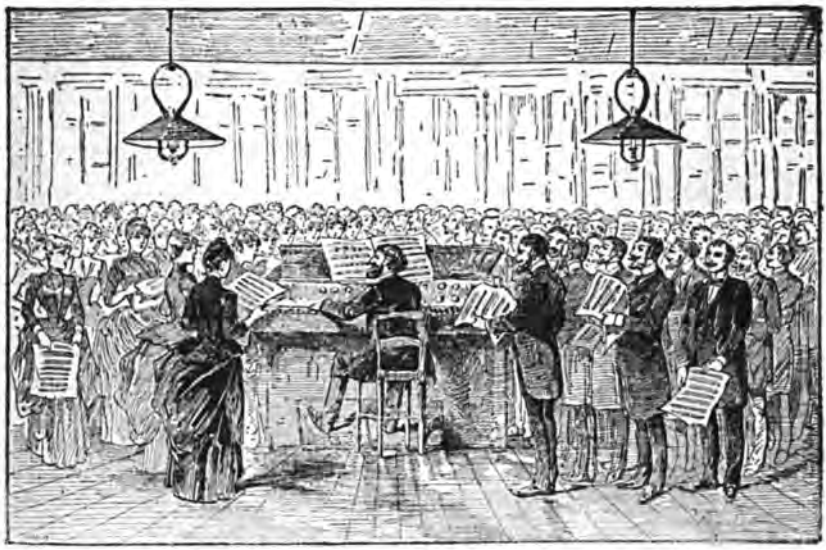
142. I present case studies of these choruses in my forthcoming book *Useful Performance*.

143. On the uses and limits of emulation in France, see Carol Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Choral societies that included women (e.g., that of the Bon Marché department store and upper-class ensembles) are a counterexample to her assertion that "emulation and voluntary association were distinctly male preserves" (9, 104).

COURS DANS LES MAGASINS DU BON MARCHÉ



COURS D'HARMONIE



COURS DE CHANT

FIG. 22 Music classes of the wind band and choral society of the Bon Marché department store employees.

singers learned to unite individual and collective energies in a kind of consensus. When Bourgault-Ducoudray used *orphéon* singers in his ensemble's performances of Handel oratorios in 1872 and 1873, mixing workers with those from bourgeois and aristocratic backgrounds, choral practices produced a shared sociability that bridged the class divide, a metaphor for what many republicans hoped was possible in French society as a whole.[144] That the audiences of such concerts were equally mixed, attracting a "virgin and new audience, recruited as if by chance," to performances of works such as Handel's *Alexander's Feast (Fête d'Alexandre)*, was increasing evidence that "great music" was "gaining ground and infiltrating the popular classes little by little."[145] Not surprisingly, the government rewarded Bourgault-Ducoudray's choral society with a small subsidy.

Visiting museums and attending concerts, made easier and more accessible to a wider range of people by ever-improving transportation, contributed to this process of self-instruction and taste formation. Through their "contact with geniuses" and the imagination they stimulated, these activities were thought to help people discover their own creativity.[146] Antoine Hennion describes this self-discovery as an intimate part of the "pragmatic self-formation of taste by amateurs . . . perceiving what one had not formerly perceived, and, at the same time, sensing that one feels other's feelings." It is an activity in its own right, not the "passive play of social differentiation."[147] To the extent that the self-knowledge obtained in listening to or performing music shaped one's *mœurs*, and therefore one's identity, certain music quite possibly gave individuals empathy for the kind of regeneration that was needed in the country.

With the number of concert societies growing, everyone had an increasing range of concerts from which to choose, whatever their financial situation. Besides local choruses and *orphéon* festivals, French cities increasingly offered low-cost concerts of classical orchestral music, modeled on Pasdeloup's *concerts populaires*.[148]

144. Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 223, 226, cites this intention as documented in the choral society's statutes and points to others who in the 1860s saw "the fusion of different classes in society" as the "primary goal" of *orphéons*.

145. *Ménestrel*, 23 March 1873, 135.

146. Jacques Offenbach discussed this in giving advice to Americans about the importance of creating public museums and subsidizing theater in id., *Notes d'un musicien en voyage* (Paris: C. Lévy, 1977), an excerpt of which was published in *Ménestrel*, 4 March 1877, 109.

147. Hennion, "Pragmatics of Taste," 135, 142.

148. For a study of this movement, see Jann Pasler, "Democracy, Ethics, and Commerce: Concerts Populaires in Late Nineteenth-Century France," in *Les Sociétés de musique en Europe, 1700–1920: Structures, pratiques musicales et sociabilités*, eds. Hans Erich Bödeker and Patrice Veit (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007), 455–79.

The goal was to reach a new social class, giving the less fortunate the chance to hear great music, perhaps for the first time. As noted earlier, the concerts began as paternalist patronage, as if music were a necessity of life and it was the responsibility of those who had it to bring it to those who did not, in the way charitable societies distributed food or money.[149] Conservative deputies called these concerts "one of the most useful institutions," "one of the best ways to spend Sundays away from the café and cabaret," and a way to "purify and form the taste of the working classes."[150] For republicans, however, the point was to enable everyone to hear great music and benefit from the self-growth encouraged by musical practices.[151] They were particularly pleased that orchestra concerts had started to attract women, who, as a group, had few opportunities for self-improvement outside of the arts. In 1878, in recognition of Pasdeloup's efforts and to help him hire a chorus, the government voted him an annual subsidy of 25,000 francs. With the proliferation of *orphéons*, wind bands, and popular orchestras, the participation of elites as well as workers in amateur choruses, and increasing concert attendance by all groups, by 1878, Bourgault-Ducoudray could observe, "in all classes of society, people are passionate for serious music."[152] Just as important, all classes could, on occasion, experience this music side by side, as performers or as listeners.

FASHIONING CITIZENS

With France embarking on its first lasting democracy, active participation in political life became a right and a duty. Democracy called for informed leadership and informed citizens. In 1872, the Ecole libre des sciences politiques was founded to train a public service elite and enlightened politicians. There, politics was studied from the perspective of policy and applied public administration.[153] Focused on inclusion rather than exclusion, republicans wished to transform citizenship from

149. I'm grateful to Jean-Louis Morhange for this insight.

150. Dugné de la Fauconnerie and Madler de Montjau, *Journal officiel,* 15 February 1878, 1582.

151. As Horne points out in her "Presenting Modern France" (cited in n. 35 above), "in the political, social, and religious context of late-nineteenth century France, charity was considered by many to be incompatible with the needs of a secular republic, since it was linked to the Catholic church, a framework of Christian ethics, and a model of rigid hierarchical social relations. A republican rhetoric of reform that stressed self-help was therefore needed" (156).

152. Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray, "Cours d'histoire générale de la musique, séance d'ouverture, II," *Ménestrel,* 22 December 1878, 26. See also de Tillancourt, *Journal officiel,* 15 February 1878, 1517.

153. Condorcet and others had proposed something similar during the Revolution. Many were frustrated with the country's "natural leaders," the upper classes and the clergy, who,

an aspect of elite politics to mass participation. This meant not just city dwellers from a certain class, but also workers, provincials, and eventually women. But how to convince these citizens that democratic politics was more than "the triumph of one will over another" and that they shared something meaningful? And how to enable them to enact their citizenship effectively? To encourage political participation, republicans acknowledged various forms of expression as legitimate types of political activity, including journalism, public meetings, ceremonies, parades, and music.[154] Music was particularly valuable in preparing individuals to think as well as act like citizens. It supported the training of citizens in two crucial ways: through teaching judgment and helping people imagine a new world.

If citizenship involves negotiation between collective concerns (the general interest of the people) and individual interests (i.e., political preferences), it requires people to make judgments.[155] To be human, Rousseau noted, involves being able to make one's own judgments.[156] Republicans considered learning "judgment" as central to instruction and necessary for self-governance.[157] Music and drawing not only taught skills and served as outlets for personal expression, contributing to people's self-esteem, they also provided opportunities to learn judgment by observing, making comparisons, exercising choices, and developing tastes. Besides composing and performing, listening, too, should involve "mental activity" and "intellectual effort," Marmontel writes. Whereas passive listeners tend to concentrate on the sensation or the impression of music, "immersing themselves in sound waves as with the smell of flowers," falling into "vague, delicious dreaming," or becoming "intoxicated with sound," lost in "ethereal pleasure," attentive listeners analyze their sensations while experiencing them. Ideally, "entendre c'est

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weak and fearful, were not prepared to take charge of a democratic society. See Félix Pécaut, "La Situation politique et morale" (2 November 1871), in id., *Etudes,* 5; Pierre Favre, *Naissances de la science politique en France, 1870–1914* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 29–36; Michael Stein, "Major Factors in the Emergence of Political Science as a Discipline in Western Democracies," in *Regime and Discipline: Democracy and the Development of Political Science,* ed. David Easton, John Gunnell, and Michael Stein (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 178–79.

154. Lehning, *To Be a Citizen,* 2.

155. Four excellent studies of French citizenship have informed my perspectives: Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), Lehning, *To Be a Citizen;* Dominique Schnapper, *Community of Citizens: On the Modern Idea of Nationality,* trans. Séverine Rosée (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1998), and Richard Vernon, *Citizenship and Order: Studies in French Political Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), esp. 2–3.

156. Tracy Strong, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, The Politics of the Ordinary* (1994), 2nd ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 54, 74.

157. Léon Bourgeois, *L'Education de la démocratie française* (Paris: Cornély, 1897), 163; Pécaut, *Education publique,* ix.

comprendre" (to listen is to understand).[158] More was at stake for republicans than aesthetic *jouissance*, especially when concert organizers called for attentive listening in order to understand the macro-experience of a concert. Aesthetic judgment, then, was not just about expressing preferences through approving applause or disapproving rejection, thereby exerting influence and "surveillance" over artistic production, as in theaters during the Revolution.[159] Nor was it merely genteel cultivation and *embourgeoisement*, the acquisition of bourgeois habits and values. The arts, whether as creator, performer, or perceiver, involved distinguishing aesthetic differences and evaluating their meaning. Learning critical judgment through contemplating differences, making comparisons, and forming opinions connected art to politics, active listening to active citizenship.

