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PART THREE • INSTITUTING
REPUBLICAN CULTURE

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New Traditions, New History

The musical world felt only a cool breeze (*un léger froid*) when the devastating crisis of 16 May 1877 threatened to return France to a constitutional monarchy.¹ After intense conflict erupted between republicans and reactionary politicians over the latter's close ties with the papacy, President Mac-Mahon purged the government of republican administrators and brought back the union of conservatives, led by the duc de Broglie. Yet increasing openness to republican values in the music performed on French stages suggested an impending disintegration of the Moral Order and the dawn of a new political era. Performances that winter and spring featured works embodying republican ideals of struggle and growth. These can be seen as a musical counterpart for the emerging "sanction of public opinion" that would give republicans a majority in elections that October and allowed them to install a new order two years later.²

On 28 January 1877, for example, Colonne premiered Saint-Saëns's *La Jeunesse d'Hercule*, a tone poem about the young hero who, in the conflict between pleasure and duty, chooses "the path of struggle and combat" leading to "immortality."³ Through Hercules, a Greek symbol of stoic virtue, strength, and heroism, Saint-Saëns signals the importance of virile energy and creates a French equivalent for those qualities in Handel's *Hercules*, a work performed frequently across Europe in the 1870s. Borrowing the rondo structure of his own *Le Rouet d'Omphale*, written in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War, in which Hercules' strength is

1. Despite the political chaos, musical life maintained a semblance of normalcy. As leaders of the republican opposition met in the Grand Hôtel, inevitably plotting how they could regain their influence, across the street at the Palais Garnier, Massenet's new opera *Le Roi de Lahore* earned huge receipts. At 8 Place de l'Opéra, amid cries from the boulevard hailing the populist hero Léon Gambetta, a private concert went on as scheduled in the salon of the *Daily Telegraph*, although between performances by Conservatoire faculty, the host sent telegrams to London. *Ménestrel*, 20 May 1877, 194, 198.

2. Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 191–92.

3. From the composer's program note.

encircled and subdued by Omphale's charms, Saint-Saëns moves Hercules' music from the B theme to the A theme and inverts the narrative, celebrating the victory of strength over weakness. The work begins with the tentative emergence of the Hercules theme in the strings, then its gradual development. This time the hero's lyrical effusiveness rises majestically over the woodwinds, echoing Omphale's spinning music, and stands up energetically to the aggressive bacchanal music in the woodwinds that "tempts" him. Pushing it away, the strings quiet them in a strong, recitative-like gesture that brings the music back to a measured calm. After returning to the opening material, the music turns assertive and proud, punctuated by the brass, the work's "struggle" ending with the "triumph" of the hero. If the Hercules of *Le Rouet d'Omphale* can be seen as representing both Victor Hugo's beloved people, enslaved by a weak, effeminate monarchist government (reprising the identification of Hercules with the common people during the Revolution), or the republican spirit, seething for change,⁴ the hero of *La Jeunesse d'Hercule* may be a metaphor for the young Republic's victory over Second Empire decadence, reminiscent of the revolutionaries' victory over Ancien Régime effeminacy.⁵ After the republicans won their first majority in the Chambre the previous spring, the country was ready to settle on a new identity. Gone was the time when many feared virile works as "suspect" and preferred amusement. Politicians began to call for work that "returns to a more male and proud ideal," that "instructs and strengthens the people and gives France the moral grandeur befitting a democracy."⁶ A week after the republicans won reelection that fall, *La Jeunesse d'Hercule* returned to the concert stage at the Cirque d'hiver.

In February 1877, Berlioz's *Damnation de Faust*, a work known for its extreme difficulty, emerged unexpectedly as a blockbuster. At the 1846 premiere, the public had been indifferent. However, when both the Concerts Padeloup and the Concerts Colonne gave the 2½-hour work complete for the first time in thirty years, critics called it "not a victory, but a triumph." When Ernest Reyer praised the performers for rendering its many nuances with "perfection" and the ensemble for its "intelligence beyond all praise," this was all the more impressive

4. As Lynn Hunt explains in *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), the meaning of Hercules fluctuated for the French, depending on whether he was understood to represent the king or the people, a mighty "Colossus" or a "life-sized brother to Liberty and Equality" (104).

5. See Jann Pasler, "Crossdressing in Saint-Saëns' *Le Rouet d'Omphale*: Ambiguities of Gender and Politics," in *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, ed. Lloyd Whitesell and Sophie Fuller (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 191–215.

6. M. Robert Mitchell, discussing Turquet's letter to theater inspectors (25 February 1879) in Chambre des députés, *Journal officiel*, 19 May 1880, 5390.

because Colonne's chorus included humble workers from choral societies who had to rehearse at night in the basements of brasseries. Reyer also complimented the audience for being able to follow this long, complicated work, requiring great imagination, without the aide of costumes and scenic effects. If it had been possible, Colonne would have encored every number, for "never has a work excited such an enthusiasm, a justified enthusiasm."⁷ Responding to audience demand, on five more consecutive Sundays, his orchestra repeated it to ever-increasing crowds. If one can judge by how much money these concerts made—five of them broke the Concerts Colonne record for ticket sales—the public was ready and eager to grow through the challenge of listening to complex music. Judged superior to those by Padeloup, Colonne's performances put his orchestra on a firm financial foundation and showed Parisians that it was capable of competing with the Conservatoire's prestigious Société des concerts, long considered without rival. After a decade of slowly permeating Paris concerts, they also solidified the struggling genius's place in the musical world.⁸ Interest also turned to another struggling musical titan associated with freedom and progress, Beethoven. Beginning three days before the political crisis that May, *Méneſtreſ* began a 26-part series on his early years.

If, as republicans believed, art could influence one's perception of the world and shape one's behavior, then the programming of certain pieces, and the manner in which they engaged audiences, mattered. Narratives of struggle, difficult music that required listeners to struggle to follow it, and composers whose lives testified to the benefits of overcoming adversity were significant. Under the Second Empire, many composers had feared "exhausting" their listeners with "music that was difficult to understand."⁹ With the republicans building a constituency for a new form of government, those sympathetic to their goals may have hoped that this kind of music could instill attitudes the public would need to stand up to the monarchists and embrace change.

After the success of the 1878 Exhibition, music and concert life had become widely infused with republican values. On 5 January 1879, when the Senate was

7. Ernest Reyer, *Journal des débats*, 30 March 1877; Henri Cohen, *Art musical*, 22 February 1877; *Méneſtreſ*, 25 February 1877; and *Art musical*, 8 March 1877. After the third performance, major articles were written about Berlioz's work by Auguste Morel in *Méneſtreſ*, 4 March 1877, 108–9, and Ernest Reyer in the *Journal des débats*, 13 March 1877, both reviewing the work's history and original reception. See Jann Pasler, "Building a Public for Orchestral Music: Les Concerts Colonne," in *Le Concert et son public: Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe de 1780 à 1914* (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2002): 218–20.

8. For Berlioz's reception after 1870, see Leslie Wright, "Berlioz's Impact in France," in *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, ed. Peter Bloom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 253–68.

9. Camille Saint-Saëns, *Harmonie et mélodie* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1885), 292.

up for reelection, and the republicans hoped to win control over all branches of government, the Société des concerts programmed Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette*. Was this a way to induce the public to reconsider the country's differences? Selections began with the musical rendition of street-fighting between the rival families in the introduction and ended with Romeo at the tomb, with the oath of reconciliation sung by a triple chorus. That afternoon, the Concerts Padeloup premiered excerpts from Charles Lefebvre's *Judith*, depicting a woman's "virtuous crime," putting love for her country above all else. And Louis Lacombe announced the premiere of his *Chants de la patrie: Hommage à la France*, a republican-inspired collection of folk tunes from various French provinces that documented their common heritage. In February and March, *Ménestrel* published another twenty-two articles on the "joys and suffering" of Beethoven's life.¹⁰ Music thus could be useful in helping audiences to imagine a new, republican national future.

After the republicans came to power, taking over the Senate and the presidency—Mac-Mahon resigned on 30 January, succeeded by the *républicain opportuniste* Jules Grévy—the musical world mirrored the country's increasing embrace of the following four elements:

Egalitarianism: On 15 January 1879, women musicians were in the limelight when a quartet, led by the brilliant violinist Marie Tayau, presented a concert uniquely devoted to recent music by the vicomtesse de Grandval, the country's most prestigious female composer. Then, in 1880, she and Augusta Holmès each won a prestigious composition prize, their works praised for their virility as well as their charm.¹¹ In 1880, a Protestant couple, Henriette and Edmund Fuchs, started Concordia, a new choral society for girls and women, as well as men, from the *haute bourgeoisie*.

French heroes: In Lyon, on 8 February 1879, Saint-Saëns premiered his new opera *Etienne Marcel*, based on the story of a popular hero from a fourteenth-century French rebellion. With it, Saint-Saëns returned to historical opera in the tradition of Meyerbeer and anticipated Jules Ferry's call for works based on French history and French heroes. After its medieval guilds seek freedom from the king, and Etienne as provost of Paris leads a revolt, the work ends with the ensemble "For our rights and privileges, we will fight till the end, so

10. See *Ménestrel*, 9 February 1879, 81–83; 16 February 1879, 89–90; and 2 March 1879, 105–6. In some issues, Victor Wilder examines Beethoven's sketches to study the "mystery" of his creativeness and the elaboration of his ideas.

11. Grandval won the Institut's Concours Rossini for her oratorio *La Fille de Jaire*, and Holmès took second prize in the city of Paris competition for *Les Argonautes* for orchestra, chorus, and soloists.

that our regained liberties finally break the yoke that weighs on our breasts.”¹² Begun in 1877 during the reconstruction of the Hôtel de Ville (city hall), burned down during the Commune, and heavily subsidized by the government, the opera has been understood as a musical response to the Commune, the political crisis brought on by 16 May, or possibly both.¹³

French music, especially by living composers: From December 1878 to April 1879, the government subsidized a magnificent festival at the Hippodrome circus and racetrack in Paris, with a “symphonic and choral army” of 460 presenting six concerts of mostly recent French music, with composers conducting their recent work (fig. 37).¹⁴ These were meant to educate as well as stimulate French pride. Some ten to twenty thousand people attended, all classes under a vast glass enclosure in which “the voices and instruments resonated as in an enchanted palace.” Reviewers thought foreigners would envy this as “the most beautiful, the most vast, and the most sonorous in the world” and considered the concerts “a new era for those interested in grand music.”¹⁵ On 10 October 1880, in advance of his regular concert season, Colonne also put on a Festival-National of French music at the Trocadéro. And that year, the Société de musique française was founded.

12. The Lyonnais public at the premiere knew the story and so the aristocracy stayed away, their seats being taken by “administrative and military authorities,” including the president of the Conseil municipal and the head of the police, as well as professors, musicians, and the local press. Edmond Stoullig, “Le Monde des théâtres,” *Le National*, 10 February 1879.

13. Steven Huebner in his *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 214, and Hugh MacDonald in his entry on the opera in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie et al. (New York: Grove, 2001), suggest that the work was inspired by the Commune; in his *Camille Saint-Saëns* (Sprimont, Belgium: Mardaga, 2004), Jean Gallois argues for it as a response to the political meltdown of May 1877 (219–20). In his *Camille Saint-Saëns: A Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1999), Brian Rees suggests, “the libretto made clear that rebels fall out among themselves, but lacked a decisive political message, royalist or republican. The descending fifths, which play a prominent part, indicate that political revolt spirals downward . . . but heroes and villains are found in both camps” (225–26).

14. This included Gounod, Saint-Saëns, Massenet, Delibes, Joncières, Fauré, Weckerlin, Guiraud, Godard, Salvayre, and Reyer, large works such as *Le Déluge* (1876) and *Le Tasse* (1878), and smaller genres like marches. Massenet, in one of his rare appearances in this role, twice conducted excerpts from act 3 of his *Le Roi de Lahore* (1877), once in juxtaposition with Delibes’s charming ballet *Sylvia* (1876). Even though he had been Offenbach’s collaborator, and was his successor as director of the Théâtre de la Gaîté in 1875, Albert Vizentini, the organizer, pointedly avoided programming music by Offenbach, who was associated with Second Empire decadence. Music from the French past was also performed, including the oath of reconciliation chorus from *Roméo et Juliette*.

15. Their sixth concert, all-Gounod, was transferred to the Trocadéro to allow the Hippodrome to prepare for its upcoming equestrian season. Later, on 9 May, Vizentini conducted some of these same works in the opening performance of the Concerts Besselièvre in the gardens of the Champs-Élysées (*Ménestrel*, 11 May 1879, 191).

HIPPODROME DE PARIS
AU PONT DE L'ALMA

QUATRIÈME GRAND FESTIVAL

DU MARDI SOIR, 11 FÉVRIER 1879

AVEC LE CONCOURS DE MM.

C. SAINT-SAËNS E. GUIRAUD
WEKERLIN & FAURÉ

PROGRAMME

<p style="text-align: center;">PREMIÈRE PARTIE</p> <p>1. PATRIE! OUVERTURE... G. BIZET. ORCHESTRE</p> <p>2. LES DJINNS... FAURÉ. CHŒUR CONDUIT PAR M. FAURÉ.</p> <p>3. LE DÉLUGE... C. SAINT-SAËNS. POÈME DRAMATIQUE EN 3 PARTIES. 1^{re} PARTIE: <i>Corruption de l'homme. — Colère de Dieu. — Alliance avec Noé.</i> 2^e PARTIE: <i>L'Arche. Le Déluge.</i> 3^e PARTIE: <i>La Colombe. — Sortie de l'Arche. — Bénédiction de Dieu.</i> ORCHESTRE ET CHŒURS CONDUITS PAR M. C. SAINT-SAËNS. LES SOLI SERONT CHANTÉS PAR M^{mes} H. DE STUCKLÉ, et COYON-HERVIX, MM. DUFICHIE et MOULIÉROT. LE SOLO DE VIOLON PAR M. PAUL VIARDOT.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">DEUXIÈME PARTIE</p> <p>4. OUVERTURE DU JEUNE HENRI... MÉHUL. ORCHESTRE.</p> <p>5. LES POÈMES DE LA MER. WEKERLIN. A. <i>L'azur du soleil.</i> B. <i>Fronçade.</i> CHŒURS ET ORCHESTRE CONDUITS PAR M. WEKERLIN. SOLO CHANTÉ PAR M. MOULIÉROT.</p> <p>6. LE FKU! (opéra inédit). E. GUIRAUD. A. <i>Air du 1^{er} acte.</i> SOLO PAR M^{me} H. DE STUCKLÉ. B. <i>Intermezzo.</i> (ORCHESTRE). C. <i>Grande scène du 1^{er} acte.</i> SOLO PAR M. DUFRICHE.</p> <p>CHŒURS ET ORCHESTRE CONDUITS PAR M. E. GUIRAUD.</p> <p>7. DANSE MACABRE... C. SAINT-SAËNS. ORCHESTRE CONDUIT PAR M. C. SAINT-SAËNS. SOLO JOUÉ PAR M. PAUL VIARDOT.</p> <p>8. LE TANNHAUSER. R. WAGNER. (Marche et chœur du 1^{er} acte).</p>
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L'Orchestre et les Chœurs, au nombre de 460 EXÉCUTANTS,
SERONT DIRIGÉS PAR

MM. C. SAINT-SAËNS, E. GUIRAUD, WEKERLIN, FAURÉ
ET ALBERT VIZENTINI

Bureaux à 7 heures 3/4. — On commencera à 8 heures 1/2 très-précises.
Chef des Chœurs: M. BERTRINGER.