Music presented far more neutral, abstract, and impersonal contexts to practice this than the press, theater, cafés, and the street. Musical practices were voluntary and sometimes took place within musical associations, analogues to political associations in breeding fraternal solidarity. Increasingly available in schools, concert halls, and city parks, music became part of many people's lives, including those of the socially and economically disadvantaged. It could be brought into the home and shared with family or experienced in public. Through music, individuals experienced their own values in a larger context, as in voting. Shared experiences could lead to compassion and shared taste, a connection similar to the common will. Like political practices, musical practices, especially singing in groups, could transform individual identity into communal identity.

Music nourished not only empathy but also the imagination, integral to the perception of beauty.[160] Grasping meaning through music's forms, its narratives, and the feelings it elicits requires an act of the imagination. This begins an interpretative practice, sometimes controversial. In the 1870s, monarchists wanted people to conjure up an ideal past, while republicans needed them to "dream of what will

158. Marmontel, *Eléments d'esthétique musicale*, 147–49.

159. In her *Revolutionary Acts: Theater, Democracy, and the French Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), Susan Maslan points out that during the Revolution the theater "was an alternative space for developing the practices of participation, scrutiny, interpretation, and judgments that newly created citizens would put to use in the sphere of politics as well as the theater. It would offer citizens a different structure in which to understand their relation to representation itself and thus to their own new status and identity as citizens" (3). Because audience responses did not always harmonize with choices made by those in authority, theater gave people direct participation in the public sphere in a way that representative government did not, thereby contributing to the growth of the democracy. I agree with this thesis, but go further in how I think of aesthetic judgment and its importance after 1870.

160. Victor Cousin, *Lectures on the True, the Beautiful, and the Good*, trans. O. W. Wight (New York: Appleton, 1854), 154.

be."[161] In other words, both saw music as creating occasions when people not only contemplated the values, beliefs, and behaviors associated with political regimes, but also imagined what it would be like to live with them, a prelude to considering change itself. In some ways, imaginative listening resembles what Christopher Small has called "musicking": "an activity by means of which we bring into existence a set of relationships that model the relationships of our world, not as they are but as we would wish them to be, and if through musicking we learn about and explore those relationships . . . then musicking is in fact a way of knowing our world . . . and in knowing it, we learn how to live well in it."[162] In this sense, music could help the French imagine the emerging nation, whether as a revived monarchy or a functioning democracy.[163]

If art music increasingly attracted people from diverse families, classes, neighborhoods, regions, and politics, nevertheless, these ideals were inevitably difficult to realize. Not everyone was ready to see musical practices as demonstrating integrity, morality, and industry rather than the assumed nonchalance associated with leisure and pleasure for the aristocracy, as under the Ancien Régime.[164] Moreover, not all artists appreciated the focus on what art promised beyond itself, rather than in and of itself. It is also difficult to know whether these attitudes to music took hold among ordinary people, even if critics may reflect them. Still, in the turbulent 1870s, both monarchists and republicans recognized music as a potentially transformative and integrating force.

PERFORMANCE AND PUBLIC TASTE UNDER THE MORAL ORDER

In principle, giving everyone the right to culture helped democratize taste, spread values, and build community. Through organizers' choices and public opinion, the performance of music expressed that taste. So did music criticism and scholar-

161. "Aristocracy naturally leads the human mind to contemplation of the past and fixes it there. Democracy, on the contrary, gives men a sort of instinctive distaste for the old. . . . Democratic peoples scarcely worry about what has been, but they willingly dream of what will be" (Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. and trans. Harvey Mansfield and Delba Winthrop [1835; rpt., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000], 459–60).

162. Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1998), 50.

163. I'm here referring to the concept of nationalism developed in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

164. I'm grateful to Georgia Cowart for this understanding of good taste in France before the Revolution.

ship. Reaching a taste consensus was not easy, however, especially under the politically unstable Moral Order. With musical decisions sometimes reflecting political interests, particularly during times of political crisis, and concerts calling for increasingly active and imaginative listening, this period offers a fascinating example of the utility of aesthetics and concert life to ideology, more subtle and complex than one might expect.

PREPARING A RETURN TO MONARCHY

In January 1873, anxiety was already growing about the elections that May. For republicans, the Republic signified "the triumph of the *principe moderne*, secular and liberal, over the *principe ancien* of divine, royal, and priestly right."[165] These two "principles" stood, not only for two governments, but also for two ways of thinking, which permeated all human activities, including moral behavior, education, and music. With agitation by those nostalgic for the Ancien Régime, republicans feared a coalition of conservatives, especially a "fusion" between Orléanists and Legitimists.[166] Royalists, already in the majority in the Assemblée nationale, had considered the Second Empire "merely a long digression." After the Commune was crushed and peace restored, they wanted nothing more than return to a king.

Political songs, such as "La Fusion" and "Henry V va revenir," served to focus attention on these developments among the masses and begin to explore their implications (fig. 23).[167] They made fun, for example, of the comte de Chambord's intransigence about restoring the white flag of the Bourbon monarchy as the national flag. At the same time, scholarly publications and concert organizations offered educated audiences opportunities to confront France's complicated past, reflect on it, and eventually accommodate it through music. Not content to let royalists dominate thinking about the distant French past, and concerned about influencing future perceptions, republicans were as engaged with this music as monarchists. They too understood that debates about the future could be shaped by an understanding of the past. Composers, writers, and concert producers thus made choices that, at first glance, seem explicitly supportive of republicanism or monarchism. Yet, in many ways what they made of these choices—how they explained them or situated

165. Pécaut, "Situation politique et morale" (8 January 1873), in id., *Etudes*, 3.

166. Charles de Freycinet, *Souvenirs, 1848–1878* (Paris: Delagrave, 1912), 279.

167. "La fusion va commencer / Allons! qu'on se le dise! / Nous devons tous fusionner . . . Ainsi, le comte de Paris, / Avec le Chambord fusionne." Boissier, *Chansons politiques* (Paris: Debons, 1874), cited in Pierre Barbier and France Vernillat, *Histoire de France par les chansons* (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), 8–9.

FIG. 23 Félix Régamey, "La Situation politique en France (Novembre 1873)," *Harper's Weekly*, New York, reproduced in John Grand-Carteret, *Les Mœurs et la caricature en France* (Paris, 1888).

This caricature depicts the discord in French politics of the 1870s through factions battling musically for attention. Beneath a stone head representing the République française, a staid choral group, its members in white, kneeling, and wearing wigs, sings "Long live Henry IV," under a banner portraying the Virgin Mary. Facing them, the Orphéon de Chantilly, with its men standing in dark modern suits, offers its rendition of "La Parisienne," while a rambunctious brass band in the distance competes for attention with "Leaving for Syria."

them—suggests that, through music, republicans and monarchists had intersecting interests. To the extent that listeners were actively engaged with music and the values underlying musical practices, music could help bridge political differences.

On 29 January 1873, the republican Gustave Chouquet signed the preface to his substantial *Histoire de la musique dramatique en France*. Written in response to an 1868 competition for a book on the origins of French opera, and eschewing the typical approach to the genre based on anecdotes, Chouquet takes on music as an art of philosophical, historical, and social importance. Underlying his text is a linear notion of progress: "History teaches us that music developed according to a natural and logical order, beginning with a simple element and gradually rising to the most impressive and complicated effects. [After serving the interests of priests, the aristocracy, or political power], it finds its triumphant expression in the interpretation of feelings that move the heart of vast multitudes. . . . In bringing together all classes of society and becoming theatrical and dramatic, music achieved the immense favor it enjoys in modern nations."[168] Because Chouquet believed that music history was part of a country's general history, his conclusions propose larger arguments about the function of the past in the present. Respect, admire, and above all feel pride in past French achievements, even Lully, he advises, but rejoice in what has changed over time.

Concerts contributed to this nationalist discourse. That spring, while a popular "pastoral playlet" with music à la Watteau distracted the beau monde in the fashionable salons of Paris, Edouard Colonne conducted eight "Concert National," with tickets priced very low to attract a broad audience. These concerts, subsidized by Georges Hartmann, aimed to promote French music, especially music Hartmann published. However, they included not only symphonic premieres by living French composers, along with the typical German classics, but also *la musique ancienne* and religious music—a Gluck gavotte, a Palestrina motet, a Handel oratorio, and Gounod's "Ave Maria." In addition, respecting the fashion for religious music at the time,[169] the Holy Week concerts featured premieres with explicitly Catholic

168. Gustave Chouquet, *Histoire de la musique dramatique en France depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1873), xiv–xv. This book contains an annotated list of works from 1671 to 1873, with fascinating information on the use of instruments, and a large bibliography. Installments appeared in *Ménestrel* and *Revue et gazette musicale* that spring, although in the latter, they began with the fourteenth-century court *mascarade*. This followed immediately upon F.-A. Gevaert's eight-part "La Musique vocale en Italie," *Ménestrel*, 1 December 1872–19 January 1873.

169. An ad in *Ménestrel* all May lists over forty compositions celebrating Mary, variously from the distant past (Lassus, Palestrina, Handel), religious conservatives (Niedermeyer), or republicans (Weckerlin).

themes by republican composers as well as conservatives: Saint-Saëns's *Psaume XVIII*, Massenet's *Marie-Magdeleine*, and Franck's *Rédemption*. Although based on biblical subjects, these works presented a range of perspectives reflecting those of their composers. *Marie-Magdeleine*, which Massenet, a republican, calls not an oratorio but a *drame sacré*, addresses the woman's humanity rather than her conversion to the divine, titillating its listeners with pornographic detail. To the extent that such concerts and compositions take a political position, it is one that encourages mutual tolerance.

When elections loomed, concerts became even more politicized, both for monarchists and republicans. On election day, 24 May 1873, the Opéra-Comique premiered *Le Roi l'a dit*. With everyone's minds elsewhere, the public "consumed with worry" and with "fearful anxiety toward Versailles," it was doubly difficult for two neophytes to make an impression. Yet, with the possibility of monarchy reemerging, deidealizing the past with a farce on the gap between appearance and reality at court was a fitting republican response. Edmond Gondinet's and Léo Delibes's *opéra-comédie* pokes fun at kings, who, by decree, can cause people to make ridiculous claims, and at nobles, who, putting on airs, end up having to substantiate them (in this case, produce a fictitious son and then his fictitious death because "the king said it"). Monarchists may also have smiled, for the imperial counts inevitably had to show feelings that were not theirs, play roles with which they did not identify.[170] Delibes, here in his first work of such dimensions, deftly captures court grandeur with choruses inspired by Handel and suggests the wigs and lace with a gavotte and minuet, foreshadowing a taste that would grow in the late 1880s. The rest, despite the silly subjects, is charming music, somewhat like Adolphe Adam's, which everyone could embrace as French.[171] The work was a hit, and it returned to the stage the following fall.