FIG. 37 Hippodrome de Paris, Grand Festival program, 11 February 1879.

The nineteenth century saw several hippodromes [racetracks] constructed in Paris. The third, called the Hippodrome de l'Alma or the Hippodrome de Paris, held approximately 6,000 spectators and was in use from the time of its construction, 1877, until 1892.

Secularism: Patriotic music began to permeate the annual Good Friday concerts. On 20 April 1879, Colonne started out with Saint-Saëns's "Marche héroïque," composed during the siege of Paris in memory of his friend the painter Henri Regnault, who was killed. On Good Friday 1881, Colonne's orchestra again performed this march, while Padeloup presented Bizet's *Patrie!* overture and Gounod's *Gallia*. The juxtaposition of patriotic works with religiously inspired works suggests that the concert organizers wanted audiences to feel a connection between the suffering of Christ on the Cross and the courage of the French people.

Meanwhile, that spring, Lully's music from the Ancien Régime—earlier fêted at the occasional performance—was only to be heard in music history classes at the Conservatoire, where Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray portrayed the composer as cosmopolitan, rather than associated with Louis XIV.¹⁶

Such developments underline the utility of musical taste as a barometer of rising republican sympathies. But with the republicans in the majority came new challenges. What would it mean to assure the continuity of their values over the long term? New laws were indispensable, as well as new freedoms and more equality. The republicans also needed to permeate and shape the country's *mœurs* with the spirit of republicanism, which would "lead everyone to conduct themselves voluntarily as the law would command."¹⁷ This meant turning their secular ideology into the country's official culture. If politics implies, not only actions and policies construed to shape the nation, but also attitudes about how the country should be governed, values underlying human relationships, what and with whom people associate, what they hold dear, and to what they aspire, then to the extent that music and participation in the musical world expressed these, or elicited shared feelings about them, music had the capacity to be deeply political. Republicanism could be shaped, not just by institutions and administrators, but also by composers, performers, and concertgoers in their choice of music and what meanings to draw from it.

Republicans thus looked to music and concert life to contribute to the realization of republican ideals. To inculcate republican values and make music accessible to all classes, politicians added music to school curricula and reformed state-subsidized

16. "Lesson of 13 March," *Ménestrel*, 23 March 1879, 133. Whereas Vizzentini had put on Lully at the Théâtre de la Gaîté in the mid 1870s, he dropped the composer after his new Théâtre-National-Lyrique opened. See H. Lavoix fils, "Les Vieux Maîtres de l'opéra français," *Revue et gazette musicale*, 27 October 1878, 347–49, and Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 138.

17. See chapter 3 above and Jules Simon, *Le Devoir* (Paris: Hachette, 1867), 187–88.

musical institutions. As the republicans became more confident, fewer looked abroad for models of strength—Katharine Ellis attributes Handel’s subsiding popularity at the end of the 1870s to there being less need “to fight hard for Republican causes” after the republicans came into power.¹⁸ Certainly, those promoting a return to organicism in art, such as the deputy and later Minister of Fine Arts Antonin Proust, perhaps to embody their dream of unity and coherence in the emerging republican nation, saw in Wagner’s music useful strategies that could be adapted to French taste. But many also turned to French traditions for inspiration, perhaps emboldened by Marmontel’s contention that French music had matured to a point where French composers should “break away from the influence of foreign style.”¹⁹ Rather than juxtaposing *la musique ancienne et moderne* as distinct styles, republican historians and concert organizers began to focus on assimilating and integrating French masterpieces from the past. Music thus helped the French reconceive their history in ways that not only acknowledged a greater role for revolutionary traditions but also began to trace an evolutionary path from the past to the present. This gave rise to a specifically republican narrative of French identity.

ENACTING CHANGE AT SCHOOLS AND THE OPÉRA

Between May 1877 and January 1879, despite the concerted efforts of conservatives to dismiss republican mayors, shut down republican bars, Masonic lodges, and clubs, and counteract republican ideas with propaganda, republicans grew increasingly strong, not only in Paris but in most *départements*. They turned out to be good organizers and used the parliamentary system to their advantage. Ironically, they also claimed to be the “guarantors of peace and commercial prosperity,” painting their opponents as wanting “a return to an impossible past” and risking war with Italy and Germany over an assertion of the pope’s authority.²⁰ Historians have pointed to the republicans’ success, not just with the peasants and working-class people, but also with the bourgeoisie. As Jean-Marie Mayeur explains it:

The conflict of 16 May [1877] was first of all a conflict of ideas about the place of the Church in society, and the line of ideological division did not coincide

18. Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 247.

19. Antoine-François Marmontel, *Eléments d’esthétique musicale et considérations sur le beau dans les arts* (Paris: Heugel, 1884), 424–25, 438.

20. Jean-Marie Mayeur and Madeleine Rebérioux, *The Third Republic from Its Origins to the Great War, 1871–1914*, trans. J. R. Foster (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 30.

with the social classes. The social significance of 16 May was that, as in 1879 and 1830, it set up in opposition to each other the privileged few, who clung to a static, hierarchical conception of society, and the third estate as a whole, who accepted democracy—democracy defined, it is true, not as equality of means but as equality of opportunity.²¹

Not only did the republicans win both a majority in the Senate and the presidency in 1879, but the legislative elections in fall 1881 returned even more republicans. Few, most of them Bonapartists, were left to represent the three autocratic traditions and regimes that had dominated the nineteenth century.²² No longer forced to make compromises with royalists and clericals, the republicans could begin to infuse their values more deeply into French society. They had three goals: to break down class differences, to reduce the influence of the Catholic Church, and to lay the foundations for a lasting democracy by taking steps to ensure more liberty, equality, and fraternity. The country was hopeful. Symbols of the old monarchy began to fall, one by one. In 1882, the Palais des Tuileries was finally torn down. The Legitimist pretender, Henri, comte de Chambord, who had been invited back to Paris by his supporters in fall 1882, died in August 1883, leaving Philippe, comte de Paris, the Orléanist pretender, as the only claimant to the throne. Gambetta's Republican Union, an important liberal *opportuniste* faction, kept up the pressure to modernize and briefly took control from 14 November 1881 to 30 January 1882. The compromises it reached with Jules Ferry and the more cautious *républicains opportunistes* set the foundations for a new republican orthodoxy. As in the 1870s, many looked to music and concert life to endorse these changes and to contribute to their impact through reforms in music education and policies at the Opéra, as well as concerts.

NEW FREEDOMS AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Turning republicanism into the dominant culture entailed reaching as many people as possible. But how to do this? And how to ensure more rights and freedoms for all? Through their most important asset, their control of the Chambre, the republicans pushed through important reforms, passing laws that laid the foundations for republican *mœurs* throughout the country.

As a newly elected majority, it was the republicans' first order of business to

21. Ibid., 37. See also 28–41.

22. That is, the Legitimists, Orléanists, and Bonapartists. René Rémond, *La Droite en France* (Paris: Aubier, 1963), 154.

limit the influence of the Church, which controlled most education in the country, including important centers of musical education. On 29 March 1880, the government passed a law putting religious orders under its authority, which forced many of their members into exile. Perhaps in response to this, that same year, the Ecole (Niedermeyer) de musique classique et religieuse dropped the last part of its name and later, to keep a state subsidy, secularized its curriculum. Then, in anticipation of legal problems in removing clergy from the schools or in forcing religious orders to become state-approved associations, in January 1882, the republicans removed authority over religion (*les cultes*) from the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts and transferred it to the Ministry of Justice.²³ In November, the Chambre also abolished financial support for cathedral choir schools, although in late December, Jules Simon protested in the Senate, and a colleague read a letter from Gounod arguing that these institutions had historically trained some of the country's leading composers and remained the only schools teaching singing in the provinces.²⁴ These decisions allowed the republicans to diffuse the power of the Church over education and the arts and to appoint ministers of public instruction and fine arts susceptible to supporting a wider range of perspectives.

In the musical world, the Good Friday concerts continued to stimulate the composition of new religious works,²⁵ but increasingly drew huge crowds through

23. These fears were justified, for in March 1882, the Benedictines refused to submit to the state's authority and had to be expelled from Solemnes. From then until the end of the century, even if it returned periodically to Public Instruction and the Fine Arts, responsibility for religion shuttled back and forth between the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Interior. See http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historique_des_gouvernements_de_la_France (accessed 25 August 2008).

At the same time, resistance to this dismissal could be felt profoundly in the musical world. Interest in chant was growing both within France and across Europe. At Milan's international congress on liturgical music in September 1890, one of six days focused on plainchant. Five representatives came from France. In May 1882, the General Assembly of the Catholic Church voted to teach plainchant in all seminaries and to create a central plainchant school attached to Catholic universities in Paris and the provinces. Congresses encouraged studies and theoretical publications, regularly reported on in *Ménestrel* (e.g., 27 August 1882, 308–10, 3 September 1882, 316–18, and 1 October 1882, 348–49). Among these was Dom Pothier's *Mélodies grégoriennes* (1880).

24. Gounod's letter to the Senate is reproduced in *Ménestrel*, 31 December 1882, 37–38.

25. For example, two new oratorios, Henri Maréchal's *La Nativité* and Raoul Pugno's *La Résurrection de Lazare*, were premiered at Good Friday concerts in 1879; on this occasion in 1881, Berlioz's *Tristia*, David's *Le Jugement dernier*, and Benjamin Godard's "Marche funèbre"; and in 1882, Gaston Salvayre's *La Vallée de Josaphat*, Théodore Gouvy's *Requiem*, Gounod's *Cantique*, and Wagner's "Das Liebesmahl der Apostol." One reviewer noted that such premieres, guaranteed large audiences at such concerts, justified the state subsidies that Colonne and Pasdeloup received. *Ménestrel*, 20 April 1879, 167.

famous soloists, such as Marie-Hélène Brunet-Lafleur and Jean-Baptiste Faure, and new music with unusual instrumental colors. A new secular spirit could be seen particularly in the inclusion of new exotic, often erotic music. On 26 March 1880, selections from act 3 of Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila*, with its exotic Bacchanale, and act 3 from Massenet's *Le Roi de Lahore*, with its Indian paradise, preceded Gounod's *Messe de Sainte-Cécile* and fragments of Berlioz's *Requiem* on the program of Colonne's Concert spirituel (fig. 38).²⁶ Saint-Saëns and Massenet conducted their works, but Gounod stayed away. One critic surmised that his music might appear "pale" in this company; in fact, it was not particularly well received.²⁷ The same concert was repeated on Easter Sunday afternoon. Similarly, at the 1881 Good Friday concert, after beginning with Saint-Saëns's "Marche héroïque" as in 1879, Colonne presented the premiere of the prelude and finale of *Tristan und Isolde*. In an 1882 *concert spirituel*, Colonne featured opera singers in large vocal works by Gluck, Berlioz, and Massenet (again, fragments from *Le Roi de Lahore*), with a Bach concerto as an interlude (fig. 39). Lamoureux included a good deal of Wagner, including most of act 3 from *Lohengrin*. When Colonne brought a cannon on stage for Berlioz's "Marche funèbre pour la dernière scène d'*Hamlet*" (*Tristia*, no. 3) in 1883, the astonished audience demanded an encore. Critics worried that the secularization of the Good Friday programs of the major orchestras was so complete by then that they would no longer be "sufficiently satisfying," given the quasi-religious context.²⁸

In July 1880, the republicans began to relax political censorship. Striking down the extremely repressive laws that had forced so many cafés around the country to close when local prefects suspected political protest brewing, the Chambre voted almost unanimously to allow anyone with "two and a half francs to spare and a clean civil record" to open a café. Café culture, after all, had supported republicanism under the Moral Order. The possibility of censorship would remain, but only to protect the "public order." Theaters would have "absolute liberty in what concerns political, philosophical, social, and religious questions."²⁹ This decision, along with fewer restrictions on strikes and demonstrations, "altered both the content and the genre of political expression," as Susanna Barrows tells us, and expanded the political

26. Selections from *Samson et Dalila* returned at Colonne's Good Friday concerts in 1886 (from act 2, Dalila's air and the famous love duo) and in 1887 (the "Danse des prêtresses").

27. Edouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig, *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique* (1880) (Paris: Ollendorff, 1881), 709.

28. *Ménestrel*, 25 March 1883, 134.

29. Undersecretary of state in the Chambre des députés, *Journal officiel*, 19 May 1880, 5393.

6^e ANNÉE — ASSOCIATION ARTISTIQUE — 6^e ANNÉE
Siège de la Société : 158, Faubourg Poissonnière.

24^{ME} CONCERT DU CHATELET

Vendredi-Saint à 8 h. 1/2 du soir

CONCERT SPIRITUEL

AVEC LE CONCOURS DE MM.

Ch. GOUNOD & J. MASSENET

ET

Camille SAINT-SAËNS

PROGRAMME

1. OUVERTURE DE LÉONORE BEETHOVEN
2. SAMSON ET DALILA (fragment du 3^e acte) 1^{re} audition.. C. SAINT-SAËNS
Poème de P. LEMAIRE.
Dalla..... M^{me} WATTO.
Samson..... M^{lle} LAMARCHE.
Le grand prêtre..... LAUWERS.
Sous la direction de **M. C. SAINT-SAËNS.**
3. TROISIÈME ACTE DU ROI DE LAHORE..... J. MASSENET
I. — Marche réjette.
II. — Divertissement.
III. — Incantation.
Sous la direction de **M. J. MASSENET.**
4. MESSE DE SAINTE-CÉCILE..... CH. GOUNOD
I. — Sanctus.
Le solo de ténor par M. LAMARCHE.
II. — Benedictus.
Le solo de soprano par M^{me} WATTO.
III. — Agnus.
Sous la direction de **M. Ch. GOUNOD.**
5. FRAGMENT DU REQUIEM..... H. BERLIOZ
Dies iræ et Tuba mirum.

Les numéros 1 et 5 du Programme seront dirigés par
M. Ed. COLONNE,

ORCHESTRE ET CHOEURS : 250 EXÉCUTANTS

Premières Loges, Baignoires et Fauteuils de Balcon, 8 fr. — Fauteuils d'Orchestre, 6 fr. —
Première Galerie, 4 fr. — Stalles d'Orchestre et Fourtour, 3 fr. — Parterre et Premier
Amphithéâtre, 2 fr. 50. — Deuxième et troisième Amphithéâtre, 1 fr. 50.
En location : Premières Loges, Baignoires et Fauteuils de Balcon, 10 fr. —
Fauteuils d'Orchestre, 8 fr. — Première Galerie, 5 fr. — Stalles d'Orchestre
et Fourtour, 3 fr. 50. — Parterre et Premier Amphithéâtre, 2 fr.

FIG. 38 Concerts Colonne, Concert spirituel program, 26 March 1880.

Audiences at this Good Friday concert were delighted to hear Saint-Saëns and Massenet conduct their own works. What impressed them most in Saint-Saëns's music was the lively Bacchanale from *Samson et Dalila*, brilliantly orchestrated, and they asked for an encore of Massenet's Incantation. In Gounod's Mass, they preferred the Sanctus. Everyone was profoundly moved by the Dies Irae in Berlioz's *Requiem*, which ended the concert by "electrifying" the entire hall. *Ménestrel*, 4 April 1880.

8^e ANNÉE — ASSOCIATION ARTISTIQUE — 8^e ANNÉE
Siège de la Société: 155, Faubourg-Poissonnière.

Vendredi 7 Avril 1882, à 8 h. 1/2 du soir

22^{me} et dernier CONCERT DU CHATELET
AVEC LE CONCOURS DE

M^{lle} Marie BATTU
M^{lle} Caroline BRUN et M. BOLLY

Chalcie
CANTIQUE D'ESTHER (1^{re} partie)
(Palais de Nations)
Ch. GOUNOD
(Duo pour voix de femmes).
M^{lles} M. BATTU
C. BRUN
Le parti septième par M. L. Diemer

L'ENFANCE DU CHRIST (2^e partie)
H. BERLIOZ
I. Ouverture.
II. Chœur des Bergers.
III. Le Repos de la Sainte Famille.
M. BOLLY et les Chœurs.

ARMIDE
(4^e acte)
GLUCK
Armide **M^{lle} Marie BATTU**
La Haine **Caroline BRUN**
I. Air d'Armide. — II. Air de la Haine. — III. Ballet des Furies.
IV. — Duo final avec Chœurs.

Concerto en ut mineur pour 2 pianos (J. S. Bach) joué par M. L. Diemer et R. Buvigney

LA PRISE DE TROIE (2^e acte)
H. BERLIOZ
I. Marche et hymne avec Chœurs.
II. Deux airs de ballet des Troyens.
III. Combat de Ceste (Pa de l'acteur).
IV. Pantomime avec Chœurs.

LE ROI DE LAHORE (3^e acte)
J. MASSENET
I. Marche céleste (Chœur et Orchestre).
II. Divertissement (Orchestre).
III. Incantation, Scène finale (Chœur et Orchestre).

ORCHESTRE ET CHOEURS : 250 EXÉCUTANTS, DIRIGÉS PAR
M. Ed. COLONNE

Ordre du Programme : 1. La Prise de Troie. — 2. Cantique d'Esther. — 3. L'Enfance du Christ. — 4. Armide. — 5. Le Roi de Lahore.

Premières Loges, Baignoires, Fauteuils de Balcon, 8 fr. — Fauteuils d'Orchestre, 6 fr. —
Première Galerie, 4 fr. — Stalles d'Orchestre, Pourboir, 3 fr. — Parterre, Premier
Amphithéâtre, 2 fr. 50 — Deuxième et troisième Amphithéâtre, 1 fr. 25 c.
En location : Premières Loges, Fauteuils de Balcon, Baignoires, 10 fr. — Fauteuils
d'Orchestre, 8 fr. — Galerie, 5 fr. — Stalles d'Orchestre, Pourboir, 4 fr. — Parterre
et Premier Amphithéâtre, 3 fr.

Réouverture le Dimanche 22 Octobre 1882.

FIG. 39 Concerts Colonne, Concert spiritual program, 7 April 1882.

Again, the choices for this concert suggest that audiences were increasingly interested in listening to more than religious music on Good Friday.

arena.³⁰ Laws such as one granting new freedom to the press, on 29 July 1881, also paved the way for more public expression of opinion, leading to a proliferation of new newspapers and journals representing diverse political views and addressing a wide array of subcultures.³¹ Other laws, on 30 June 1881, permitted public meetings without authorization, previously not guaranteed under Napoléonic laws, and, on 24 March 1884, recognized the legality of professional unions and other kinds of “associations.”³² This not only helped alternative political groups function, but also encouraged the proliferation of all sorts of music organizations.

The republicans also took on public instruction. Beginning in February 1879, to encourage more freedom of thought, held necessary in any society whose government claimed to reflect popular consent, and to create a shared culture on the national level, Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts Jules Ferry pushed through the greatest educational reforms in French history.³³ Seeking to do away with the distinction between the liberal education given the elites and the utilitarian one given workers, the republicans began the process of using education to form citizens with a law on 6 December 1879. Like a 1795 decree of the Convention, this law required elementary schools to include “moral and civic instruction.”³⁴ Paul Bert (1833–86), the law’s author and later minister of public instruction under Gambetta, believed that since the nation was “not a simple juxtaposition of individuals bound by material interests and police laws, but a collective individuality with its own reasons for existence and life principles,” children should be taught what had made France

30. Susanna Barrows, “‘Parliaments of the People’: The Political Culture of Cafés in the Early Third Republic,” in *Drinking: Behavior and Belief in Modern History*, ed. Susanna Barrows and Robin Room (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 94–95.

31. These included the first socialist daily for workers, *Le Cri du peuple*, as well as publications for French youth (*Mon Journal* [1881–1914]), night-life enthusiasts (*Chat noir* [1882–89]), and even fans of Wagner (*Revue wagnérienne* [1885–88]).

32. In his *Republican Moment*, Nord points out that religious organizations were not covered by this law and still required to seek authorization to meet (137). For more on the new laws, see Mayeur and Rebérioux, *The Third Republic from Its Origins to the Great War*, 81–84.

33. Ferry was minister of public instruction and fine arts from February 1879 to November 1881, again from January 1882 to August 1882, and from February to November 1883.

34. The “Loi sur l’organisation de l’instruction publique du 3 brumaire an IV [25 October 1795]” calls for teaching “republicans morals” in primary schools. See Albert Duruy, *L’Instruction publique et la Révolution* (Paris: Hachette, 1882), app. 2, p. 375. Note that this concept of moral instruction also permeated the definition of education in the 1881 edition of Emile Littré’s *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, where it is not only the “ensemble des habilités intellectuelles ou manuelles qui s’acquièrent” but also the “ensemble des qualités morales qui se développent.” The other subjects mandated in primary schools, according to the 1881 law, were reading and writing, language and French literature, geography and history, especially those of France, natural sciences, *dessin*, and gymnastics, as well as military drill for boys and knitting for girls.

great: "at what price its suffering, through what bloody turns of event France became a nation and recently acquired civil and religious freedom, what splendor it has given the world, what famous and useful men it has produced, what generous ideas it has always championed. Let them learn to honor those who were great, revere those who suffered for progress and truth, love the social state these people set in motion, work to defend it and make it better, hate fanaticism and scorn tyranny. In this way, love of *patrie* and *liberté* will warm the hearts of young citizens."³⁵

In part inspired by Talleyrand's advocacy of free education for both sexes, in part by a study of the American public school system, new laws in 1881 and 1882 required all children to attend public elementary school from 6 to 13 and provided for this without charge (previously, many children had been sent to work in factories or the fields at a very early age). Construction of public schools all over the country followed, creating competition with private schools.³⁶ Later laws called for gradually replacing clergy and nuns working in public schools with lay teachers, and set up schools to train women for such positions.³⁷ Ferry also reformed who ran the elementary and secondary schools (inspectors and school principals) and what was taught.³⁸ To ensure that the new regulations were written from a republican perspective and by professionals, he reorganized the Conseil supérieur

35. Paul Bert, *L'Instruction civique à l'école* (Paris: Alcide Picard & Kaan, n.d.), 6–7.

36. Between 1877 and 1889, some 19,000 primary schools were built and 8,000 more rebuilt. Some compared these to the new secondary railroad lines, in that they brought all forms of civilization to the distant reaches of the country. See Eugen Weber, "La Formation de l'hexagone républicain," in *Jules Ferry, fondateur de la République*, ed. François Furet (Paris: Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1985), 226.

37. In 1879, a law was passed whereby each *département* should have at least one school to train women for teaching in elementary schools, and in December 1880, women were given access to state-supported secular secondary schools. The curriculum of these schools would range from moral instruction and French to history, math, drawing, and music. The young deputy for whom the bill was named, Camille Sée, convinced anticlerical republicans that educating women in their own *lycées* (college prep high schools) would decrease the influence of the Church.

These laws were also meant to penetrate the home, the site of children's earliest education, where most republicans thought women belonged. *Lycées* would train women, in Sée's words, to be "the mothers of [republican] men," or, as more recent scholars have concluded, "agents of republican propaganda." The first women's *lycée* opened in 1882. By the following year, there were twenty-nine. See Jean Rabaut, *Histoire des féminismes français* (Paris: Stock, 1978), 171–79; Laurence Klejman and Florence Rochefort, *L'Egalité en marche* (Paris: Des Femmes, 1989), 58; Maité Albistur and Daniel Armogathe, *Histoire du féminisme français* (Paris: Des Femmes, 1977), 353, 368–69, 394; and Françoise Mayeur, *L'Enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles sous la Troisième République* (Paris: Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1977).

38. For an analysis of these reforms, see Antoine Prost, "Jules Ferry, ministre de l'instruction publique ou de l'administration de la pédagogie," in *Jules Ferry, fondateur de la République*, ed. Furet, 161–69.

de l'instruction publique as he had the Conseil supérieur des beaux-arts, excluding from it people not involved in education, especially ministers of religion, and providing for the election of some members by their colleagues.³⁹ To support these changes, the government increased spending on education from 6.6 percent of the national budget in 1873 to 12.5 percent in 1882.⁴⁰

Along with these laws, the republicans proposed what they called a “modern pedagogy,” an attempt to reshape how one learned.⁴¹ Echoing Bert’s concerns in a 1880 speech to 250 school principals, Ferry called for “exciting and evoking spontaneity in the student” rather than teaching by rote, helping students “to find their own moral development [*à lui faire trouver*]” rather than “imprisoning them in fixed rules.” He hoped to replace memorization with the development of judgment and initiative in students and, by demanding a more interactive teaching style, to turn instructors into educators. Félix Pécaut, a school inspector, who defined education as “an art of judgment more than instruction in memory and the surface of things,” regarded examination and judgment as republican alternatives to Catholic belief and obedience.⁴² Bert’s civic instruction manual consists of dialogues meant to “make the student speak, provoke his questions, and help him discover the answers by his own reasoning.”⁴³ After the teacher had read them, students were expected to copy down and recite the “summary” that followed.⁴⁴ The first was a story explaining military service and *la patrie*. Such teaching entailed going beyond the revolutionary concept of useful knowledge to forming human beings and instilling society’s customs (*mœurs*). Although these dictation exercises undoubtedly did little to encourage students to find their own voices, at least the ideal was conceptualized.

39. Mayeur and Rebérioux, *The Third Republic from Its Origins to the Great War*, 87.

40. Marie-Claude Genet-Delacroix, *Art et Etat sous la IIIe République: Le Système des beaux-arts 1870–1940* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1992), 212. Note that it had been only 2.8 percent of the national budget during the Second Empire. Furthermore, even if the French population had grown by more than a third since the 1790s, the number of students in secondary schools only increased by 8 percent (Duruy, *Instruction publique et la Révolution*, 25–26).

41. For Duruy’s attempts to reform pedagogy in the 1860s, see Sandra Horvath-Peterson, *Victor Duruy and French Education: Liberal Reform in the Second Empire* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984).

42. Félix Pécaut, *Le Temps*, 22 February 1872, and 30 September 1878, and in id., *Etudes au jour le jour sur l’éducation nationale, 1871–79* (Paris: Hachette, 1879), 35, 287.

43. Bert, *Instruction civique à l’école*, 4.

44. For example, on 23 January 1883 when he was twelve years old, the composer Florent Schmitt took this dictation in his class on moral instruction, suggesting how instructors linked freedom with patriotism: “Freedom is the totality of our rights; in freedom is found the love of freedom. We must love our country first because we are born here and then because she watches over our safety; in effect civil society protects us.” Bibliothèque nationale, Musique, Florent Schmitt, class notes, dossier Schmitt, Rés. F. 1641 (2), 32.

This explicit emphasis on judgment, perhaps modeled on the self-instruction encouraged in the 1870s, and the attempt to make it part of the official method of state-supported instruction were important from the perspective of teaching the meaning of public utility. Not only would learning judgment give individuals an internal sense of order and empower them to act, absent an absolute authority like the Church or the king, it would also help them determine the relative value of their own needs and desires versus those of the society. In other words, judgment, as Ferry saw it, was a prerequisite of virtue, or what made individuals see public interests as more important than private ones. Judgment was the fruit of a civic morality that substituted the state for God.

Textbook reform was central to these changes, as was a new law in 1880 that no longer dictated what books to teach, but rather let individual teachers choose from among those on an approved list.⁴⁵ This was thought to develop their sense of judgment and encourage initiative. Also crucial was teaching about France. A sense of the *patrie* that would help “you read your soul and come to know yourself”⁴⁶ was sorely missing in French schools. Michelet had called on “national tradition” as the “substance” of education. But, unlike in Switzerland and the United States, where schools taught the greatness of their past, the country’s institutions, and civic morals, in France, the long history of absolutism, the divine right of kings, and revolutions made teaching about the French past problematic.⁴⁷

Manuals written for teachers in public schools reflected a fiercely republican ideology, contributing to the Republic’s appearance of legitimacy and social unity, and also revealing the significant extent to which history could be and was “invented,” depending on who was speaking and to whom. Instilling patriotism was a central goal. Manuals recast history in a republican mold, particularly in their representations of the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and the Revolution—two aspects of France’s history that situated, if not defined, the country’s national identity. Mona Ozouf explains how in the earlier public school manuals of the Moral Order, the class struggles that resulted in the Commune had been depicted, not as a social revolution, but as a republican insurrection against a royalist assembly. In the 1880s manuals, 1789 was presented as the birth date of the nation, when it

45. The new pedagogy also affected how individual authors were taught. In *Essai sur une réforme des méthodes d’enseignement. Nouveau procédé pour étudier les classiques: Horace, L’Art poétique* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1880), François Gouin proposed a way to help students understand Horace before they copied him down.

46. Jules Michelet, *Nos fils* (1870; rpt., Geneva: Slatkine, 1980), xiii–xiv.

47. On 27 June 1871, Félix Pécaut wrote in *Le Temps*, “Aucune partie de l’enseignement, dans nos écoles primaires ou secondaires, ne se rapporte à la patrie.” See his *Etudes au jour le jour sur l’éducation nationale, 1871–1879* (Paris: Hachette, 1879), 279–80.

stopped being a kingdom and became a *patrie* and a “moral entity.” Before that date, these manuals focused on what had led up to the Revolution and praised heroes like Joan of Arc who had put the country ahead of their own interests. Afterwards, they emphasized the paths opened up by the Revolution.⁴⁸ A very popular text used since 1877, and officially sanctioned after 1882, *Le Tour de France par deux enfants: Devoir et patrie* (Two Children’s Journey Around France: Duty and Country), by G. Bruno, traces the travels of two Alsatian orphans seeking a lost uncle. Along with its moral lessons, it introduced children, not only to each province of the nation, suggesting along the way what all shared, but also to the notion of loving *la grande patrie* as a surrogate parent.⁴⁹ In some ways, this book was an exercise in overcoming difference and otherness as a prelude to becoming citizens. The mythic construction of national identity here not only “prophesies the disappearance of political parties” but posits citizenship as a “form of cultural conversion” or assimilation, substituting homogeneity for strangeness.⁵⁰

Manuals written for teachers in private schools, by contrast, give another twist on the Revolution, over whose meaning clericals and royalists disagreed profoundly with republicans. In a manual from 1884, for example, Abbé Gaultier reduces discussion of the Revolution to a few paragraphs, leaving it out almost altogether. It is also interesting to note how, as the country’s self-image and its most pressing issues evolved, depictions of history in these manuals change. In his study of a manual by Ernest Lavisse, Pierre Nora shows how the 1876 edition condemns everything about the Revolution after the death of the king, that of 1884 explains the death of the king, and, with a return to monarchy having become a virtual impossibility after 1889, that of 1895 turns Louis XVI into a traitor. Later editions of public school manuals, reflecting the antiwar spirit in the country, also shift to portraying the “Marseillaise” as a song of brotherhood rather than war. And at the end of the century, with many fearing anarchist attacks, most of the manuals speak very little, if at all, of the Terror. In his 1901 private school manual, Abbé Gagnol goes so far to assert that the fight over whether public schools should be secular—one of the most significant accomplishments of the Third Republic—

48. Mona Ozouf, *L’Ecole de la France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), 188–91.

49. *Le Tour de France par deux enfants: Devoir et patrie: Livre de lecture courante*, by G. Bruno [Augustine Fouillée] (Paris: Belin, 1877), was in its 120th edition by 1884. For an analysis, see Jacques Ozouf and Mona Ozouf, “Le Tour de la France par deux enfants,” in *Les Lieux de mémoire*, I: *La République*, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), 291–321, and Nord, *Republican Moment*, 235.