When the royalists won the election, disruption ensued in the ministries with the beginning of the Moral Order.[172] Perhaps sensing the anxiety that some might feel, the Opéra-Comique planned to revive Cherubini's *Les Deux Journées* (1800), inspired by the Reign of Terror's proscription of people for their politics. Since it ends with social reconciliation, the story may have been chosen as a metaphor

170. Edouard Drumont, *La Fin d'un monde* (Paris: Savine, 1889), 308.

171. *Art musical*, 29 May 1873, 169–74, and 5 June 1873, 177–81 reproduced excerpts from twenty-three reviews. See also Paul Bernard, "Théâtre national de l'Opéra-Comique," *Revue et gazette musicale*, 1 June 1873, 169–70, and "Semaine théâtrale," *Ménestrel*, 1 June 1873, 211. Adam's music mostly likely came to mind because from March through July 1873, *Ménestrel* published Pougin's 22-installment biography.

172. See the editor's perspective on this in *Ménestrel*, 25 May 1873, 206.

to quell fears under the new regime. However, when the music was judged "too serious," the theater dropped the project.[173]

In October, just as legitimists were trying to place the comte de Chambord on the throne, the Opéra-Comique put on *Richard Cœur de Lion* (1784) after an absence of eighteen years.[174] Before it was banned in 1791, *Richard Cœur de Lion* had been used as a royalist counterpart to "Ça ira," a tune associated with the masses. Famous for its air, "O Richard, O my king," when it was performed before the king in 1789, it provoked enthusiastic responses of "Long live the king!" from the audience. Some royalists later sang it substituting the words "O Louis, O my king." Just as the word *seigneur* had to be replaced by *monsieur* in classical French theater (Corneille, Racine) during the Revolution, these lyrics were sometimes changed to "O Richard, my heart is devoted to thee."[175] If nineteenth-century audiences heard the choruses in *Richard* as James Parakilas proposes—as "action choruses" representing the peasants as protagonists in a political struggle to free the king—then the work also becomes a way of reminding listeners that the peasants were royalists, which many of them continued to be in the nineteenth century.[176]

When Napoléon was crowned emperor in 1806, the opera returned to the stage and thereafter, with its original text, was identified as to some extent royalist.[177] It

173. *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 27 July 1873, 238, and *Ménestrel*, 10 August 1873, 294.

174. In fall 1873, "the government considered the re-establishment of the monarchy as certain" (Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, 2: 299). On 22 October, after the issue of whether France should return to monarchy had been debated in heated speeches and discussions at Versailles, the moderate Right and the extreme Right came to agreement. Many felt that "the union is perfect" and "success cannot escape us." That summer the comte de Paris had reconciled with the comte de Chambord, accepting him as the next French monarch; the comte de Chambord seemed ready (ibid., 234). However, because the Left center declared that the Restoration would bring about a "fresh Revolution" and the comte de Chambord was unwilling to accept changes introduced by the Revolution or the tricolor flag, on 27 October he wrote a letter of refusal, preferring "suicide to dishonor," in the words of *Le Gaulois* (ibid., 273).

175. "O Richard, c'est à toi que mon cœur s'abandonne." I'm grateful to Jean Mongrédien for sharing the source of this textual change (Etienne Destranges, *Le Théâtre à Nantes depuis ses origines jusqu'en 1893* [Paris, 1893], otherwise noted in Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, 1789–1830*, trans. Sylvain Frémaux [Portland, Ore.: Amadeus, 1996], 148.) See also Laura Mason, *Singing the Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787–1799* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 46–60. Although the reception of the work had political overtones, in his *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), David Charlton argues that the political significance of the work per se is vague: the king is a victim and is worth saving, but he gives no speeches explaining why (240).

176. James Parakilas, "Political Representation and the Chorus in Nineteenth-Century Opera," *19th-Century Music* 16, 2 (Fall 1992): 188.

177. I'm grateful to David Charlton for this observation.

was again barred during the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, but reemerged in 1841 and in 302 performances at the Théâtre-Lyrique between 1856 and 1868, some of which provoked a response similar to that of 1789.[178] Grétry, at the height of his popularity before the Revolution cost him his court position, was known for criticizing the Revolution after the Terror and remaining loyal to his Ancien Régime patrons. At the same time, he considered patriotism and political conservatism "not incompatible"[179]—perhaps like much of the opera-going public in 1873.

A music critic writing in *Art musical* found the choice to revive *Richard* an especially pertinent response to the contemporary political situation. Since 24 May, the king had indeed spoken (referring to Delibes's opera) of "a fiery fever . . . tormenting our poor country" (referring to a song in *Richard*), and why not show Blondel taking the king far away from his dear France? "We understood the allusion and gave the most lively reception to Grétry's work. . . . Everyone in the hall cheered for an encore of *Richard*'s famous romance, 'O my king.' Blondel, bring back the king—they want it."[180]

In returning to the original score (rather than Adolphe Adam's reorchestration for the 1841 revival), the Opéra-Comique undoubtedly also pleased those wanting to hear music from the Ancien Régime. Echoing reviewers in 1784, Victor Wilder points out that the story came from "our old *trouvères* [medieval poet-musicians]."[181] But he also shifts attention from Grétry's Italianate melodies and conventional forms to progressive qualities of the kind that Wagner would later develop. More than the "freshness" of the melodies, what impressed Wilder was the accuracy of the declamation, the faithfulness to the stage. These qualities and staying close to the "truth" as "transfigured" in art, he argues, gave the work its "eternal youth," its "immortality," words perhaps chosen to resonate with those nostalgic for the Ancien Régime. Almost in response to critics of court life, Edouard Schuré found in it "nothing false or pretentious, everything is natural and healthy." In the famous romance "Une Fièvre brûlante," he writes, "song becomes action" as music translates the drama. Repeated nine times in the work, it calls on the power of memory, suggesting that song has special power to recall the past.

As the first work of music theater to turn memory into a dramatic theme, *Richard*

178. T. J. Walsh, *Second Empire Opera* (New York: Riverrun, 1981), 73.

179. See Elizabeth Bartlet's perceptive and enlightening essay "Grétry and the Revolution," in *Grétry et l'Europe de l'Opéra-Comique*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Liège: Mardaga, 1992), 83.

180. G.E., "Opéra-Comique; Reprise de *Richard Cœur de lion*," *Art musical*, 23 October 1873, 339–40.

181. In his "Histoire de Blondel," *Revue et gazette musicale*, 26 October 1873, Henri Lavoix *fils* published a long essay on the twelfth-century character whose devotion to Richard is central in Grétry's opera (339–41).

underlined the utility of music for anyone interested in the past. Historically minded republicans were just as engaged with the work as nostalgic monarchists. Arthur Pougin praises Grétry for seeking "an old style capable of pleasing modern people."[182] *Le Ménestrel* published the romance and in December 1873, acknowledging its broad appeal, offered a piano-vocal score to all subscribers.

Another provocative revival came in January 1874 with Jannequin's *La Bataille de Marignan* (between the French under François I and an army of Swiss mercenaries, ca. 1515), possibly meant to elicit sympathy for another old king. In his review, Henri Lavoix *fils* explains that the French king was on the front lines of this battle, characterized by great courage and chivalry. Also important from a republican perspective, François had led a mixed force drawn from all classes. The victory led to his enormous popularity.[183] Most critics focused their reviews on this forgotten work by a composer whose genius they considered "male and vigorous," a patriot who wrote to glorify the French armies.[184] Likewise the Théâtre de l'Odéon may have produced Alexandre Dumas's *La Jeunesse de Louis XIV* in spring 1874 to show the human side of the Sun-King, in conflict with his mother over a love affair.

Music critics and scholars, too, responded to the new political situation, again with republicans as engaged with Ancien Régime music as monarchists. In a lead article in October 1873, M. de Thémines tried to assuage French fears about a return to monarchy, explaining that music had thrived under it, that the court needed it, and that its patronage was like "the sun to a flower." In contrast, republican *mœurs* were just too "austere" and republicans too preoccupied with their incessant struggles to encourage the development of music. Republicans incensed with these arguments wrote numerous letters of response—unusual at the time—pointing out that art does not need the court to progress and had enjoyed great development under republican regimes.[185] At the same time, despite his republi-

182. Victor Wilder, "Richard Cœur-de-lion," *Ménestrel*, 7 December 1873, 5–6; Edouard Schuré, *Le Drame musical* (Paris: Sandoz & Fischbacher, 1875), 322–23; Arthur Pougin, "Semaine théâtrale," *Ménestrel*, 26 October 1873, 379–80. Anselm Gerhard, in his *The Urbanization of Opera*, trans. Mary Whittall (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 271–72, and Charlton in his *Grétry*, 246, discuss the role of memory in the work.

183. Henri Lavoix *fils*, "La Bataille de Marignan," *Revue et gazette musicale*, 25 January 1874, 26–27.

184. Pougin, "Concert Danbé," 61. See also Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past* for other similar reviews (156–60).

185. M de Thémines [Achille de Lauzières], "L'Art et le luxe," *Art musical*, 16 October 1873, 329–30; id. "Les Propos et les faits, réponse à plusieurs lettres," ibid., 23 October 1873, 337–38.

can sympathies, in February 1874, the librarian of the Paris Conservatoire, the composer Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, reached out to aristocratic elites (the queen of Spain, dukes, and others) by conducting a concert of early music (Lassus, Louis XII, Lully, Mozart, Gluck) at the home of a prince.[186] Others focused on reassuring audiences and music professionals that if France returned to monarchy, musical life would not suffer. In October, despite its republican sympathies, *Ménestrel* offered two studies: one of monarchs who had been musicians, Charles the Bold and Charles V, another on the Dutch king's music patronage.[187] New attention also turned to musical life under the Ancien Régime. When the Opéra suffered a fire in November, *Ménestrel* published an account of fires at the Opéra just before the Revolution.[188] Throughout 1874, it featured Mozart, a universally respected composer from that period, and, beginning in November, Philidor and a seventeen-part series on Gluck, the composer most associated with Marie Antoinette. Gluck, "creator of the great lyric drama in France," Barbedette recounts, "scorned French frivolity," while wanting nothing more than to please the French public.[189] New editions of Gluck's operas were also begun, aided by state subsidies.[190] Next came Pougin's argument, in multiple installments, that the "real creators of French opera" had been Pierre Perrin and Robert Cambert, two Frenchmen, not the Italian Lully. Republican critics thus revisited seventeenth- and eighteenth-century debates from a nationalist perspective, encouraging French disengagement from its ties to Italian melody.