50. M. Martin Guiney, *Teaching the Cult of Literature in the French Third Republic* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 132–33.

was still an open issue.⁵¹ What was taught in late nineteenth-century France was therefore as problematic as assertions of a unified political identity.

In 1881, republicans also pressed for reform of basic musical education. Some did not forget that many adults also needed basic musical skills. Under the initiative of Ferdinand Hérold (senator, *préfet* of the Seine, and son of the famous composer), the city of Paris opened its first music course for adult females, thereby providing women with what had hitherto been an exclusively male privilege. The republicans' primary musical educational goal, however, was making music required in elementary and nursery schools (*écoles maternelles*). The process had begun in September 1880, when the government asked Saint-Saëns to form a committee to study the question. Its members, seven of whom sent reports to the minister, recognized the benefits of music as a moralizing medium among the masses and pressed for music instruction to begin at age six, as in Germany and the United States, to develop a musical instinct in children. Unison and two-part singing of choral music were of primary importance, "for this alone can produce this warmth of soul and this spirit of cohesion that together produce the vigor and moral well-being of a country." Also important were repetition and progression. Moreover, if art was still "too often an object of luxury . . . a commodity that varied according to one's purse—an art for the poor and an art for the rich," and if "the purpose of great art is to unite the heart of a nation [*faire l'unité dans le cœur d'une nation*]," then schools should bring the classes together through by having their pupils sing the same repertoire. Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray and Albert Dupaigne saw particular "utility" in having children sing old folk tunes from the French provinces and encouraged instructors to collect them. From shared local pride might come shared national pride.⁵² To get away from singing German songs, Dupaigne also called on French poets to create national popular songs. The committee called for more teachers and new music to be written for the schools, particularly simple music, but also music that showed "distinction, originality, and grandeur," in other words, masterpieces that would deserve to become popular.⁵³

An eminent music pedagogue who had not participated in the minister's committee, Anatole Loquin, concurred with the need for music in the schools and the study of masterpieces. However, most certainly not a republican, he suggested that

51. See Ozouf's study of these school manuals between 1870 and 1913 in her *Ecole de la France*, 185–249, and Pierre Nora, "Lavis, instituteur national," in *Lieux de mémoire*, ed. id., I, 1: 246–89.

52. "Rapport de M. Bourgault-Ducoudray" (6 November 1880), in *Rapports sur l'enseignement du chant dans les écoles primaires* (Paris: Ministère de l'instruction publique, 1881), 17, 26, 28.

53. Albert Dupaigne, "Mémoire (novembre 1878)," *ibid.*, 78, 87–88.

children start with famous plainchant, such as the *Tantum Ergo*, arguing that it had given birth to European popular music. He also proposed study of “exquisite melodies” from the seventeenth century. From his perspective, children should consider music something “essentially noble, serious, almost religious” that would “awaken in their hearts serious, generous ideas.” Not surprisingly, he reiterated committee members’ objections to music performed by the *orphéons* and wished to produce a new generation, trained on great music, who would “stay home wisely to make good music for their own satisfaction.”⁵⁴

With music in the schools, the republicans shifted their attention from *orphéons* to pedagogy, and eventually new manuals were drawn up. As with the new textbooks, the government let individual teachers choose from among those on an approved list. This was particularly important when it came to a numeric way of teaching singing, the Method Galin-Paris-Chevé. Amand Chev   won acceptance for it as an alternative to methods teaching traditional notation in the public schools by responding directly to Bert’s concerns. The Galin-Paris-Chev   method, he argued, taught students to correct their own mistakes and relied on intelligence rather than memory.⁵⁵

The two most frequently used song collections in the 1880s were Delcasso and Groos’s *Recueil de chant* (Strasbourg, 1867) and Danhauser’s *Les Chants de l’  cole* (1881–83).⁵⁶ The former dated from the Second Empire and included a good number of German songs, albeit with French lyrics, progressing musically from one to the next. Adolphe-L  opold Danhauser, the principal inspector for music in Paris primary schools (1878–94) and a solf  ge teacher at the Conservatoire, wrote the latter in response to the new guidelines. Radically different, its ten volumes of music ranged from Lully and Beethoven to contemporary composers, and from folksongs to patriotic tunes. It became so popular that the city of Paris eventually distributed free copies to local schools. Most songs—unaccompanied for one voice to encourage unison singing—are very upbeat, associating republican values with joyful feelings. Like textbooks of the time, these try to instill love of country and willingness to go to war. Some lyrics recall Jules Simon’s association between love

54. Anatole Loquin, *L’Enseignement primaire de la musique en France* (Paris: Richault 1885), 32, 34, 39, 41. He was a member of the Acad  mie de sciences, belles lettres et arts de Bordeaux, the author of harmony manuals and *Les M  lodies populaires de la France: Paroles, musique et histoire* (1879), and a contributor on music to Littr  ’s dictionary.

55. Amand Chev  , *Rapport sur l’enseignement du chant dans les   coles primaires* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1881), 9.

56. Mich  le Alten, *La Musique dans l’  cole de Jules Ferry    nos jours* (Paris: EAP, 1995), 79. For an overview of French music manuals used between 1885 and 1887, see her chapter 4 and my *Useful Music* (forthcoming).

of family and love of country—"the *patrie* is the home of our childhood." Using music and words, they also give a perspective on past history and present-day concerns. One song from the Revolution by Grétry celebrates an old hero, Roland de Roncevaux, and encourages people to die for their country. Many are texts by Arrenaud promoting France and its glories, written for tunes by composers ranging from Lully, Mozart, and Beethoven to Théodore Dubois. Words to an old Alsatian air call for reunification of Alsace-Lorraine with France; another uses a simple, upbeat melody from a contemporary winner of the Prix de Rome, Henri Maréchal, to recount the life of an Alsatian orphan who, amid "racial" conflict with the Germans who now dominated her classroom, remained faithful to France. Others encourage local pride and travel throughout France. Recalling *Le Tour de France par deux enfants*, an easy-to-remember song, "Nos grandes villes," teaches children about cities all over the country. The opening notes rise gradually through leaping intervals and crescendo at Paris, the "colossal capital." Next comes praise for Lyon and its silk, Marseille as the "pride of sailors," Lille with its industry, and other towns and ports (ex. 7). The song implies a hierarchy among French cities and articulates the reasons for their importance. Folk melodies from Holland and Sweden in this volume give an idea of *mœurs* outside France, perhaps as a stimulus for comparison.

Among other manuals used for singing in the public elementary schools, Marmontel's *La Première Année de musique* (1887) solved the problem of separate instruction in singing and solfège by including both. It also took examples from living French composers, including Gounod, Massenet, Saint-Saëns, and Delibes, thereby raising the level of what children learned to sing and promoting pride in their contemporaries. A later manual reflecting a pedagogical ideology similar to that of the instructors' manuals, *Chants populaires pour les écoles*, with thirty-two short, strophic songs gathered or composed by the musicologist Julien Tiersot, won a competition for such compilations. It begins with a French air from the fifteenth century about Joan of Arc, a "radiant example" of self-sacrifice and patriotism. The seven stanzas by Maurice Bouchor depict Joan as everything any late nineteenth-century Frenchman could want—a shepherdess from Lorraine, a virgin guided by God, a heroine who saved the king, a saintly martyr for *la patrie*, and a "radiant model" to be "embraced in our hearts." Joan's song sets the tone for the little volume, which seeks consolidation around shared values and something for everyone. Old anonymous French airs—a musical equivalent of *la patrie*—are interspersed with songs by French masters from the past (such as Jannequin), and especially folk melodies from each region of the country. This addresses the same concerns as *Le Tour de France par deux enfants*. There are also tributes to the

EX. 7 A. Danhauser, “Nos grandes villes,” popular air, lyrics by Arrenaud, *Les Chants de l’école*, vol. 2 (1881).

Moderato
mf *Bien rythmé*

1. La France et s’é - claire et ray - on - ne De clar -
- tés, Au loin re - splen - dit se cou - ron - ne De ci -
Crescendo
- tés. En tê - te c’est Pa - ris, Ca - pi - ta - le Co - los -
f
- sa - le, En tê - te c’est Pa - ris, Ca - pi - ta - le Du pa - ys.

2. *mf*
A - près, c’est Ly - on; il ex - cel - le Sans ef -
- forts. La soie en ses murs a - mon - cel - le Ses tré -
Crescendo
- sors. Or - guel des ma - te - lots, Est Mar - seil - le La mer -
f
- veil - le: Or - guel des ma - te - lots, Est Mar - seil - le Sur les flots

Revolution such as “Quatre-vingt-douze” by Tiersot himself, as well as revolutionary favorites, Méhul’s “Hymne à la liberté,” and Gossec’s “Le Chant des ouvriers.” Although in the 1902 edition, songs about the 1870 war—“1870” and “Lorraine!”—have been removed, Tiersot’s own patriotic march “Salut, drapeau” remains, singing to the flag of France’s strength, *la patrie*’s grandeur, and, above all, everyone’s willingness to answer the call of a “new day,” the renewed possibility of war. Tiersot’s last song is perhaps the most revealing for its subtle suggestion of bourgeois *mœurs*. “Cendrillon,” indicated as “gracious and gay,” points to the importance the French give to lightness, laughter, pleasure, grace, and joy and the

EX. 7 (continued)

3. *mf*

Dans Lille et le Nord, la fa - bri - que L'a - te -

- lier. Tou - louse au Mi - di; Moins an - ti - que Mont - pel -

Crescendo

- lier. Bor - deaux, le Havre et Rouen Que fê - con - de L'or du

f

mon - de, Bor - deaux, le Havre et Rouen Que fê - con - de L'O - cé - an.

4. *mf Un peu retenu*

De - bout, pro - té - geant la fron - tiè - re, C'est Bel -

1^o Tempo

- fort; Cher - bourg et Tou - lon, ports de guer - re, Ro - che -

Crescendo

- fort; Puis Brest et Lo - ri - ent Dans l'aus - tè - re Fi - nis -

f

- tè - re; Puis Brest et Lo - ri - ent Fi - nis - tè - re, Mor - bi - han.

role of music in providing escape from the world of one's troubles. In the end, the humble young beauty gets her man and they dance, forgetting all else.

Bert's pedagogical philosophy also applied beyond school practices. Even those teaching piano began to experiment. In introducing his *Exercices de mécanisme*, Mathis Lussy states that he "wishes to be useful" in offering a "new, rational" way of teaching piano. His goal was to incite personal initiative in students by providing not only everything young pianists needed to know, but also opportunities to invent, to write their own exercises. Students were to play the exercises in different scales, tonalities, and qualities of expression. The idea was to teach, not just piano technique, but also

the “science of music” and the “development of a feeling for the art.”⁵⁷ Lussy hoped his method would “contribute to the progress of the true and the beautiful.” It was so popular that its use spread to Germany. A letter from a teacher in southern Germany, published in Berlin’s *Deutsche Musiker Zeitung* in 1882, points out that while Germany had innumerable piano methods (“like grains of sand at the sea”), many of them competent, Lussy’s *Exercices* filled a real gap. Through such books, the French republicans spread their new pedagogical ideas not only throughout France, but also abroad.

REEVALUATING LUXURY AND THE QUESTION OF OPERA

Just as important to reconsider was the Opéra. For a certain social class, such an “institution of luxury, which luxury upholds, and which is made only for it,” recalled the days when the aristocracy had flourished.⁵⁸ In the Palais Garnier, its new home after 1875, conceived in the 1860s to reflect an emperor’s glory and to entertain the very rich, it continued to serve as a meeting place for the elites, a place to see and be seen (figs. 40–41). Given the huge cost of its extravagant productions and intermittent fires, politicians were forever revisiting why the Opéra should be kept afloat, particularly during the annual parliamentary budget discussions. In 1872, some argued that the “very rich” should pay for their pleasures, especially in tough times when the state was forced to tax necessities.⁵⁹ When the republicans came into power in 1879, many of them wished to challenge this association of the Opéra with luxury and its wealthy subscribers. In order to begin to tear down class differences, they sought to provide more equality of access to the country’s resources,⁶⁰ including more equitable distribution of the country’s musical wealth. This meant both reevaluating the meaning of luxury and taking on “the question of opera.”

In his *Histoire du luxe* (1878–80), the first such study in France, Henri Baudrillart

57. Mathis Lussy, *Exercices de mécanisme à composer, à écrire, et à exécuter par l’élève* (Paris: Heugel, 1878), 5, 11–14. This volume won a silver medal at the 1878 Paris Universal Exhibition. Lussy also wrote a *Traité de l’expression musicale* (1874), published in several editions throughout the 1880s.

58. See Octave Mirbeau, *Des artistes*, 2nd ser. (Paris: Flammarion, 1924), 253, 259–60, and the discussion of this public in Jann Pasler, “*Pelléas* and Power: Forces behind the Reception of Debussy’s Opera,” *19th-Century Music* 10, 3 (Spring 1987): 243–64, and in id., *Writing through Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

59. Some suggested that since Parisians were the primary beneficiaries, they should pick up more of the expense. Monarchists countered that to represent the national interest, national theaters should not be dependent on making money. See Genet-Delacroix, *Art et Etat*, app. 44, pp. 405–14.

60. See Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *Essai sur la répartition des richesses* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1881).

goes beyond earlier notions of luxury as “the use of rare and expensive things.”⁶¹ He redefines the word to refer to anything that is experienced as superfluous, including inexpensive items that all classes might possess (such as a mirror or a vase). This diffuses the association of luxury with the rich. In pointing to various forms of public luxury (monuments and temples) in Egypt and the Orient, as well as in ancient Greece and Rome, in democracies as well as monarchies, Baudrillart also detaches the concept from the Ancien Régime and nostalgic elites. In contradicting the philosophical notion of the necessary and the superfluous as diametrically opposed, he furthermore argues for an integral relationship between them as two ends of a continuum. What might otherwise seem useless, he points out, have served as important sources of “work, revenue, power, instruction, and development.” Abuse of the superfluous can lead to recognizing something’s utility. The useful can take on the character of the necessary as the product of progress.⁶²

Anticipating his critics, Baudrillart asserts that luxury is not equivalent to corruption or the cause of all social ills. Even in cities, where the gap between the excessive luxuries of the rich posed a stark contrast with the extreme depravation of the poor, there was no evidence that people were less virtuous than in the countryside. Cities could stimulate virtue as well as vice. In some cultures and periods, luxury made life easier, healthier. Still, Baudrillart agrees that abusive consumption of luxury could be the sign of a moral weakening.⁶³

Significantly, Baudrillart refuses to consider art a luxury because it derives from entirely different principles, including disinterestedness and the search for perfection. Certainly, there were periods in French history, such as under the Regency, when the arts had been called to serve decoration. But, in general, Baudrillart sees luxury as an accessory to art. Art can be degraded by “bad luxury,” sometimes by valuing matter over form. Like Rousseau, he considers too much ornament in simple things a distraction, but not in anything intended to convey grandeur. Echoing the revolutionaries’ belief that music was the school of patriotism and virtue, he sees music as a “national luxury” to encourage. While private luxuries, the domain of individuals, risk stimulating egoism and eliciting jealousy, public luxuries serve to “diminish the distance” between the haves and the have-nots. In this sense, public luxuries support democracy. As they spread the taste for the beautiful in all classes, they inspire admiration and the desire for something better

61. J.-B. Say, *Traité de l'économie politique* (Paris: Deterville, 1803), bk. 4.

62. Henri Baudrillart, *Histoire du luxe privé et public depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours*, 4 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1878), 1: 60, 87–88, 164; 4 (1880): 3. Baudrillart was a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques and, beginning in 1866, held the chair of economic history at the Collège de France.

63. Ibid., 1: 68–70.



FIG. 40 The Palais Garnier (Paris Opéra), exterior.

than oneself, which gives rise to disinterestedness and devotion. All democracies had supported theater as a public luxury, he points out. Although opera can involve all kinds of frivolous distractions, it is also “the highest expression of the lyric genius.” Baudrillard ends his four volumes by calling for an Opéra populaire that, with the same advantages as the aristocratic Opéra, but without “the somewhat frivolous splendor,” would invite the masses to experience “noble pleasures.”⁶⁴

This treatise was part of a larger effort by republicans to support French opera. At stake was access to (1) the state-funded opera houses by those of lesser means, and (2) musical institutions by the country’s young composers and singers from the Conservatoire. To advise them, the Chambre convened a committee composed of five deputies and senators, five members of the Institut, and three others. On 18 January 1879, Senator Ferdinand Hérold published their report, which reviewed the previous Théâtres-Lyriques created to address the first need mentioned above with modestly priced productions, and why they had all failed, including the one that had folded in 1877. Whereas later critics pointed to the problem of being in the wrong neighborhood, far from where most workers lived, Hérold blamed the state for setting up competition among its own institutions.⁶⁵ The committee

64. Ibid., 4: 103–8, 513, 534, 720–24.

65. Frédérique Patureau, *Le Palais Garnier dans la société parisienne* (Liège: Mardaga, 1991), 395.



FIG. 41 The Palais Garnier, Great Staircase.

Construction on the Palais Garnier began in 1861, but due to a number of setbacks—not the least of which was the Franco-Prussian War—the opera house was not inaugurated until 1875. Perhaps the most striking architectural feature of the building is the opulent Great Staircase, where people came to “see and be seen.”

rejected the revitalization of this theater, as well as the idea of funding a new Opéra populaire to perform standard repertoire for the largest possible audiences with low-cost tickets. Their solution was to propose funding low-cost performances at the Opéra and Opéra-Comique on nights when they were otherwise closed. As for creating a new *théâtre-école* to put on productions by young French composers,

they acknowledged its importance and proposed adding a new hall for this use as an annex to the Conservatoire. In addition, they recommended that the state fund the production of a certain number of works by young French composers each year in these state institutions.

Whereas they had agreed with Ferry and the moderates among them on the importance of education, including music education, Gambetta's more populist group of *républicains opportunistes*, the Republican Union, clashed with the former over these recommendations, exposing serious rifts in the *opportuniste* majority. Consequently, changes came slowly. Antonin Proust, a Republican Union member of this committee, close friend of Gambetta's, and the deputy in charge of reporting on the arts budget in the Chambre, advocated more state intervention. In his memoir *L'Art sous la République*, he endorses Victor Hugo's view of national theaters as "one of the branches of the people's education."⁶⁶ Agreeing with Hugo that theater could influence "the morality of the people," Proust used this as an argument for giving the minister direct control of the Opéra. Given the financial success of the Palais Garnier at its 1875 opening and during the 1878 Exhibition, Proust proposed that, in exchange for its huge subsidy—the largest in Europe—the Opéra be run by a delegate of the minister; the state would bear all risks, in return for all the profit. The committee agreed, in part because they worried about what might happen if commercial interests drove artistic choices. However on 13 April, Ferry, the new minister, believing in the merits of financial motivation, vetoed the committee's recommendation. On 24 May, he appointed Auguste Vaucorbeil, a composer and politically connected administrator acceptable to conservative Opéra subscribers, as its *directeur*.⁶⁷ He would still have to get the authorization of the minister for any new works produced there, but Vaucorbeil and any investors whom he could involve would assume all financial risks and benefits. This decision, respecting the utility of the Opéra for its traditional patrons and leaving its fate in their hands, demonstrates the extent to which Ferry was unwilling to interfere and trusted private enterprise.

Republican Union *opportunistes* also differed with Ferry over the need for a

66. Antonin Proust, *L'Art sous la République* (Paris: Charpentier, 1892), 79. As well as an arts administrator, Antonin Proust was secretary to Gambetta during the Franco-Prussian War, an amateur painter, and author of numerous essays about art.

67. Unlike his predecessor who had little musical training, Vaucorbeil had studied music at the Conservatoire under Cherubini and taught vocal ensembles there from 1871 to 1879. He was known for being affable, distinguished, and experienced, having served as commissioner of subsidized theaters and, in 1878, inspector of fine arts. See Patureau, *Palais Garnier*, 49, 54. However, after he took charge of the Opéra, Lamoureux resigned as conductor, citing inability to work with him.

separate Opéra populaire, which had been debated since March 1870.⁶⁸ On 25 March 1879, Proust wrote to *La République française*: “To me it is intolerable that the state should create an Opéra populaire (as recently proposed) alongside the current Opéra and say, contemptuously, this one is for *les petits*, that one is for *les grands*. On the contrary, I think that everyone should be able to enter our great subsidized theaters without it being necessary to subsidize inferior theaters for those who don’t have the privilege of wealth. In fact, the state has enough authority to change the constitution of the Opéra, the only theater still inaccessible to those of modest incomes.”⁶⁹

In spite of these objections, Undersecretary of State Edmond Turquet went around this committee and petitioned the city of Paris to co-fund an Opéra populaire (in addition to a new dramatic theater for the *classes populaires*). In July 1879, the celebrated architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc weighed in before the Conseil municipal of Paris. He did not object in principle to an Opéra populaire, but only asked that it be distinct from the Opéra in repertoire, performers, and cost spent on sets.⁷⁰ After much debate and with the support of Ferdinand Hérold, in November 1882, the city voted to spend 500,000 francs to build an Opéra populaire in the Place de la République, which was to open in October 1883. Five-sixths of its 4,000 seats were to cost very little, so that families would be able to afford to spend an evening together there. It was argued that there were 100,000 working-class families who might take advantage of this. In addition, bourgeois families would be able to afford the luxury of a box there for the price of a single seat in the Palais Garnier. The aim was to help democratize well-established French and Italian opera and operetta, in particular, to produce ballets to show the lower classes models of “grace and beauty.” The government’s requirement that it put on twenty new acts per year led to presenting some important Paris premieres, such as Victor Massé’s *La Nuit de Cléopâtre* and Saint-Saëns’s *Etienne Marcel*. Many hoped that these performances would create competition with the *cafés-concerts* and introduce a wider range of people, not only to more serious music, but also to more French contemporary music.⁷¹

68. Ed. Viel, “Projet d’un Opéra populaire” (1870) discussed in *Ménestrel*, 21 December 1873, 21. Extensive discussion was published in *Ménestrel*, 1 December 1878, 3–4; 8 December 1878, 11; 15 December 1878, 19; 26 January 1879, 67–70; 2 February 1879, 75–78; 30 March 1879, 139; and 20 April 1879, 163.

69. Reproduced in *Ménestrel*, 30 March 1879, 139. These arguments are directed against the paternalistic approach to providing music for the masses under Napoléon III. According to Steven Huebner (personal communication), the creation of popular opera was a long-standing concern in the nineteenth century.

70. *Ménestrel*, 20 July 1879, 268.

71. Georges Grison, “L’Opéra populaire,” *Figaro*, 15 March 1882; Ignotus, “L’Opéra populaire,” *Figaro*, 29 November 1882; *Ménestrel*, 12 November 1882, 398, and 4 February 1883, 78.

In June 1879, Proust took on the Opéra's *Cahier des charges*, the contractual agreement between the minister and the theater's director that laid out what the state expected in return for its financial support.⁷² Significantly, he began by reaffirming the Opéra's utility as "the museum of music" and its responsibility to maintain its superiority over provincial and foreign theaters in its choice of works, performers, and set designs, thereby supporting its traditional function for the elites as well as the nation. However, perhaps thinking of a kind of musical analogue to the free Sundays at the annual painting Salon, which were open to everyone and resulted in an intermingling of classes,⁷³ he also called for putting on a dozen annual performances with low-cost seats. Moreover, he called for the Opéra to produce at least two new works per year. These could include translations of foreign operas, as well as one short work every two years by a French winner of the Prix de Rome. Failing to do so, the director would be taxed 5,000 francs per act.⁷⁴ These proposals were incorporated into the *Cahier*.

Ferry and Vaucorbeil accepted these changes in principle, but in practice, the Opéra was allowed to carry on as before. Between 1881 and 1884, the institution continued to put on only one new opera annually.⁷⁵ Its first "new" work in March 1880 was Verdi's *Aida* (1871), already known to Parisians from performances in Italian at the Théâtre-Italien in 1876 and in French at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1878. Until he stepped down in 1884, Vaucorbeil gave no performances free or with reduced-price tickets.⁷⁶ By contrast, in January 1880, Léon Carvalho, director of the Opéra-Comique, initiated Sunday matinée performances for families, and that May, he promised "popular performances" one Monday each month with low-cost tickets (from 50 centimes to 3.5 francs).

In fall 1881, when Gambetta took over the government from Ferry, the Republican Union's power temporarily peaked. Arguing for bringing all artistic administrations under the same government, Gambetta created a separate Ministry of Fine Arts and put Proust in charge. Sensitive to the utility of the arts for industry as well

72. In the spirit of transparency, the new *Cahier des charges de l'Opéra* was published in the press. See *Revue et gazette musicale*, 29 June 1879, 210–14, and 6 July 1879, 218–22. The minister's approval was required for all works performed.

73. See Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), fig. 47 (p. 140).

74. For a discussion of these changes, see *Ménestrel*, 29 June 1879, 243–46, and Patureau, *Palais Garnier*, 58–69, 405.

75. The first article of the Opéra's 1879 *Cahier des charges* stipulated that translations of foreign works and revivals entailing considerable scenic transformations could count toward the two new works that had to be produced every year.

76. Popular performances at the Opéra did not happen to any appreciable extent until the 1890s. See Patureau, *Palais Garnier*, 407.

as the articulation of French taste, this administration focused on modernizing the country. It also aimed to serve as an intermediary between the fine and industrial arts. Whereas in 1875, Wallon had wished to elevate the arts by treating them as the equals of the sciences and literature, Proust wished to blur the distinction between the fine and applied arts, the artist and the artisan. He proposed a complex series of reforms in teaching art that included disassociating it from literature and science to stress unity within the arts. This new alliance between art and craft also had important implications for aesthetics and prepared the way for an art whose value lay less in its logical structure and the morals it taught than in the pleasures it afforded its perceivers.

When Gambetta lost power a little over two months later, this short-lived ministry disbanded, not to be revived until André Malraux's Ministère des affaires culturelles in 1959 under the Fifth Republic.⁷⁷ However, when Gambetta died on 31 December 1882, Ferry decided to reach out to his followers, appointing Bert, Proust, and a few radicals to his government.⁷⁸ Even if the country was not ready for the changes and state intervention they proposed, Gambetta's followers thus continued to exert substantial power over the arts. Proust remained as reporter for the fine arts on the budget committee of the Chambre; René Goblet, a radical Freemason, became minister of public instruction, religion, and fine arts in 1885, and then prime minister in 1886; and Eugène Spuller, a friend of Gambetta's, served as minister of public instruction, religion, and fine arts in 1887.

Such dissension within the ranks of the republicans in power should temper the thought of republicanism as monolithic. Management of the state's most expensive cultural institution and a genre that represented France abroad was so important to the nation that the "question of opera" forced republicans to come to grips with critical differences in their definitions of democracy and their visions for the future. Republicans coming into power had to make decisions about a wide range of investments, and opera became a nexus for debate on the risks and benefits of private enterprise versus state intervention. Ferry's laissez-faire attitude reflected the concerns of a man who believed in competition and envisaged democracy as putting power in the hands of the people rather than the government. Proust argued that the forces of democracy, including competition, could not operate

77. Proust went on to become president of the Union centrale des arts décoratifs in 1882, succeeding the marquis de Chennevières. See Antonin Proust, "Le Salon de 1882," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 25 (1882): 539; id., *Art sous la République*; Debora Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France* (Berkeley: University of California, 1989), 118–120; and Genet-Delacroix, *Art et Etat*, app. 17, p. 356.

78. Jérôme Grévy, *La République des opportunistes, 1870–1885* (Paris: Perrin, 1998), 288–92.

without governmental help. To democratize the experience of elite cultural forms, he and his successors advocated access of the masses to high art and of composers to performances of their work. They did not worry that their idealistic aspirations did not address questions such as the extent to which the public wanted to hear more new music, especially by lesser-known composers, or the lower classes yearned for the privilege of attending the Opéra, or that if they could get in, they got much out of it. Still, however the challenges at the heart of a democratic society are defined by those espousing market laissez-faire or top-down policies, these positions have continued to impassion and divide the French down to the present, even since the opening of the Opéra Bastille in 1989, originally intended to provide affordable tickets to the masses but now charging what the market will bear.

RENARRATING THE REVOLUTION

In the early 1880s, as part of the consolidation of their power, besides granting new rights, freedoms, and equalities, republicans also sought new ways to encourage national solidarity. Rethinking French traditions was crucial in the process of helping French citizens imagine a common identity. As Ernest Renan put it, the “cult of ancestors”—a heroic past, great men, glory—is one of the foundations of a national consciousness.⁷⁹ When the republicans came into power, they needed a new history. Republican historians—mostly Protestants, Jews, and Freemasons—used historical narrative to lay a framework that made the new regime seem like the result of a logical development since the Revolution.⁸⁰ The *Revue historique*, founded by Gabriel Monod in 1876, promoted an anticlerical perspective that supported Ferry’s decision to exclude clergy and nuns from public school teaching. At the same time, Ferry, who wished to reignite a sense of family among the French, understood the need for connecting with prerevolutionary France and frequently referred to the country as their “old mother” with her “old history” “full of kings and great ministers.”⁸¹ History became increasingly important in the curricula of secondary schools and at universities in part because it provided this sense of

79. Ernest Renan, “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?” reproduced in Raoul Girardet, *Le Nationalisme français* (Paris: Colin, 1966), 65–66.

80. Among the most important, Henri Martin, a disciple of Michelet’s, published seventeen volumes on the history of France before 1789 (1861–62), seven on the history of its common people (1867–83), and eight more on French history since republicans had come to power (1878–83).