Katharine Ellis has discussed how *La Chronique musicale,* conceived as both "beautiful and useful" by its wealthy publisher, sought to "resuscitate the inspirations of our old French masters piece by piece" and, like Pougin, to decenter Lully's role in the creation of French opera. From 1873 through 1874, 66 percent of the articles addressed French music or theatrical history from 1650 to 1789. Included were excerpts on Ancien Régime stage music by Paul Lacome and Théodore de Lajarte.[191] Arguably no one was more active in this than Adolphe

186. *Ménestrel*, 15 February 1874, 86

187. Francesco d'Avila, "Deux monarques musiciens," *Ménestrel*, 19 October 1873, 372—73; Oscar Comettant, "La Musique au château royal du Loo" and "Paris et départements," ibid., 26 October 1873, 381–82.

188. A. de Forges, "Incendie des deux salles d'Opéra," *Ménestrel*, 2 November 1873, 389–90.

189. H. Barbedette, "Gluck, préface," *Ménestrel*, 15 November 1874, 394.

190. *Ménestrel*, 1 March 1874, 102.

191. Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 123–24. See Paul Lacome, *Les Fondateurs de l'Opéra français* (Paris: Enoch, 1878) and Théodore de Lajarte, *Airs à danser de Lulli à Méhul* (Paris: Maison G. Flaxland, Durand, Schoenewerk, 1876), first published in *La Chronique musicale* in 1873 and 1874 respectively.

Jullien, apparently a royalist sympathizer, who began intensive research at the Opéra and the Archives nationales. In fall 1873, he published a series of articles on the theater of Mme de Pompadour in *La Chronique musicale*. Then, in addition to a short brochure on music and the Enlightenment philosophers, to whom he looked as models of French music criticism, between 1873 and 1881, he published nine books or brochures on music, theater, and their relationship to the court of Louis XVI.[192] Like Edmond de Goncourt, Jullien took the tastes and practices of this elegant society seriously, particularly those of Marie Antoinette, herself a musician.[193] His choice to focus on this period suggests that he was interested in recovering memory of music, composers, patrons, and performers that had been obliterated by the Revolution or since forgotten.

At first, Jullien reports on the *divertissements* aristocrats put on for one another, which were often attended by Louis XVI. Perhaps to attract the leisured class nostalgic for this period, he subtitled one book "Adventures and Secret Plots" and published luxury editions. But he was also interested in larger issues such as the relationship between music and society, and, like republican scholars, in earlier evidence of French glory. In *La Cour et l'opéra sous Louis XVI,* he revives interest in two forgotten composers who received French royal patronage after Gluck, Antonio Sacchini and Antonio Salieri. His purpose was twofold. First, they exemplified the many foreign composers who had thrived in France, thanks to French generosity and the influence of French music. Born Italian, both became French "by adopting the style and spirit of our theater." Second, their music showed how French politics could shape, not only the reception of music, but also the form in which it was heard. Jullien was particularly drawn to the Salieri-Beaumarchais collaboration *Tartare* (1787), because of similarities between Beaumarchais, Berlioz, and Wagner. Its long-term success he attributes not to its novel *mélodrame*, however, but to its susceptibility to adaptation, given

192. Jullien's first two books, *La Musique et les philosophes au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Baur, 1873) and *L'Opéra en 1788* (Paris: Pottier de Lalaine, 1873), were followed by *La Comédie à la cour de Louis XVI: Le Théâtre de la reine à Trianon* (Paris: Baur, 1875), *Les Grandes Nuits de Sceaux: Le Théâtre de la duchesse du Maine* (Paris: Baur, 1876), *Un Potentat musical: Papillon de La Ferté; son règne à l'Opéra de 1780 à 1790* (Paris: Detaille, 1876), *L'Eglise et l'Opéra en 1735* (Paris: Detaille, 1877), *La Cour et l'opéra sous Louis XVI* (Paris: Didier, 1878), *La Comédie et la galanterie au XVIIIe siècle, au théâtre—dans le monde—en prison* (Paris: Rouveyre, 1879), *1770–1790, L'Opéra secret au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Rouveyre, 1880), and *La Ville et la cour au XVII siècle* (Paris: Rouveyre, 1881). Some chapters appeared previously in the *Revue et gazette musicale* and *Le Correspondant*.

193. Cf. Edmond de Goncourt, *Histoire de Marie-Antoinette* (Paris: Charpentier, 1878) and sections on Marie Antoinette in Jullien's *La Ville et la cour* and *La Cour et l'opéra sous Louis XVI*.

its depiction of opposing passions—despotism and public opinion, powerful vice and private virtue. Beaumarchais made the first changes just after the Festival of the Federation in 1790. Turned into an opera promoting constitutional monarchy, *Tartare* was popular until the Terror, disappearing with it, only to resurface afterwards, this time with a new "republican sauce" by Nicolas-Etienne Framéry.[194] Although in *La Ville et la cour,* Jullien claims that art served as a "distraction [*dérivatif*] from politics," the parallels between *Tartare* and *Richard Cœur de Lion* suggest an interdependence between taste and politics. Such research may have been intended to elicit desire for the authentic, original form of works before their bastardization by politics.

Some composers and theater directors sympathized with these interests. Addressing the Assemblée nationale in July 1874, Vaucorbeil, as president of the Société des compositeurs, asked for the repertoire of the national theaters to be expanded beyond the seven or eight works. The Opéra should include Gluck, Salieri, Sacchini, and others totally ignored by the institutions, as well as more music by André Campra, André Destouches, Lully, and Rameau. Likewise, he would like to see Grétry, P.-A. Monsigny, Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac, and others at the Opéra-Comique, along with more contemporary music.[195] Meanwhile, the director of the Théâtre de l'Odéon reduced his orchestra to ten musicians as in Lully's time to accompany its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century repertoire more authentically with music from the period.[196] Together with the Théâtre de la Gaîté, in fall 1874, he also planned to revive repertoire from Ancien Régime, such as Grétry's *Les Deux Avares* and Monsigny's *Le Déserteur,* in matinée performances specifically oriented to families.[197]

When the passing of the first republican constitution in 1875 dashed hopes of a monarchist restoration, concerts nevertheless continued to present the upper class with reasons to be nostalgic for the Ancien Régime, nostalgia here referring to a sense of loss associated with a class in decline. Early music permeated salons and concert halls, both evoking that past and showing how its charm and grandeur could persevere in the present. On 19 January 1875, for example, Parisians could attend an afternoon of music and poetry from the period of Louis XV (Leclair, Rameau, Boccherini, Grétry, Voltaire, Beaumarchais). On 2 February, only days after the vote on the new constitution, they could hear music and poetry from Louis XIV's time (Lully, Campra, Destouches, Molière, La Fontaine) or Lully's

194. Jullien, *La Cour et l'opéra sous Louis XVI,* 6, 251–57, 268–74.
195. Vaucorbeil, "Mémoire présenté à l'Assemblée nationale" (cited n. 78 above), 268–69.
196. "Nouvelles diverses," *Revue et gazette musicale,* 5 October 1873, 318.
197. *Revue et gazette musicale,* 15 November 1874, 366.

music in an aristocratic salon.[198] Later that month, as the republicans reached a legislative majority for the first time (425 to 254), the Concerts Danbé presented a new reconstruction of Destouches's opera *Callirhöé* (1712) "as it would have been done in the court of the great king with choruses, costumes, and sets," its score subsidized by the minister of public instruction and fine arts.[199] Meanwhile, from January 1875 to May 1876, the Théâtre de la Gaîté offered a series of plays by Molière, with music by Lully and Charpentier, performed as matinées to attract families.[200] In January 1875, Guillot de Sainbris's amateur singers performed excerpts from Carissimi's *Jepthé* (1650).

Contemporaneous with significant republican gains in the legislature, these performances may have seemed to some like a form of monarchist resistance, reassuring their public of the greatness of an earlier time and giving them an occasion to contemplate values associated with the Ancien Régime. As such, these concerts may have functioned or been construed as ways to unite a divided nobility. For others, production of a work such as Lully and Molière's comedy-ballet *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* may served as a reminder of the critical stance adopted by the latter, a bourgeois, under Louis XIV, and later by Beaumarchais, especially since Weckerlin, a republican, was asked to make a new edition of it.[201] In any case, the performance of old music, like the revival of Molière, helped audiences, regardless of their politics, begin to construct a collective memory of the French past.

With the republicans enjoying victories in almost all elections between 1872 and 1875, gradually wearing down the monarchist majority,[202] such concerts might have played to their political advantage. To win an electoral majority, historians

198. The first two were part of a concert series of *matinées caractéristiques* organized by Marie Dumas, possibly the daughter of Alexandre Dumas, which lasted for at least three years and in 1878 received a subsidy of 10,000 francs from the budget committee of the Chambre des députés. See *Ménestrel*, 17 November 1878, 410.

199. Ellis sees the choice of this work as an attempt to challenge the preeminence of Lully in French music history; however, the work flopped, because it was found monotonous and insubstantial. *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 136.

200. Offenbach's *matinées classiques* pairing a classical play (e.g., Beaumarchais, Racine, Molière) with a late eighteenth-century *opéra-comique* (e.g., Monsigny, Dalayrac, Grétry, Méhul) had begun in March 1874. Ellis presents these as a "parasitical revival, feeding off a combination of Molière's cultural capital and the traditional museum culture in French drama" (ibid., 137–38).

201. For discussion of the Lully-Molière production at the Théâtre de la Gaîté in 1875–76, see Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 137–40. For a study of the anticlericalism and royalist critique associated with performances of *Tartuffe* in the French provinces under the restoration, see Sheryl Kroen, *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

202. Furet, *Revolutionary France*, 520.

have suggested that the republicans needed a "myth of counterrevolution" to encourage liberal monarchists and Bonapartists to side with them.[203] To the extent that these concerts encouraged sympathy for the Ancien Régime, they may have helped revive such fears. However, I find that most concerts probably functioned differently. Just as republicans agreed with monarchists on the importance of Ancien Régime drama,[204] there was an emerging consensus on the capacity of Ancien Régime music to support a nationalist agenda, bolstering French pride. Under the Moral Order government, music became a site for actively exploring a new identity. Moreover, it was not, as Ellis suggests, that "French music had little symbolic part to play in popular education," nor was it merely "among the intelligentsia and arguably *for* the intelligentsia that the cultural activity of elevating national heroes past and present served to 'prove' France's artistic greatness."[205] The negotiation and promotion of national identity was something in which performers and audiences from all classes took part.