81. Ozouf, *Ecole de la France*, 405.

continuity. At Gambetta's funeral in December 1882, Monod carried a banner proclaiming, "History is the key science."⁸²

When it came to the arts, however, there was again dissension among republicans, this time over the value of looking to the past. If Ferry believed that French history, especially the grandeur and suffering of the Revolution, should inspire modern art, Minister of Fine Arts Antonin Proust, a collector, scholar, and advocate for Manet and Courbet, felt that the contemporary world should be the focus of artists. Art should represent aspects of life associated with all those in the Republic, including the *classes populaires*. In painting, this translated into Proust's support for naturalism as opposed to idealism, subjects drawn from the present more than the past, and what some considered the vulgar and the ordinary over the grand and the beautiful.⁸³ But in the realm of music, before realism found expression in the operas of Alfred Bruneau (several of them with librettos by Emile Zola), left-wing republicans looked to the Revolution for inspiration.

Republicans hoped that their speeches, publications, statues, festivals, and music celebrating the dreams and sacrifices of their revolutionary predecessors would inspire a revival of revolutionary ideals. Beginning in 1881, the Société de l'histoire de la Révolution took the lead in stimulating research on the subject. The first issue of its journal, *La Révolution française*, reiterated the Declaration of the Rights of Man—not yet fully guaranteed in French society—and reminded the French that equality was the basis of all justice, distinctions being permissible only when based on "communal utility."⁸⁴ Scholars concentrated on locating and reproducing period documents. At first they wanted to establish the traditions, and in 1883, the journal launched a competition for monographs on the "men of 1789."

Especially for left-wing republicans, a contemporary agenda permeated this attention. François-Alphonse Aulard, who became editor of *La Révolution française* in the late 1880s, was fascinated with how rhetoric could affect listeners. He singled out the speeches of Danton. Whereas Robespierriest historians had condemned Danton for the September massacres, Aulard looked to him as a precursor of Gambetta, the most powerful orator of his generation. Danton, like Gambetta, had believed in free public education and, with contagious enthusiasm

82. Charles Sowerine, *France since 1870: Culture, Politics, and Society*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 51–52.

83. Antonin Proust was a childhood friend of Manet's, who painted a portrait of him. He purchased Courbet's paintings, hoping to hang them in the Louvre. For more on this controversy, see Michael Orwicz, "Anti-Academicism and State Power in the early Third Republic," *Art History* 14, 4 (December 1991): 581–83.

84. Carnot, "Unité de la Révolution française," *La Révolution française* 1 (1881): 3–5.

and great eloquence, could mobilize the nation against the enemy.⁸⁵ Republicans looked to men like Danton to inflame renewed patriotism and rouse them to take back Alsace and Lorraine from the Prussians. They published the speeches of all the great revolutionary orators and in 1891 erected a monument to Danton in the Place de l'Odéon.

Teaching was a fundamental part of this project. In July 1885, Aulard created a course at the University of Paris on the history of the French Revolution. He believed there was "moral utility" in studying the Revolution, inasmuch as it demonstrated "the hereditary aptitudes of the race." The French would learn about themselves: their instincts, qualities, and capacity for struggle, useful in building and defending the new Republic.⁸⁶ In March 1891, the government instituted a chair at the university on this subject and appointed Aulard. His annual course, always on different topics, lasted through the turn of the century and resulted in a staggering number of publications.⁸⁷

Erecting statues and renaming city streets (sixty-three in Paris), as the revolutionaries had decided in 1793, extended pedagogy into the public sphere. These were not simple affairs. Republicans differed over which revolutionaries to commemorate.⁸⁸ And since putting up statues required government decrees, committees, and money, they could take years to erect. The statue of Rousseau in the Place du Panthéon (fig. 17) is a case in point. In 1790 and 1794, the government had decided to commission a bronze statue of Rousseau for a public place, but this never materialized. In 1848 and 1878, this was proposed again. Committees were formed in 1882 and 1885, and finally a competition was announced. The work was completed in 1887, but not put up until 1889. The choice of Rousseau, as opposed to Voltaire, was significant. Although republicans and royalists alike considered both "fathers of the Revolution," they tended to essentialize these philosophers, the first representing reason, the second feelings; put another way, Voltaire, the advocate of religious freedom, personified the bourgeoisie (or for Victor Hugo, humanity),

85. The publication of F.-A. Aulard's *L'Eloquence parlementaire pendant la Révolution: Les Orateurs de l'Assemblée constituante* (Paris: Hachette, 1882) and his *Notes sur l'éloquence de Danton* (Paris: Charavay frères, 1882), together with Duruy's *Instruction publique et la Révolution* (1882), coincided with Gambetta's short-lived government. See also Mona Ozouf, "Danton," in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 213–23.

86. François-Alphonse Aulard, *Etudes et leçons sur la Révolution française* (Paris: Alcan, 1907), 1: 6–7.

87. Aulard's volumes on each era of the Revolution, replete with primary documents, have become so important they can be found in numerous American libraries.

88. Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994), 39.

Rousseau, with his *Contrat social*, the people. In 1889, intellectuals gathered to defend Rousseau and locate his influence in politics, education, and music. At the statue's dedication, an official clarified that the people he'd come to personify were not those who "demand bread and circus games," but those who "demand instruction for their children, work for their fathers, protection for the weak." In 1889, the republicans saw themselves as realizing his political dream of a new world and a new people; socialists took him as inspiration to attempt still greater reforms.⁸⁹

Commemorating Rousseau's music was another matter. A new edition of his opera *Le Devin du village* was published in 1878. But few in France held his music in much esteem. Rousseau had defended the merits of Italian over French music and criticized Rameau. Attributing this to his lack of technical training, Arthur Pougin brushed it aside in 1889, pointing to the grace of Rousseau's melodies and the eloquence of his music, characteristically French traits. The music critic Oscar Comettant argued that Rousseau's concept of melody influenced his texts, particularly the notion that "sounds never have more energy than when they are the effect of colors," a suggestion of the importance of timbre. Debussy, who may have been sympathetic to this, disdained Rousseau's "naïve aesthetic," preferring Couperin's grace.⁹⁰ Despite the growing fascination for self-conscious naïveté in the music of Erik Satie and the paintings of Henri (*le Douanier*) Rousseau, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's music never aroused the interest of more than a few scholars during the Third Republic. Yet in one way, Rousseau did innovate. He invented a musical notation system that would make it much easier for people to learn music. Although most professionals considered this "pure folly," Galin, Paris, and Chev   adapted the idea of a number system "to give the working classes a practical way to read music without having to spend ten years studying it." By 1889, this Rousseau-inspired method had become popular, state-sanctioned, and used by a number of amateur choruses, one of which performed Rousseau's music at the dedication of his statue.⁹¹

To help inculcate revolutionary ideas and traditions, republicans agreed above

89. See the various essays and speeches in *Rousseau jug   par les Fran  ais d'aujourd'hui*, ed. John Grand-Carteret (Paris: Perrin, 1890), 191, 456, 522, 557–58, 552. Although he was from Geneva, they saw him as French "by imagination, aesthetic sensibility, and respect for literary form" (ix). For a contrary view, see *L'  v  nement*, 28 June 1878, cited in Olivier Ihl, *La F  te r  publicaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 104.

90. Oscar Comettant, "De l'influence de la musique sur le style litt  raire," in *Rousseau jug   par les Fran  ais d'aujourd'hui*, ed. Grand-Carteret, 409–10; Claude Debussy, *Monsieur Croche et autres   crits*, ed. Fran  ois Lesure (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), 240.

91. Arthur Pougin, "Rousseau musicien," in *Rousseau jug   par les Fran  ais d'aujourd'hui*, ed. Grand-Carteret, 352, 359, 364. Pougin later expanded this into a book, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau musicien* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1901). Julien Tiersot also wrote a book, *J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris:

all on the need to revive national festivals. Festivals could help create fraternity, inscribe new meanings on public spaces, especially in Paris, and reinvent the crowd, turning attention away from its capacity for violence and mobilizing it for the mass participation of citizens in republican rituals.⁹² Music could bring people's voices and hearts into union and discipline their movements. Inevitably, the *fêtes nationales* conceived by republicans incorporated the emblems and music used during the Revolution, especially the "Chant du départ" and the "Marseillaise." The conservative newspaper *Le Figaro* refused to associate these celebrations with the nation, considering them celebrations of cities rather than the people.⁹³ But, with them, republicans were reappropriating a source of their legitimacy and evoking the principle of succession.⁹⁴

The first republican national holiday on 14 July 1880 was in some ways a culmination. Although republicans refused to acknowledge its Bonapartist predecessor and now (in certain areas) covert competitor, what they envisaged borrowed important aspects from the Second Empire's Saint-Napoléon festivals, celebrated on August 15: the desire to disguise conflict, display civic concord, and build nationalist sentiment by gathering the masses in joyous celebration and by encouraging them to both remember and forget the past. Because of their nature, parades, music, and fireworks would make the experience enjoyable, while connecting local and national political cultures.⁹⁵ Harking back instead to the ideology underlying revolutionary festivals, in November 1875, Edouard Charton proposed a special structure within the Ministry of Public Instruction, Religion, and Fine Arts to organize *fêtes publiques* as "elements of public education." Since the Moral Order forbade public celebrations, perhaps fearing that revolution might emerge from the festive spirit,⁹⁶ this was not approved. However, a law passed in early 1876 permitted public banquets. Eating together, followed by toasts and music, offered a prelude to the political sociability envisaged in festivals.⁹⁷ Then, in 1877,

Félix Alcan, 1912), in which he situates Rousseau the musician and his music in French musical history and goes further than Pougin in refuting those who believed that Rousseau had not written *Le Devin du village* (270–73).

92. James Leaning, *To Be a Citizen: The Political Culture of the Early Third Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), chap. 4, sees festivals as part of the attempt to "tame Paris" after the Commune.

93. Ibid., 71–72.

94. Ihl, *Fête républicaine*, 112, 114.

95. Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Saint-Napoleon: Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), esp. 25, 74–75, 221–23, 235.

96. Charles Rearick, "Festivals in Modern France: The Experience of the Third Republic," *Journal of Contemporary History* 12 (1977): 437.

97. *Journal officiel*, 25 January 1877, 734, cited in Ihl, *Fête républicaine*, 98–99.

the funeral of the popular politician Adolphe Thiers, first president of the Third Republic, included a public ceremony. The people lining the streets of the parade proved that a crowd could be respectful, even calm, and in 1878, the government organized a centennial celebration of Voltaire's death, the first revival of a revolutionary-style festival.⁹⁸ The conservative government then organized a *fête nationale* on 30 June that included, not only a massive concert at the Tuileries gardens with 800 performers and Colonne conducting, but also concerts by amateur groups in every neighborhood of Paris.⁹⁹ When republicans captured the majority in 1879, they passed a law establishing their own *fête nationale*, which radicals insisted take place on 14 July.

Alfred Roll's huge painting *Le 14 Juillet 1880: Inauguration du monument à la République*, commissioned by the government, depicts how successful that first celebration was from a republican perspective (fig. 42). All classes mingle, well-dressed bourgeois alongside workers and street urchins. Olivier Ihl finds it significant that these masses are not in movement on streets, as in Claude Monet's two paintings celebrating 30 June 1878, *Rue Saint-Denis* and *Rue Montorgueil*, but rather peacefully assembled around the statue of La République—a symbol of the nation. A child at the center suggests that this is a place where something can be learned and the future prepared. Everyone seems joyful. They are listening to a small orchestra (a clarinetist, violinist, and cellist) and dancing to the music. Some are singing. A military regiment parades by, accompanied by its band. Unlike paintings of government officials that day, this one suggests that the people are the star of the show, and that such festivities could take place anywhere in France.¹⁰⁰ In the early 1880s, the state mandated that local governments fund national festivals, despite opposition from nobles and clergy. This was a way of ensuring that festivals spread republican values and inspired local as well as national pride.

Some French sought to reengage with their revolutionary past specifically through its music. They hoped to understand this tradition better and use music to legitimate forms and expression associated with the people.¹⁰¹ From 1873 to 1900, *Ménestrel* published over three hundred articles on revolutionary topics (see

98. Given the press attention, Ihl calls this more of a *fête de papier* (*Fête républicaine*, 104).

99. M.M., "La Musique pendant la fête nationale," *Revue et gazette musicale*, 7 July 1878, 211–12.

100. Over the years, however, with critics of the republicans often using 14 July to protest against the Republic and police needing to break up counterdemonstrations, "the idea of the entire nation uniting in fraternal jubilation remained an elusive dream in the Third Republic" (Rearick, "Festivals in Modern France," 445–46).

101. Laura Mason sees the "legitimation of the popular . . . linked to universal male suffrage and the radical social programs of 1793 and 1794" as one of the principal legacies of the



FIG. 42 Alfred Roll, *Le 14 Juillet 1880: Inauguration du monument à la République* (ca. 1881), Petit Palais Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris.

app. C), suggesting a deep sympathy for the topic. Arthur Pougin, who wrote many of these, believed that music was the result of particular circumstances that needed to be understood.¹⁰² He concentrated on theaters and biographical studies of composers. After his thirty-seven articles on Cherubini that appeared in 1881–83, perhaps in response to the biography competition, he published sixty-six installments on Méhul from 1883 through 1885. An ardent anti-Wagnerian, he may have been hoping to draw attention to French tradition as Wagner’s music increasingly invaded French concert halls. Pougin’s multi-installment series, “Un Grand

Revolution in the nineteenth century. See Mason, *Singing the Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787–1799* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 219.

102. Arthur Pougin, “Les Vrais Créateurs de l’Opéra français,” *Ménestrel*, 25 July 1875, 266.

Théâtre à Paris pendant la Révolution,” dominated the front pages of *Ménestrel* for forty-two weeks from late 1886 through 1887, limiting discussion of the contentious Paris premiere of *Lohengrin* to four weeks.

Revivals of revolutionary music abounded in the late nineteenth century, particularly certain songs. Not surprisingly, after being banned during the Second Empire as a song that would ferment revolution, then sung by crowds of 50,000 people during the Commune, and kept alive at the cabaret l'Eldorado as a reminder of the need for revenge against the Germans, the “Marseillaise” returned to the streets, banquets, and family reunions across the country in the 1870s. With the original text, or new ones evoking current passions, it served as an emblem of republicanism, controversial because often eliciting fury from monarchists. After the republicans came to power in the late 1870s, the music of the “Marseillaise” reemerged in patriotic songs urging people to vote, military band transcriptions, and public ceremonies, alongside “patriotic alleluias” celebrating republican victories, sometimes ironically with Latin texts.¹⁰³ People alluded to the same effects that had impressed revolutionaries: its powerful influence on crowds, its call to “patriotism, courage, honor, disinterestedness, and all the civic and military virtues,” its exaltation of liberty and independence, and especially its irresistible music, whose “energy” infused the hearts of all who heard it and united them in shared sentiment. However, it was not so much as a song of war that it appealed to them, but rather as a song of brotherhood (*fraternité*) and “universal peace,” as well as the “sacred song of a new religion,” namely, patriotism. Over the objections of monarchists worried about its inflammatory lyrics, the Chambre claimed it as the French national hymn on 14 February 1879.¹⁰⁴ Thereafter, numerous composers harmonized it for piano and other instruments, some incorporating it into their own music (cf. Saint-Saëns’s *Hymne à Victor Hugo* [1881]), although an official version did not emerge until 1887. In 1882, Rouget de Lisle’s hometown erected a statue in his honor as composer of the song.

Méhul’s “Chant du départ,” written for the fifth anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, also grew immensely popular in transcriptions for piano and for military band, especially after 1877. When republicans brought down de Broglie’s

103. For example, the refrain of “La Marseillaise des nations” is “Aux urnes, bons français / Former vos bulletins / Soyons les nouveaux Marseillais / Marchons tous aux scrutins!” The “Alleluia patriotique de 1877” begins with Latin words for the Latin hymn, “O filii et filiae” and ends with “Vive la République / Elle est à nous / cette fois pour toujours,” set to a *bourrée* from Auvergne.

104. See essays by Jules Michelet, Edouard de Marcère and M.-E. Brun, as well as the excerpts from discussions in the Chambre des députés reproduced in Frédéric Robert, *La Marseillaise* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1989), 254–55, 301–2, 319–22.

conservative government in fall 1877, new political songs, such as “Le Chant du triomphe de 1877,” were set to the “Chant du départ.” After 1879, thousands of workers and schoolchildren sang it at various festivals and many more transcriptions popularized it in diverse venues. The Opéra staged the “Chant du départ” for the festivities of 14 July 1883. And in 1885, when a plaque was put up honoring Méhul in Paris, it was his only work cited.

REINTERPRETING GRÉTRY AND MÉHUL

No composers of the revolutionary era benefited more from renewed interest in France’s revolutionary past than Grétry and Méhul, even though they represented distinct, even opposed, political positions. It was not a question of reviving forgotten works as much as of using popular ones to serve new purposes. Anyone studying solfège at the Conservatoire had learned technique through the music of Cherubini, Gossec, and, to a lesser extent, Méhul, in Edouard Batiste’s *Solfèges* (revised 1865–69). Operas by Grétry and Méhul continued to be performed at the Théâtre-Lyrique in the 1860s, and their melodies were also heard in excerpts by military bands and school choruses.

If Grétry’s music spoke to nostalgic monarchists in the 1870s, Méhul grew increasingly popular in the late 1870s and 1880s by reason of his association with republicans. Whereas Gustave Chouquet criticized Grétry for lacking the talent for forceful music that could stir revolutionaries,¹⁰⁵ he and other republicans credited Méhul for understanding that the country wanted to hear “virile songs” expressing patriotism and inspiring courage. In contrast with Grétry’s exquisite music of “noble and well-to-do manners,” Méhul had a “male conception” of music and a “male genius.” He was the Jacques-Louis David of dramatic music, following in the tradition of Gluck.¹⁰⁶ Méhul’s powerfully dramatic expression of human passions was capable of exciting “vigorous emotion” in listeners, “moving the masses down to their guts, giving birth to emotion in all hearts.” Arthur Pougin praised Méhul as “one of the most original” French composers, “he who best sums up the French genius, this genius of clarity, vigorous concision, elegance, and beautiful language.”¹⁰⁷

105. Gustave Chouquet appreciated how Grétry resisted imitating Pergolesi, but felt he lacked sufficient knowledge of harmony and instrumentation. Chouquet, *Histoire de la musique dramatique en France depuis ses origines jusqu’à nos jours* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1873), 148, 150, 184.

106. Michel Brenet [Marie Bobillier], *Grétry: Sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1884), 93, 227; Arthur Pougin, *Méhul* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1889), 47, 50, 282; Chouquet, *Histoire de la musique dramatique en France*, 184.

107. Pougin, *Méhul*, 51, 365.

Increasingly, republicans performed Méhul's music. Bourgault-Ducoudray included two excerpts from Méhul's *Joseph* in his 18 November 1870 choral concert for the wounded, alongside his own "Hymne à la liberté," his "Chant républicain," and the "Marseillaise." In 1873, the Conservatoire included a tenor air from *Joseph* in a final exam, and *Ménestrel* published a romance from Méhul's opera *Ariodant* (1799) perhaps because the public, coming out of the Franco-Prussian War, might be sensitive to its theme of hatred and vengeance. Colonne included an air from *Joseph* in a *concert national* in 1874. Then, in February 1879, only days after the republicans won a majority in the Senate and the presidency, Méhul's music was included in a big state-supported festival of French music at the Hippodrome (fig. 37). It returned on 23 February at the Concerts Padeloup, on 14 July in a reception for the Chambre, and on 20 July in an organ concert at the Trocadéro. That same year Offenbach inserted Méhul's "Chant du départ," sung by soldiers, in the finale of his new operetta *La Fille du tambour-major* (*The Drum-Major's Daughter*), which premiered that December. This evidently helped revive Offenbach's slumping career, making him "great" again, as a critic explained, "like the drum-major of the story," and thereby acceptable among republicans.¹⁰⁸

As with *Richard Cœur de Lion* in 1873, the Opéra-Comique's choice to revive Méhul's *Joseph* in 1882 was possibly a response to current politics. Gambetta had just formed a populist government. Radicals embraced Méhul as a composer of humble origins who, despite ill health, had had a major impact on his times, especially with his "Chant du départ." Méhul's opera *Joseph* (1807), written at a time when there was a fashion for theatrical subjects from the Bible, and thereafter linked with families and Catholicism, was another model of patriarchal authority. It preached the values of love and family with simplicity and clarity, while also articulating strength and grandeur in human terms the people could understand. The opera was not unknown: after revivals in 1826 and 1851, the Théâtre-Lyrique presented it thirty-seven times in 1862–63, and the Opéra-Comique again in 1866. Five excerpts from *Joseph* on filial love and devotion had been included in song collections destined for French schoolchildren in the 1860s and 1870s,¹⁰⁹ and

108. Jean-Claude Yon, *Jacques Offenbach* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 598–99. *La Fille du tambour-major* was later performed ninety-five times at the Théâtre Folies-dramatiques in its first six months.

109. Pougin, *Méhul*, 246–47. See, e.g., Edouard Batiste, *Solfèges du Conservatoire*, 8 vols. (Paris: Ménestrel, 1865–69); L'Abbé J.-M. Tissot, *L'Alphabet musical* (Geneva: Grosset & Trembley, 1871); H. Gautier, *Manuel musical des écoles* (Paris: Gautier, 1877), *La Lyre enfantine*, 4 vols. (Paris: Gautier, 1879–80), *Les Chants du pensionnat* (Paris: Gautier, 1882); Adolphe-Léopold Danhauser, *Les Chants de l'école*, 10 vols. (Paris: Lemoine,

transcriptions for piano, violin, or military band made these widely available. In 1875, Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin's study of Méhul's four versions of the romance showed what a careful composer he was. Although it had long been a favorite of the Germans, performed in Munich (1875), Berlin (1875–76), and Vienna (1878), this reprise brought renewed attention to *Joseph* in Paris, a new edition, and more transcriptions.

For republicans to embrace this *opéra biblique*, they had to avoid its religious nature, excerpts such as “Dieu d’Israël,” and music drawing on plainchant.¹¹⁰ Instead, seeing its potential for reviving a specifically French *opéra-comique*, so Italianized since Daniel Auber, Pougin describes how Méhul had crafted a new aesthetic, depicting passions in human drama rather than abstract sentiment as in lofty tragedies. Pougin saw *Joseph* as an stunning example of how to paint human character in sound: “the memories and sadness of Joseph, the guilt and repentance of Simon, the candor of Benjamin, the suffering of old Jacob, his anger, and joy.”¹¹¹ He also humanizes Méhul as “full of generosity, nobility, and goodness,” someone capable of “touching the heart in speaking to the mind.”¹¹² *Joseph*'s biblical subject, simple style, and feeling for nature helped give the sense that revolutionary composers could compose politically neutral, even pacifist works, music admirable for its abstract qualities, which could be enjoyed by anticlericals as well as Catholics. The work was revived again in 1886–87.

Over time, the reception of these two composers became less predictable, thanks in part to new biographies of Grétry and Méhul in the 1880s. Earlier, Gustave Chouquet had expressed reservations about Grétry's talent and capacities, calling him more intuitive than knowledgeable, and his music inferior to that of Philidor, Monsigny, and Gossec.¹¹³ But striving for accuracy, Marie Bobillier

1881–83); Léopold Dauphin, *Petite anthologie des maîtres de la musique depuis 1633 jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Colin, 1886). See also discussion of these in my *Useful Music* (forthcoming).

110. In their *Histoire de l'Opéra-Comique: La Second Salle Favart, 1840–1887* (Paris: Flammarion, 1893), Albert Soubies and Charles Malherbe point out that organizers of the 1882 production of *Joseph* nonetheless replaced *drame lyrique*, which had been used in previous productions, with Méhul's original indication, *opéra biblique*, without explaining whether this was in a spirit of authenticity or as a way to differentiate it from contemporary works influenced by Wagner's *drame lyrique*. They also restored the introduction to the original third act, previously thought too difficult. *Joseph*'s success helped convince the government to renew Léon Carvalho's contract as director for another seven years (341–45).

111. *Ibid.*, 282–83.

112. *Ibid.*, 382.

113. Chouquet, *Histoire de la musique dramatique en France*, 148.

softened the composer's image as a royalist and elitist by examining his musical contributions to the Revolution. While Chouquet dismisses Grétry's *Guillaume Tell* (1791) as an example of why "elevated subjects" and "vigorous dramatic conceptions" did not work for him, Bobillier suggests that the composer identified with the libretto—"completely appropriate at the time"—and its expression of "hatred for oppression and love for liberty." Although his two daughters were ill, indeed dying, he threw himself into the work. It remained in theaters throughout the Revolution, sometimes offered free to the people. Grétry's one-act opera *La Rosière républicaine* (1794), commissioned for the Festival of Reason, she noted, was the first of several works explicitly inspired by the Revolution, although shunned by its original Opéra audiences. She also points out that, together with Méhul and Gossec, Grétry was one of six chosen to join the Institut in 1795.¹¹⁴ Similarly, in his biography of Méhul, perhaps to reorient perceptions of the composer and elicit support among nonrepublicans, Pougin plays down Méhul's numerous political activities during the Revolution and devotes substantial space to his *Joseph*, selections of which were sung in church.¹¹⁵ Tiersot strenuously objected, noting Méhul's revolutionary sympathies and musical participation in many fêtes, and made a point of depicting Méhul as a secular composer who refused to go to church, a Freemason when he wrote *Joseph*.¹¹⁶

In reality, then, Méhul's association with populist republicans and Grétry's with monarchists should not be essentialized. Méhul's music became a staple of official ceremonies, and excerpts from *Joseph* appeared, not only in school manuals and *orphéon* competitions, but also in orchestra programs, all over Paris. An air from *Joseph* was also performed in a chamber concert of the composer-run Société nationale in 1884, otherwise known for new music, an orchestral concert of the prestigious Société des concerts in 1885, and a private soirée at Comtesse Elisabeth Greffulhe's salon in 1887. Interest in Méhul thus came from a range of both popular

114. Ibid., 213–15, 220–24, 234; Chouquet, *Histoire de la musique dramatique en France*, 150. Later, conservative scholars were less generous about his revolutionary-inspired music. In his *Grétry* (Paris: Laurens, n.d.), Henri de Curzon recounts the success of his *Guillaume Tell*, but criticizes *La Rosière républicaine* as "repugnant" (67–69). In his *L'Esprit de la musique française* (Paris: Payot, 1917), Pierre Lasserre assumes that the composer had to write such music to subsist. Lasserre judged *Guillaume Tell* as unequal and *La Rosière* as insincere (48). For a recent study of *La Rosière républicaine*, see Elizabeth Bartlett, "Grétry and the Revolution," in *Grétry et l'Europe de l'Opéra-Comique*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Liège: Mardaga, 1992), 65–66.

115. Pougin, *Méhul*, 247–85.

116. Julien Tiersot, "Méhul musicien des fêtes nationales et civiques," *La Révolution française* (October–December 1919), 416–45.

groups and musical and social elites, reflecting equally mixed political views. Another work, the overture from Méhul's *Le Jeune Henri* (1791; 1797)—called the hunting symphony and also popular earlier in the century—was performed not only by orchestras but also by military bands and by the Bon Marché department store's wind band during the 1889 Universal Exhibition. Such performances signify the appeal of his music to all classes of French society, as does the publication of his music in magazines for middle-class amateurs (*Mélomane* and *Petit Piano*), social elites (*Figaro musical*), and music professionals (*Ménestrel*). Lemoine's publication in 1882 of Méhul's *Mass*, his only important religious work, suggests that clerically minded conservatives could be attracted to his music. The inclusion of his music in a provincial collection of royalist songs, with lyrics about "Christian virtues," testifies to the ongoing appeal of this music, even for royalists.¹¹⁷

The reception of Grétry also grew increasingly complex. Some performances suggest that the elitist associations attached to his *Richard Cœur de Lion* were wearing away. In 1880, it returned to the Opéra-Comique, and the Conservatoire included a song from it in its annual vocal exams. In 1887 and 1893, the employee wind band of the Bon Marché performed excerpts in its outdoor summer concerts. It might appear that the fifty-two performances of *Richard Cœur de Lion* at the Opéra-Comique in 1886 reflected the monarchist resurgence in the 1885 elections. That season, however, the Opéra-Comique presented *Richard Cœur de Lion* in repertoire with *Joseph*.¹¹⁸ This suggests that by the late 1880s, both works were perceived as French masterpieces to be kept alive alongside operas by Auber and Boieldieu.

Such music helped republicans both to construct a past that many could embrace and to see more nuance in that past. Historians may be right that the monarchist resurgence in the mid 1870s enabled republicans to revive the "counterrevolutionary myth," pointing to monarchists as hostile to the Revolution, while portraying themselves as neutral and pacifist.¹¹⁹ However, as we saw in concerts of *musique ancienne et moderne* under the Moral Order, the reception of Méhul and Grétry in the 1880s intimates an emerging consensus about what was valuable in French culture. Consensus may have been difficult to forge and, in the beginning, limited in its validity, but, ironically, in shedding its political connotations, this music could serve a political function, encouraging a sense of fraternity. Perhaps this may explain why music critics of the time rarely mention politics.

117. *Recueil de chants royalists* (Angers: Gastineau-Ganier, 1882), nos. 75 and 108.

118. Grétry's *L'Épreuve villageoise* was also revived there in 1888.

119. Gildea, *Past in French History*, 36.

RECONCEIVING MUSIC HISTORY

Lectures, publications, and especially concerts had significant utility in helping the French become conscious of their illustrious past as a nation and their heritage. Performances breathed life into the *mœurs* of earlier times. In the 1870s, the French did not lack for opportunities to hear old masterpieces, sometimes juxtaposed with contemporary music. What they did not yet have, however, was a clear sense of music history—an understanding of development from one musical style to the next, progress narratives such as those being formulated by republican historians, or even a sense of the major figures.

In 1878, Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray was appointed the first professor of music history at the Conservatoire and began a series of lectures for students open to the public. With them, he aimed both to “emancipate the taste” of his listeners and to come to some consensus on the “true instincts of their race,” particularly important for young composers if they were to form a strong, cohesive national school. He believed that knowledge of the past “renders the mind more flexible and more open,” protecting one’s judgment from prejudices and routine. He hoped that by showing the “spectacle of continual change and transformation” it would become evident that things were not what they seemed, and that progress was possible.