LA MUSIQUE ANCIENNE ET MODERNE

Scholars have begun to research the increased interest in "early music" in France at this time and to examine its meaning. Yet they have missed something significant: in many such cases, old masterpieces were juxtaposed with contemporary music, sometimes premieres, especially during the Moral Order. In the concerts mentioned above, for example, Bizet, Gounod, and others were included. What interests me, then, is not only how individual pieces may have supported one ideology or another, but also how juxtapositions of works on concerts may have helped people come to grips with their differences and contemplate what they shared.

Contemporary French music had particular utility after the Franco-Prussian War, because it drew attention to what was distinctive and admirable about the French. Beginning in 1871, composers of all political persuasions joined forces to support one another at the Société nationale de musique, founded that year, and orchestral concerts began to feature more French music. Whereas in the 1860s, such organizations as the Société des concerts du Conservatoire and Concerts Pasdeloup had concentrated on the German classics, with only the occasional work by Wagner, Berlioz, or Saint-Saëns, after the war, they increased their offerings of "modern" music, especially by French composers. Gounod and Thomas were

203. Gildea, *Past in French History*, 36–37.
204. Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 121.
205. Ibid., 120.

the only living Frenchmen on Conservatoire programs in 1871, but that summer, Pasdeloup offered three concerts explicitly divided into *la musique classique*—his standard repertoire: Beethoven, Mozart, and Weber—and *la musique moderne*, featuring premieres and opera excerpts. In spring 1872, the Conservatoire added Berlioz, Franck, Saint-Saëns and two younger composers, Théodore Dubois and Charles Lenepveu, to its roster, framing their compositions with classical works. Patriotism and the need to support compatriots probably motivated this change.

Along with more attention to music by living composers came concerts that juxtaposed *la musique ancienne*, especially of the eighteenth century, with *la musique moderne*. A few predecessors had tried this during the Second Empire,[206] but the practice grew widespread in the 1870s, particularly under the Moral Order. It was not unusual for the Conservatoire to include the occasional sixteenth-century motet or Handel chorus in the 1860s, but to perform Dubois next to Lully, or Gounod, Bizet, and Saint-Saëns after Handel was new. Moreover, from working-class children to elite adults, amateurs and professionals, many groups in the 1870s paired *la musique ancienne et moderne*. On 28 April 1872, the annual concert of the Paris Orphéon presented music by French composers ranging from Rameau to Thomas and Gounod. Two days earlier, Guillot de Sainbris's bourgeois choral society, which was explicitly devoted to *la musique d'ensemble ancienne et moderne*, performed choruses excerpted from Handel's oratorio *Judas Maccabaeus*, as well as Weckerlin's own version of that composer's *Alexander's Feast* and an unpublished opera by Massenet, *Méduse*. Two orchestras of elite amateurs, both called the Société philharmonique de Paris, the second founded in 1878, also performed old and new works, including some by young composers. In these cases, I would argue, the performance of early music was not just a celebration of old France or, as Ellis has suggested, a "natural extension of the contemporary repertory." The two repertoires were placed in dialogue for a reason.

Most concerts in the nineteenth century presented music from different genres and periods. In England, William Weber has called these "miscellany concerts."[207] In France, this reflected a taste for contrast, developed from grand opera since the Revolution. Both Pasdeloup's concerts and those of the Société des concerts du

206. Predecessors for this practice during the Second Empire included the Société pour l'exécution des quintettes anciens et modernes (1857–58), the Société des trios anciens et modernes (1865–86), and Weckerlin's Société Sainte-Cécile, founded in 1865, which performed old music during the first half of its programs, and living composers during the second. See Joël-Marie Fauquet, *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre à Paris de la Restauration à 1870* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1986), 176–83.

207. See William Weber, "Redefining the Status of Opera: London and Leipzig, 1800–1848," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 46 (2006): 507–32.

Conservatoire usually began and ended with some classical overture or symphony, with the middle space left for a concerto, dance, chorus, or excerpt from a chamber work or opera. As these concerts grew from four or five items in the early 1860s to five to eight in the late 1860s and early 1870s, not wanting to exhaust listeners with too much of any one work, they often included a succession of fragments rather than entire works. This allowed for more variety. French audiences got to know Wagner in this way through orchestral excerpts.[208] In amateur contexts, such as at the Bon Marché employee performances, concerts also typically consisted of alternating genres—solos, chorus, or wind band, arranged with maximum contrast for the sake of variety.

The explicit juxtaposition of *la musique ancienne et moderne* on concert programs of the 1870s, however, suggests a different focus and approach to concert organization, as well as, in certain cases, different expectations of the listener. Like exhibitions of painting, such concerts served as useful occasions to learn and practice the art of comparison. In 1875, the music historian François-Auguste Gevaert explained, "to judge is to compare."[209] A poet wrote similarly that year, "We teach ourselves only by comparison . . . when I judge, it is the hidden influence of reason that I consult. Reflection persuades me of the existence of a being in me that reasons."[210] This idea harks back to eighteenth-century theorists like Quatremère who used the Greek notion of imitation to explain how, in great art, one compares art with nature. But in this case, the comparison is with other works and the process calls on memory and reason, the enhancement of which were important educational goals.

Through the technique of comparison, listeners could build knowledge starting with what they already knew, hear something unfamiliar in a certain context, and contemplate relationships between things that were comparable.[211] For many, the practice of comparison drew attention to change over time, implanting a sense of history. As Gevaert put it, the more "monuments" of the past we can hear, the more we can "appreciate in what way the musical conception of the moderns is

208. I elaborated on this in my paper "Contingencies of Meaning in Transcriptions and Excerpts: Popularizing Wagner in France" (presented at the conference, "The Case of Wagner: A Reconsideration," Center for Modern and Contemporary Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, 10 May 2003).

209. F.-A. Gevaert, from the preface to his *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité*, completed on 1 February 1875 and published in *Menestrel*, 14 February 1875, 82.

210. Maureau, *Etude de l'Ordre moral*.

211. This emphasis on comparison suggests a different perspective on the nature and purpose of critical judgment than in Germany. "Both taste and judgment are evaluations of the object in relation to a preexistent whole to see it if fits in with everything else," Hans-Georg Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*, trans. Garrett Barden and John Cumming (New York:

superior to that of the ancients, [and] in what way it is inferior." This suggests that the practice of comparison, as enacted at concerts, not only consists of examining similarities and differences, ideally leading to a fuller appreciation of the individual works, but also adds meta-questions to the listening experience. Questions, such as the continuity or progress from one to the next, place the listeners' concerns at the center of the musical experience—what they are listening for—along with what they are listening to. Emerging through comparisons, musical meaning is not only something communicated by a work or a property associated with or generated by it, but also the product of what we hear with or as it. Through the practice of comparison, audiences became part of the production of musical meaning, not just the reception of it, and meaning a reflexive, reciprocal process between composer, performer, and listener, full of contingencies. This allowed audiences to bring timely issues of contemporary concern to bear on old masterpieces, or to hear this music as part of a discourse in the contemporary world with political, religious, and/or musical ramifications. Besides playing the role of enablers, reviewers and critics contributed to the production of meaning through their own acts of comparison. In 1880, a critic in *L'Orphéon* saw concerts as the "only occasion" permitting comparison of composers' music, printed scores not being used by all audiences.[212]

A pertinent example is the concert in January 1874, referred to above, in which children and workers in the choral society Le Louvre joined forces with upper-class singers of the Société Bourgault-Ducoudray, Opéra singers, well-known soloists, an actor, and an orchestra to present a program that ranged from Jannequin, Bach, Rameau, and Gluck to Bizet and Saint-Saëns (fig. 24). Pougin took this as stunning evidence of the progress, not only that amateurs had made in their willingness to perform serious music, but in audiences' interest in hearing it (several hundred were turned away at the door).[213] He calls it a *concert historique*,

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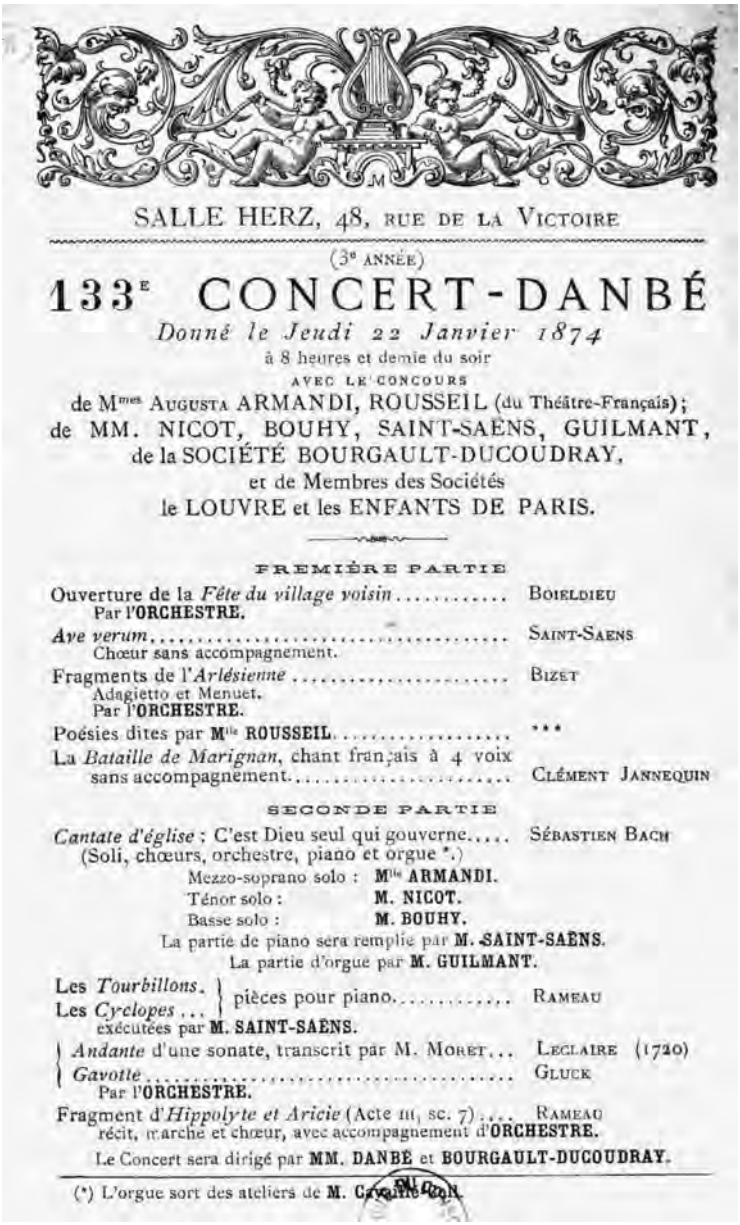
Seabury Press, 1975). Judgment is "necessary in order to make a correct evaluation of the concrete instance." Karol Berger, who defines judgment as discrimination, cites these passages from Gadamer in his *A Theory of Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 86. However, in France, particularly during the political transition of the 1870s, there was no "preexistent whole" to serve as a standard, only a collection of contradictory and mutually exclusive political ideals. Moreover, throughout this decade, French voting patterns shifted from center right to center left, suggesting that whatever preexistent ideals individuals espoused, they were capable of changing. What was necessary, then, was the ability to differentiate among plausible options and learn from difference, rather than to evaluate in order to protect or avoid dissension from a desired norm.

212. Julien Torchet, "Revue des concerts," *L'Orphéon*, 15 March 1880.

213. Arthur Pougin, "Concert Danbé," *Ménestrel*, 25 January 1874, 61.



SALLE HERZ, 48, RUE DE LA VICTOIRE

(3e ANNÉE)

133e CONCERT-DANBÉ

Donné le Jeudi 22 Janvier 1874

à 8 heures et demie du soir

AVEC LE CONCOURS

de Mmes AUGUSTA ARMANDI, ROUSSEIL (du Théâtre-Français);
de MM. NICOT, BOUHY, SAINT-SAËNS, GUILMANT,
de la SOCIÉTÉ BOURGAULT-DUCOUDRAY,
et de Membres des Sociétés
le LOUVRE et les ENFANTS DE PARIS.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

Ouverture de la *Fête du village voisin* ..... BOIELDIEU
Par l'ORCHESTRE.

Ave verum ..... SAINT-SAENS
Chœur sans accompagnement.

Fragments de l'*Arlésienne* ..... BIZET
Adagietto et Menuet.
Par l'ORCHESTRE.

Poésies dites par Mlle ROUSSEIL ..... ***

La *Bataille de Marignan*, chant français à 4 voix sans accompagnement ..... CLÉMENT JANNEQUIN

SECONDE PARTIE

Cantate d'église : C'est Dieu seul qui gouverne..... SÉBASTIEN BACH
(Soli, chœurs, orchestre, piano et orgue (*).)

Mezzo-soprano solo : Mlle ARMANDI.
Ténor solo : M. NICOT.
Basse solo : M. BOUHY.

La partie de piano sera remplie par M. SAINT-SAËNS.
La partie d'orgue par M. GUILMANT.

Les *Tourbillons*, Les *Cyclopes* ... } pièces pour piano..... RAMEAU
exécutées par M. SAINT-SAËNS.

Andante d'une sonate, transcrit par M. MORET... LECLAIRE (1720)
Gavotte ..... GLUCK
Par l'ORCHESTRE.

Fragment d'*Hippolyte et Aricie* (Acte III, sc. 7) .... RAMEAU
récit, marche et chœur, avec accompagnement d'ORCHESTRE.

Le Concert sera dirigé par MM. DANBÉ et BOURGAULT-DUCOUDRAY.

(*) L'orgue sort des ateliers de M. Cavaillé-Coll.

FIG. 24 Concert-Danbé program, 22 January 1874.

The Concerts du Grand Hôtel, led by Jules Danbé (conductor of the Opéra-Comique [1876–98]), also took place at the Salle Herz. This collaboration between two amateur choruses and distinguished opera singers and composers features early music juxtaposed with modern music with which performers and audiences may have been able to make useful comparisons. The work here that most captured critics' attention was Jannequin's "Bataille de Marignan," considered very "curious."

and if we look more closely, more can be said. Although the concert alternated genres rather than juxtaposing comparable works—perhaps because of the taste for contrast—the choice of repertoire suggests how one might present a history lesson to a contemporary audience. Boieldieu's overture from the *Fête du village voisin* sets the tone and a certain context for later hearing the minuet from Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* (1872). Saint-Saëns's unaccompanied choral motet *Ave Verum* may have been added to prepare listeners for Jannequin's unaccompanied *Bataille de Marignan*, although a reviewer for *L'Echo des orphéons* felt that the "Blessing of the daggers" from Meyerbeer's *Huguenots* would have been better to pair with it.[214] At the Conservatoire in January 1875, audiences would have been able to compare Massenet's *Scènes dramatiques d'après Shakespeare* (1874) with a scene from Lully's *Alceste* (1674), the former's rendition of the witches from *Macbeth* with the latter's conception of Charon's introduction to the underworld, both new to their audience.

Choral societies founded to revive German baroque oratorio also included French contemporary music on their programs. Besides the Société Bourgault-Ducoudray, Charles Lamoureux's concert society for chorus and orchestra, L'Harmonie sacrée, modeled on its English contemporary and known for its Handel, included contemporary music with baroque oratorios. On 7 February 1875, listeners could compare excerpts from works by Handel, Mendelssohn, and Gounod. Here the "thundering modern sonorities" of *Gallia* created a patriotic perspective on the chorus that followed, "Sion now her head shall raise" from *Judas Maccabaeus;* a work about celebrating Jewish resistance to Seleucid conquest would have been particularly relevant after *Gallia*. Some insisted on an encore. On 18 March, framed by familiar fragments of Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, and *Messiah*, his group presented the premiere of Massenet's "mystery" *Eve* to a sold-out audience. With the young composer again forging a modern perspective on a biblical character, listeners could compare classical notions of beauty and masculine strength with Massenet's voluptuous image of female passion. Handel's musical grandeur here is a foil to Massenet's "charming score, full of color," which Pougin saw as representing the future of French music.[215]

The public, whenever possible, could compare works across concerts as well. For example, a month after an air from Handel's oratorio *Samson* was performed by the Concerts Pasdeloup, audiences could compare it with the Handel-influenced

214. André Simiot, "Concerts et auditions musicales," *L'Echo des orphéons*, 5–7 January 1874.
215. Arthur Pougin, "Société de l'Harmonie sacrée," *Ménestrel*, 21 March 1875, 124.

oratorio-like choruses of act 1 of Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila* at the Concerts Colonne. For little-known works from the past or present, such contexts, together with repeat performances, were crucial in helping audiences construct an understanding of the music and take active part in producing a taste for it. As such, whenever possible, conductors reprogrammed new works soon after their premieres. The Harmonie sacrée, for example, gave two more performances of *Eve* on 23 and 27 March 1875 (fig. 25).[216] These recurrences not only allowed audiences to confirm or amend their previous opinions, but also provided new juxtapositions with other works, thereby potentially drawing audience attention to different aspects of the new work. For those able to attend numerous concerts, the experience could be particularly instructive. On 16 February 1875, for example, in an afternoon devoted to medieval and renaissance music and poetry, Parisians hearing the provençal tune, "March of the Kings," may later have listened differently to Bizet's artful appropriation of it in his *L'Arlésienne*, performed that Sunday by the Conservatoire orchestra.[217]

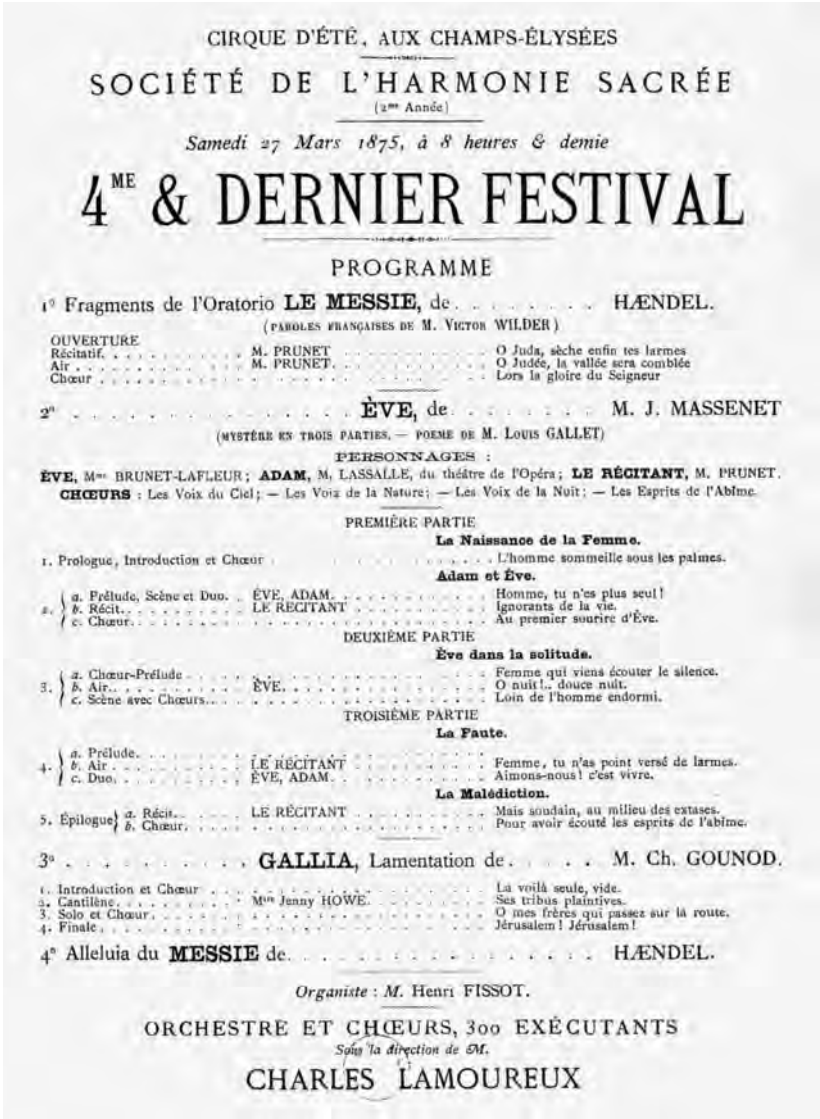
Gevaert saw these opportunities for judgment and comparison as a way to make music part of the country's intellectual life. They stimulated reflection and discussion. Of course, one could point out that old masterpieces were timeless and belonged on all concert programs, that they set a standard for judging newer works. With the identity of the nation in question in the France of the mid 1870s, however, I think more was going on. The *ancien* was not just what the French had inherited, but also what they made for themselves of the past, the perseverance of the past in the present. Concert programs provided occasions to enact this presence, contemplate its meaning, and begin to reconcile with France's various pasts.

Such juxtapositions came in the late 1860s, when republicans were gaining strength under the Second Empire, and reappear in the early 1890s, a period of similar political compromise (see chapter 11).[218] But during the Moral Order, the

216. Di Grazia, "Concert Societies in Paris and Their Choral Repertoires," suggests that Lamoureux's practice of presenting successive performances of the same work was an important precedent for Colonne and Pasdeloup (353).

217. The concerts and Gevaert text I here discuss are reported in *Ménestrel*, 17 January 1875, 52; 24 January 1875, 62; 7 February 1875, 78; 14 February 1875, 82–83, 86–87; 21 February 1875, 94–95; 28 February 1875, 102–3; 14 March 1875, 114; and 21 March 1875, 127.

218. I discussed this at length in my paper "Forging French Identity: The Political Significance of *la musique ancienne et moderne*" (presented at the National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Washington, D.C., 28 October 2006). See also Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past;* Joël-Marie Fauquet and Antoine Hennion, *La Grandeur de Bach* (Paris: Fayard, 2000); and James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).



CIRQUE D'ÉTÉ, AUX CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES

SOCIÉTÉ DE L'HARMONIE SACRÉE

(2me Année)

Samedi 27 Mars 1875, à 8 heures & demie

4ME & DERNIER FESTIVAL

PROGRAMME

1° Fragments de l'Oratorio **LE MESSIE**, de . . . . . HÆNDEL.

(PAROLES FRANÇAISES DE M. VICTOR WILDER)

OUVERTURE
Récitatif. . . . . M. PRUNET . . . . . O Juda, sèche enfin tes larmes
Air . . . . . M. PRUNET. . . . . O Judée, la vallée sera comblée
Chœur . . . . . Lors la gloire du Seigneur

2° . . . . . **ÈVE**, de . . . . . M. J. MASSENET

(MYSTÈRE EN TROIS PARTIES. — POEME DE M. LOUIS GALLET)

PERSONNAGES :

ÈVE, Mme BRUNET-LAFLEUR ; **ADAM**, M. LASSALLE, du théâtre de l'Opéra ; **LE RÉCITANT**, M. PRUNET.
CHŒURS : Les Voix du Ciel ; — Les Voix de la Nature ; — Les Voix de la Nuit ; — Les Esprits de l'Abîme.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

La Naissance de la Femme.

1. Prologue, Introduction et Chœur . . . . . L'homme sommeille sous les palmes.

Adam et Ève.

2. a. Prélude, Scène et Duo. ÈVE, ADAM. . . . . Homme, tu n'es plus seul !
   b. Récit. . . . . LE RÉCITANT . . . . . Ignorants de la vie.
   c. Chœur. . . . . Au premier sourire d'Ève.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

Ève dans la solitude.

3. a. Chœur-Prélude . . . . . Femme qui viens écouter le silence.
   b. Air. . . . . ÈVE. . . . . O nuit !.. douce nuit.
   c. Scène avec Chœurs. . . . . Loin de l'homme endormi.

TROISIÈME PARTIE

La Faute.

4. a. Prélude. . . . . .
   b. Air . . . . . LE RÉCITANT . . . . . Femme, tu n'as point versé de larmes.
   c. Duo. . . . . ÈVE, ADAM. . . . . Aimons-nous ! c'est vivre.

La Malédiction.

5. Épilogue { a. Récit. . . . LE RÉCITANT . . . . . Mais soudain, au milieu des extases.
              { b. Chœur. . . . . Pour avoir écouté les esprits de l'abîme.

3° . . . . . **GALLIA**, Lamentation de . . . . . M. Ch. GOUNOD.

1. Introduction et Chœur . . . . . Là voilà seule, vide.
2. Cantilène. . . . . Mme Jenny HOWE. . . . . Ses tribus plaintives.
3. Solo et Chœur. . . . . O mes frères qui passez sur la route.
4. Finale. . . . . Jérusalem ! Jérusalem !

4° Alleluia du **MESSIE** de. . . . . HÆNDEL.

Organiste : *M.* Henri FISSOT.

ORCHESTRE ET CHŒURS, 300 EXÉCUTANTS

Sous la direction de M.

CHARLES LAMOUREUX

FIG. 25 Harmonie Sacreé program, 27 March 1875.

During his travels in England and Germany, Charles Lamoureux was impressed by the prominence of oratorios and the amateur ensembles that performed them. After returning to France, he tried to persuade the Conservatoire to allow him to program this genre, but was refused. He promptly resigned from his post as assistant conductor of the Conservatoire orchestra and in 1873 founded his own oratorio society, the Harmonie Sacreé. As this concert demonstrates, the society programmed the works of both baroque masters and modern French composers.

juxtaposition of *ancienne* and *moderne* music can be seen as a musical analogue to the political relationship among royalists and republicans, while complicating the perception of a too easy binary opposition between them. I do not mean to suggest that the use of this music in such contexts determined how people heard or understood it, or that any one meaning of works such as *Richard Cœur de Lion*, earlier linked with a political position, dominated any other way to hear it. Rather, I see these aural juxtapositions as providing opportunities for listeners, whatever their politics, to conceive of possible relationships between the past and the present as represented by *la musique ancienne et moderne*. Because the practice of comparative listening encouraged them to pursue their own questions and take responsibility for their own conclusions, quite possibly the meaning they found in these juxtapositions led them to reflect on the coexistence of various values elsewhere in society. Viewed ideally, then, comparing works from the Ancien Régime and the Third Republic might have led audiences to recognize plausible relationships between the past and the present.

The motivations underlying such juxtapositions and the benefits envisaged, however, were not always the same. Scholars of early music (and perhaps Gevaert himself) have tended to assume that old music was the draw for its audiences, or, as Ellis proposes, that the juxtaposition of old and new served "as a defence against the charge that, in their dedication to the masterworks of the past, conductors were neglecting more recent, or living, composers."[219] Even among republicans, this may have been true, for, as Ellis has argued, Handel was a model of the strength republicans wished to assimilate. However, new music could also have been the attraction. On 20 February 1874, the *L'Echo des orphéons* published an open letter to Jules Danbé, who had just conducted Jannequin's *Bataille de Marignan* and would later put on Destouches's *Callirhöé*. Explaining that "the public understands *la musique moderne* better than *la musique ancienne*" and pointing to the huge crowds at Massenet's *Marie-Magdeleine* the day before, he advised, "it's not good to do too much music from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. We can hear it every once in a while to encourage the living and to prove that art progresses."[220] For republicans and certain less sophisticated listeners, then, such programs encouraged greater appreciation of contemporary music. Conservatives, by contrast, most likely saw the new as a way to validate the old. In his organ concerts at the Trocadéro, Alexandre Guilmant built huge audiences for his own

219. Ellis, conclusion to *Interpreting the Musical Past*.

220. André Simiot, "Lettre ouverte à M. Danbé, "*L'Echo des orphéons*, 20 February 1874, 2.

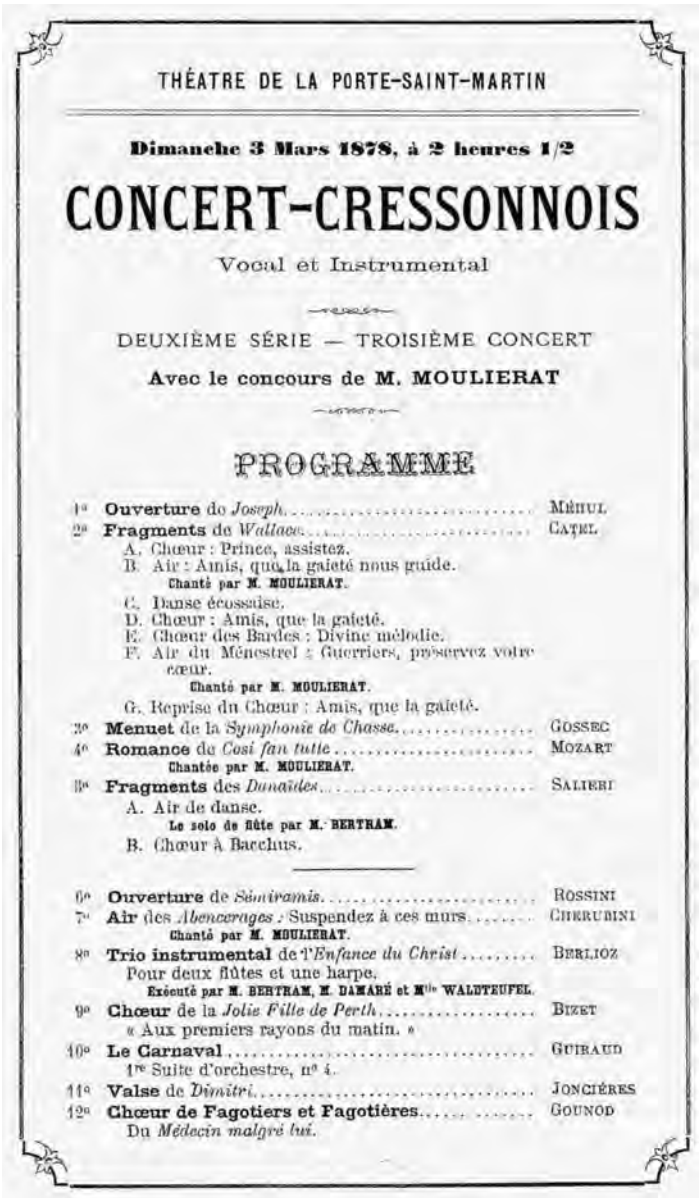
music alongside that of Bach and Handel. In the school's annual concerts, teachers at the arch-conservative Ecole Niedemeyer presented their own motets and counterpoint with those of Palestrina and Lassus. In such cases, the style and genres of new music served to foreground the influence and ongoing importance of early music. In other words, to the extent that old music influenced new music, it would have a voice in the future (which was later borne out in the 1890s). This idea closely resembles the spiral notion of progress, later advocated by Vincent d'Indy, in which art turns back on itself to propel itself forward.[221]

Supporters of the Moral Order were not the only ones who may have found value in this coexistence of *ancienne* and *moderne* on concert programs. "For French art to regain its force, rediscover its path, and recover its step, it would suffice to take it back to its own past," the radical republican minister of fine arts Antonin Proust contended.[222] Just as some conservatives (and even Wagnerians) believed in a spiral notion of progress, most republicans understood that rethinking the past could be an important part of inventing the future. In winter 1878, a year before the Senate fell to republican control and Mac-Mahon resigned, Jules Cressonnois organized a series of concerts with French identity explicitly in mind.[223] They featured, not only old and new music, but also a broader notion of *la musique ancienne*, which included music of the Revolution (fig. 26). His two series of six moderately priced concerts presented fifteen French composers from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and fifteen living French composers, with Massenet, Gounod, Rameau, and then Gossec the most frequently represented. Listeners could hear music of all genres and compare them across time. Music from the Revolution was juxtaposed with dances from the Ancien Régime—a sixteenth-century pavane and romanesca, a Lully sarabande, minuets by Gossec and Gluck, and gavottes by a Grétry and Gluck, acknowledging that France had two pasts, equally illustrious. These were performed alongside waltzes by Berlioz, Reber, and Joncières, encouraging listeners to take a distanced perspective on the past, rather than an engaged defense of one past over another, and reflect on changes in French dance forms over the long term. There were also overtures by Méhul and Berton to compare with overtures by Rossini, Weber, and Joncières; choruses from

221. In his speech at the inauguration of the Schola on 2 November 1900, d'Indy said: "Art, in its march forward throughout the ages, . . . is not a closed circle, but a spiral that always rises and always progresses." See Jann Pasler, "France: Conflicting Notions of Progress," in *Man and Music: The Late Romantic Era*, vol. 5, ed. Jim Samson (London: Macmillan, 1991), 389–416.

222. Proust, *Art sous la République*, 275.

223. Cressonnois was a composer-conductor who put on evening concerts daily in the Champs-Elysées in summer 1876.



THÉATRE DE LA PORTE-SAINT-MARTIN

Dimanche 3 Mars 1878, à 2 heures 1/2

CONCERT-CRESSONNOIS

Vocal et Instrumental

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE — TROISIÈME CONCERT

Avec le concours de M. MOULIERAT

PROGRAMME

1° **Ouverture** de *Joseph*..... MÉHUL
2° **Fragments** de *Wallace*..... CATEL
A. Chœur : Prince, assistez.
B. Air : Amis, que la gaieté nous guide.
Chanté par M. MOULIERAT.
C. Danse écossaise.
D. Chœur : Amis, que la gaieté.
E. Chœur des Bardes : Divine mélodie.
F. Air du Ménestrel : Guerriers, préservez votre cœur.
Chanté par M. MOULIERAT.
G. Reprise du Chœur : Amis, que la gaieté.
3° **Menuet** de la *Symphonie de Chasse*..... GOSSEC
4° **Romance** de *Così fan tutte*..... MOZART
Chantée par M. MOULIERAT.
5° **Fragments** des *Danaïdes*..... SALIERI
A. Air de danse.
Le solo de flûte par M. BERTRAM.
B. Chœur à Bacchus.

6° **Ouverture** de *Sémiramis*..... ROSSINI
7° **Air** des *Abencerages* : Suspendez à ces murs..... CHERUBINI
Chanté par M. MOULIERAT.
8° **Trio instrumental** de l'*Enfance du Christ*..... BERLIOZ
Pour deux flûtes et une harpe.
Exécuté par M. BERTRAM, M. DAMARÉ et Mlle WALDTEUFEL.
9° **Chœur** de la *Jolie Fille de Perth*..... BIZET
« Aux premiers rayons du matin. »
10° **Le Carnaval**..... GUIRAUD
1re Suite d'orchestre, n° 4.
11° **Valse** de *Dimitri*..... JONCIÈRES
12° **Chœur de Fagotiers et Fagotières**..... GOUNOD
Du *Médecin malgré lui*.

FIG. 26 Concerts Cressonnois program, 3 March 1878.

The purpose of these concerts, construed as *concerts historiques*, was to "hold high the flag of *la musique ancienne*, especially that of the French school, without neglecting modern masters." Particularly interesting is the mix of revolutionary-era composers with those associated with the Ancien Régime, but comparisons are also elicited with French modern music. Long program notes by Henri Lavoix *fils*, unusual in Paris until the mid 1880s, helped the public understand the historical context of the lesser-known works performed.

Catel's *Wallace* alongside choruses of Bizet and Gounod, from Rameau's *Les Indes galantes* with choruses by Paladilhe and Gounod, and from Rameau's *Dardanus* with choruses by Massenet and Bizet; opera excerpts from Gossec's *Thésée* with Lefebvre's *Judith*, and from Rameau's *Castor et Pollux* with Guiraud's *Madame Turlupin;* the programmatic *Symphonie de chasse* by Gossec with Saint-Saëns's *Danse macabre* and Guiraud's *Carnaval;* serenades by Grétry with serenades by Haydn and Beethoven; and a romance for violin by Beethoven with one by Lalo (in a premiere on 24 March).[224]

Cressonnois's concerts and others like them set up opportunities to perceive relationships between music of the past and the present in terms of the taste for certain forms, the manner of treating texts and different genres, the modes of expression, the use of the chorus, and the originality of the orchestration. This would suggest continuity in French history. Some works, such as a sixteenth-century pavane and excerpts from Rameau's *Dardanus,* were presented in recently orchestrated versions. These showed that France's cultural heritage could be embraced, assimilated, and used for new purposes, thereby acquiring new meanings in the present.

Lavoix *fils*'s extensive program notes for the Concerts-Cressonnois—perhaps the first of such length and substance in France—stimulated interest in the older works through anecdotes about their creation and early performances.[225] With them, he tried to broaden audiences' limited expectations. Analytical details directed listeners to what was original in the works and what debt contemporaries owed to their predecessors. Hoping "to hold high and steady the flag of early music, and especially that of the French school, without neglecting modern masters," Lavoix pointed out the "utility" of these concerts "for both old and modern art." Juxtaposing *la musique ancienne et moderne* could help audiences reflect on the shared attributes of French music. This not only provided a new notion of French identity but would also characterize concerts oriented toward the future in France in the 1890s and into the next century.[226]

If the coexistence of *la musique ancienne et moderne* became an integral part of French musical identity, it was in part because the genres that showed how this could work—especially songs, choruses, and dances—could be performed by

224. In 1878, Guillot de Sainbris's choral society presented similar juxtapositions, with two premieres, Handel's *Jeptha* and Massenet's *Narcisse,* the latter written for them, framed with choruses by Rameau and Grétry.

225. Henri Lavoix *fils* ran the Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève. He later published a *Histoire de la musique* (Paris: Quantin, 1885).

226. See further on this in chapter 11.

everyone, young or old, amateur or professional, poor or rich, in huge public halls as well as private salons, and because concerts with these programs proliferated in the 1870s. The juxtaposition supported both spiral notions of progress associated with conservatives and linear notions espoused by republicans. Moreover, used to construct various stories about France's past, present, and future, *ancienne* and *moderne* were malleable categories. *Ancienne* signified ancestors the French admired or from whom they wished to assimilate something. But which composers counted as *ancienne* depended on who was listening and what they hoped to get out of the experience, whether they felt pride in the Ancien Régime or the Revolution, whether they envied and sought inspiration from the strength and grandeur of German baroque masterpieces or the charm and grace of the French baroque. So, too, the *moderne*. If the musical world was politicized during the Moral Order, it was not just because musical choices sometimes reflected the values of republicans or monarchists, but, more important, because they served as a context for open deliberation about the merits and meaning of the *ancien* and the *moderne* and helped the French reflect on what they shared as a people.

By showing the relevance of both to the present, the examples discussed above, particularly the Concerts-Cressonnois, helped to break down the ideological divide between the Revolution and the Ancien Régime. Republican composers, performers, and concert organizers used music and musical taste to encourage tolerance in part because they needed the Republic to be seen as democratic, accepting differences. Republican politicians thus supported the Opéra's continuing subsidy, despite its close association with luxury and the upper classes. As a nationalist agenda developed, *musique ancienne* and *musique moderne* were neither necessarily opposed nor clearly mapable onto royalist and republican positions. In using the past to "invent" a nationalist tradition, musicians and music scholars pursued their own ways of forming a people through taste.

If I have had to review the political factions struggling for power, the desire to shape French *mœurs*, and the rising importance of elementary education—all of which have long histories in the nineteenth century—it is because they are foundational in French culture. Any attempt to understand music in and as political culture must begin with them. Where I have tried to break new ground is in examining how music was expected to help "compose" citizens and support ideology during this period, despite ideological diversity and complexity; in looking broadly at the extent to which all classes were involved with music and music-

making—which necessitated studying a wide range of genres; and especially in taking concerts seriously as meaningful experiences. If we wish to understand the political function or significance of music, we must look to not only musical works and the contexts in or for which they were written, but also the contexts in which they were performed and heard. Concert organizers played an important role in how audiences would encounter music. They understood that meaning arose when listeners grasped connections to immediately neighboring music, when music resonated from one work to the next—whether in the juxtaposition of Wagner with the new French music or in *la musique ancienne et moderne*.[227] Not all concerts, to be sure, were organized as opportunities for people to practice making comparisons, reaching judgments, and forming opinions. However, before republican laws and a new kind of secular, civic education could form a new generation of French citizens, active listening was particularly valuable, because, absent an absolute authority like the Church, a schoolmaster, or the king, the French were on their own. In the context of performances, especially under the Moral Order, people learned how to deal with uncertainty and ambivalence, while discovering connections among disparate experiences. They could test the relative merits of their opinions against those of their peers and have the opportunity to stand firm or tune to the whole. This not only helped develop their taste and their critical judgment, teaching them the habits of citizenship and preparing them to make better choices in the voting booth, it also contributed to the consensus of public opinion. When musical taste reflected tolerance of multiple pasts and multiple presents, musical practices contributed to the modern equivalent of *l'esprit public,* the sense of sharing as a people. Ironically, through the form its political compromise took in music and concerts, the Moral Order contributed to the republican program of national cohesion.

227. I'm extrapolating here from Jerrold Levinson, *Music in the Moment* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), which owes much to Edmund Gurney's *The Power of Sound* (London: Smith, Elder, 1880).