The focus of Bourgault-Ducoudray’s lectures—which were often accompanied by performances of little-known musical treasures—was on style. “Le style, c’est l’homme” (the style is the man), he contended.¹²⁰ In his initial lecture, he outlined his plan to begin with French music history, arguing that France had been “the musical initiator of Europe,” and that in studying its history, they would be studying “the origin of all schools that have developed in Europe since the Middle Ages.” The reason he could make such exaggerated assertions, he suggested, was because French style was the product, not only of French soil and French genius, but also of what the French had assimilated from their predecessors, their neighbors, and those who had settled in France. The most important of these were the Greeks. From them, the French had inherited “qualities of clarity, precision, logic and the supreme good sense, which in art is called measure.” Proceeding chronologically, he would next turn to the Middle Ages. If plainchant and modern harmony came from the Italians, he claimed that medieval discant, or early polyphony, originated in France, as did comic opera, the first example being Adam de la Halle’s *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*,

120. Marmontel considered style not as innate but as acquired over time, that is, something a composer develops “by reflection and through a comparative study of the masters” (*Eléments d’esthétique musicale*, 107).

fragments of which were performed during his lecture. Turning to the French *chanson*, he described how France had appropriated the Flemish Guillaume Dufay and Josquin des Prés as French. Then, moving on to opera, he would discuss the influence of working in France on the Italian Lully and the German Gluck. For him, Lully was above all a European, while Rameau was the quintessential Frenchman. By spring 1880, Bourgault-Ducoudray had reached the French Revolution—Méhul, Gossec, Cherubini, and their contemporaries. Complementing his discussion of their theatrical music, he elucidated the “considerable role” music had played in revolutionary festivals. Bourgault-Ducoudray brought the past alive by giving the public as well as Conservatoire students a sense of the context in which this music was composed and performed. Very popular and often reported in *Ménestrel*, his lectures thus set a new foundation for understanding French music history.¹²¹ They also established the importance of assimilation in the evolution of the country’s music. In 1883, *Ménestrel*’s reviewer remarked that never had the Conservatoire’s lecture hall had a larger nor more sympathetic audience than for his lectures.

Until the *Histoire de la musique* (1885) of Henri Lavoix *fils*, there were no good overviews of French music history from a republican perspective in print.¹²² Bourgault-Ducoudray never published his lectures, except for excerpts in *Ménestrel*. However, scores of early music were increasingly available in piano-vocal transcriptions. The Conservatoire librarian Weckerlin was committed to making this music accessible. In his multivolume collection *Echos du temps passé* (1853–57), he had published short excerpts for piano from Adam de la Halle to Rameau. Later, he published editions of entire works, in 1878, a piano-vocal score of the first French ballet, Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx’s *Le Balet comique de la royne* (1589), in Théodore Michaelis’s series *Les Chefs-d’œuvre classiques de l’opéra français*, and in 1885, one of the first collections of printed music, Ottaviano Petrucci’s *Harmonici musices Odhecaton* (1501). In the 1880s, these were followed by new piano-vocal editions of French operas by Lully, Rameau, Grétry, and many others. These enabled the general public to get to know this music in their homes (figs. 43–44).

121. The citations in these two paragraphs come from L. Bourgault-Ducoudray, “Cours d’histoire de la musique, séance d’ouverture,” *Ménestrel*, 1 December 1878, 2; 8 December 1878, 9, 12; 15 December 1878, 18; 22 December 1878, 26; 28 March 1880, 132; and 7 January 1883, 46.

122. The most important music history at the time was François-Joseph Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu’à nos jours* (Paris: Didot, 1869–76). Félix Clément’s *Histoire de la musique religieuse* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1861; 1878) presented a Catholic perspective. In her *Interpreting the Musical Past*, Ellis considers d’Indy’s preface to his edition of *Les Élémets* (1883) a “version of French operatic history intended to quash all thoughts of a musically dominant Germany” (132).

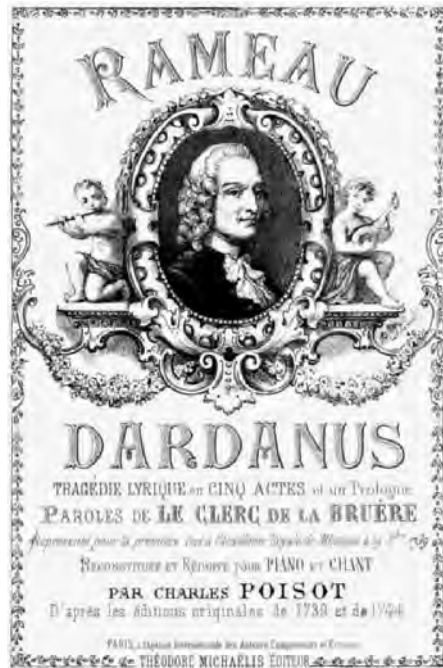


FIG. 43 Rameau, *Dardanus*, ed. Charles Poisot (1880).



FIG. 44 Lully, *Armide*, ed. Théodore de Lajarte (1878).

The series *Les Chefs-d'œuvre classiques de l'opéra français* was the result of collaboration among conservatives such as Charles Poisot and republicans such as Bourgault-Ducoudray. Their aim, Poisot wrote, was “to see, at the theater and in the schools, the master-works of Lully, Rameau, and Gluck take their place in the teaching of *art lyrique*, just as Corneille, Molière, and Racine have long held theirs in French theater.” To this end, the editions included not only opera excerpts long popular but also more rarely performed music, such as the Trio des Songes and the Monster’s music from *Dardanus*, heard at the historical concerts at the Opéra in 1880 and the Concerts Padeloup in 1881.

In the 1880s, perhaps inspired by the example of Lavoix's Concerts Cressonnois (1878) and performances at Bourgault-Ducoudray's lectures, organizers began to think explicitly of concerts as a form of history.¹²³ In May 1880, Vaucorbeil initiated a series, "Concerts historiques de l'Opéra."¹²⁴ Even if he envisaged this as more like concerts under the Moral Order than a history lesson, it did present an opportunity to focus on the major composers, as well as transformations of style and orchestration over "six eras." The first concert featured an hour of short excerpts (mostly airs, choruses, and ballet music) from the founders of French opera—Lully (*Alceste*, 1674), Rameau (*Les Fêtes d'Hébé*, 1739), Gluck (*Iphigénie en Tauride*, 1779), and Grétry (*Anacréon*, 1797)—as well as the finale of Rossini's *Moïse* (1827) and, after intermission, a premiere of a new French work, Massenet's *La Vierge* (1880), the third in his feminine trilogy, with the composer conducting. Dates and short program notes with performance histories were included on the programs. Adolphe Jullien entertained these juxtapositions seriously, but criticized Vaucorbeil's choices. For him, the strength of the Lully selections overpowered those by Rameau, giving an incorrect impression of history. And after the duo from Gluck's *Iphigénie*, he would have preferred an analogous duo from Piccini's *Iphigénie*. His review helped readers understand how Massenet's music could fit into such a concert by comparing to Handel's the composer's application of the same formula to various parts of the Bible.¹²⁵ However, from Jullien's perspective, Massenet suffered from the comparison—his music was too mannered, too human. Subscribers fought over the chance to attend this performance, but many left during the last half. Few attended the second performance. A critic blamed this on the public's resistance to hearing excerpts and works that were not staged.¹²⁶ Vaucorbeil lost 20,000 francs and canceled the series.

In 1881, Padeloup revisited this concept at the end of his subscription series of Concerts populaires de musique classique. Subtitled *programme historique*, his concert of 3 April featured the same composers as at the Opéra (fig. 45). This

123. In his last program note for the Concerts Cressonnois (24 March 1878), Lavoix *fils* reminded listeners of other precedents as well—Dihler's historical concerts in Nuremberg in 1643, those of Fétis in 1832, and the numerous revivals by various amateur choral societies, such as those directed by the prince de la Moskowa, Guillot de Sainbris, and Bourgault-Ducoudray.

124. Article 68 of the 1879 *Cahier de charges* provided for the possibility of giving concerts at the Opéra. Patureau, *Palais Garnier*, 260. See also the short review in *Ménestrel*, 30 May 1880, 203.

125. Adolphe Jullien, "Théâtre national de l'Opéra," *Revue et gazette musicales*, 30 May 1880, 171.

126. Julien Torchet, "Concerts historiques de l'Opéra," *L'Orphéon*, 11 June 1880; Patureau, *Palais Garnier*, 260–61.

CIRQUE D'HIVER, BOULEVARD DES FILLES-DU-CALVAIRE

20^e Année. 2^e Série.

Dimanche 3 avril 1881, à 2 heures.
(Les portes ouvriront à 1 heure 1/2).

24^E et der-nier CONCERT POPULAIRE

PROGRAMME HISTORIQUE

LULLY (1672)	RAMEAU (1730)	GLUCK (1777)
Fondateurs de l'Opéra français.		
ARMIDE LULLY Poème de QUINAULT. <i>Armide.</i> MELLE PLOUX (de l'Opéra). <i>La Haine.</i> MME PANCHIONI. <i>La Naïve.</i> MME CARON. <i>Hidraot.</i> M. LAUWERS. <i>Renaud.</i> M. BOLLY. OUVERTURE <i>Chœur.</i> <i>Armide est encore plus aimable</i> <i>Qu'elle n'est redoutable.</i> <i>Récit.</i> <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> <i>O Ciel! ô disgrâce cruelle!</i> <i>Duo et Chœur.</i> <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> <i>Poursuivons jusqu'au trépas.</i> <i>Récit.</i> <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> <i>C'est dans ce lieu fatal.</i> <i>Duo.</i> <i>Esprit de haine et de rage.</i> <i>Air.</i> <i>Renaud.</i> <i>Plus j'observe ces lieux et plus je</i> <i>les admire.</i>	LES FÊTES D'HÉBÉ RAMEAU <i>Chœur.</i> <i>L'Echo répète nos accords.</i> <i>GAVOTTE....</i> { Orchestre seul. <i>TAMBOURIS ..</i> { <i>Chœur.</i> <i>Dansons tous, dansons, chantons</i> BARDANS. <i>Trio des Sœurs</i> <i>Chanté par</i> MME CARON, PANCHIONI M. LAUWERS <i>et le Chœur.</i> MASCARADE DE VERSAILLES. <i>SARABANDE.</i> <i>Solo, Chœur, Orchestre.</i> <i>Le solo par MME CARON.</i>	ARMIDE GLUCK Poème de QUINAULT. <i>Chœur.</i> <i>Armide est encore plus aimable</i> <i>Qu'elle n'est redoutable.</i> <i>Récit.</i> <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> <i>O Ciel! ô disgrâce cruelle!</i> <i>Chœur.</i> <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> <i>Poursuivons jusqu'au trépas.</i> <i>Récit.</i> <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> <i>Arrêtons-nous ici.</i> <i>C'est dans ce lieu fatal.</i> <i>Duo.</i> <i>Esprit de haine et de rage.</i> <i>Air.</i> <i>Renaud.</i> <i>Plus j'observe ces lieux et plus je les</i> <i>admire.</i> [admirer] <i>Jamais dans ces beaux lieux.</i> <i>Votre attente n'est vaine.</i> (GAVOTTE). <i>Ronde.</i> <i>La Naïve.</i> <i>Où s'étonnerait moins que la saison</i> <i>Chœur.</i> [nouvelle] <i>C'est l'amour qui retient dans la</i> <i>Récit.</i> [chaîne] <i>Armide.</i> <i>Oh si la liberté me doit être ravie.</i> <i>Air.</i> <i>La Haine.</i> <i>Je réponds à tes vœux.</i> <i>Duo et Chœur final.</i> <i>Plus on connaît l'amour</i> <i>Et plus on le déteste.</i>

L'Orchestre et les Chœurs seront dirigés par M. J. PASDELOUP.
Le Clavecin sera tenu par M. THIRAUT.

Samedi 2 avril, à 9 heures du matin
RÉPÉTITION GÉNÉRALE. — Entrée, 3 fr.

PRIX DES PLACES:
 AU BUREAU: Parquet, 6 fr.; Premières, 5 fr.; Tribunes, 3 fr. Deuxièmes, 1 fr. 50 c;
 Troisièmes, 1 fr.;
 EN LOCATION: Parquet, 7 fr.; Premières, 6 fr.; Deuxièmes, 4 fr. 50 c;
 Troisièmes, 1 fr.;

FIG. 45 Concerts Padeloup program, 3 April 1881.

This concert both laid out a chronology and encouraged listeners to acknowledge continuities in French music history over a hundred year period. In placing the Frenchman Rameau's dances and masquerade, both visually and aurally, at the center between the lyric tragedies of the Italian Lully and the German Gluck, Padeloup was also commenting the nature of French music, the result of both assimilating foreign traditions and using lightness and grace to balance dramatic severity.

time, however, they were presented in an explicitly instructive manner, with the names of Lully, Rameau, and Gluck and dates of their works gracing the top of the program. In featuring *musique ancienne*, the reference to classical music in their name was omitted. So that audiences could compare them and judge their relative value, just as they did with *musique ancienne et moderne*, Padeloup chose settings from the same passages of Quinault's *Armide* by Lully and Gluck, interspersing selections from Rameau's *Les Fêtes d'Hébé*, *Dardanus*, and *La Mascarade de Versailles*, and the same singers performed the airs, duos, and ensembles. He also brought in a harpsichord. Rameau's dances functioned as a kind of interlude between the two *Armides*. Audiences filled the hall, and critics were thrilled, while reaching different conclusions from the juxtapositions. *Ménestrel*'s reviewer found the Lully utterly "boring" and lacking all liveliness, its massive forms, melodic *langueur*, and sadness "no longer capable of moving us." In contrast, he found the Gluck "grandiose" and "always lively." The Rameau excerpts were the most successful. *Figaro*'s Charles Darcours, enjoying the Lully more, commented on the "progress" that had been accomplished by the time of Rameau in vocal writing and various instrumental procedures.¹²⁷ Responding to audience and critics' request, Padeloup reprogrammed them on 10 April, adding an extra concert to the season, this time "spiced" up with more modern composers, Berlioz and Wagner, and ending with a premiere, vocal selections from *Die Meistersinger* (fig. 46). Listeners could compare airs, ensembles, and choruses from the two *Armides* with those from Berlioz's *Damnation de Faust*; eighteenth-century dances with Berlioz's "Ballet des sylphes"; male solos and ensembles from French music with those of *Die Meistersinger*; and Berlioz's "Marche hongroise" with the march from Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. *Ménestrel* pointed out that the concert not only demonstrated "what prodigious evolution" had been accomplished in music between these two periods, but also reminded listeners of their two contemporaries' indebtedness to Gluck.¹²⁸ That same day, the amateur choral society Concordia also performed trios from Rameau's *Castor et Pollux*, *Les Fêtes d'Hébé*, *Dardanus*, and *Hippolyte et Aricie*, along with some of his harpsichord music. Rameau was fast becoming known as one of the "fathers" of French music.¹²⁹

On 22 January 1882, Padeloup assembled another *programme historique*, but this time focused on the "classical symphony," with J. S. Bach, Gossec, Haydn,

127. H. Barbedette, *Ménestrel*, 10 April 1881, 149; Charles Darcours, "Notes de musique," *Figaro*, 13 April 1881.

128. *Ménestrel*, 17 April 1881, 159.

129. *Ménestrel*, 3 April 1881, 144.

CIRQUE D'HIVER, BOULEVARD DES FILLES-DU-CALVAIRE

ou Anade.
Dimanche 10 avril 1881, à 2 heures.
 (Les portes ouvriront à 1 heure 1/2).

CONCERT POPULAIRE

EN DEHORS DE L'ABONNEMENT.

PROGRAMME HISTORIQUE REDEMANDÉ.

LULLY (1672) H. BERLIOZ (1834)	RAMEAU (1733) R. WAGNER (1865)	GLUCK (1777)
ARMIDE..... LULLY Poème de QUINAULT. <i>Armide.</i> Mlle PLOUX (de l'Opéra). <i>La Haine.</i> MME PANCHIONI. <i>La Naïde.</i> MME CARON. <i>Hidraot.</i> M. LAUWERS. <i>Renaud.</i> M. BOLLY. OUVERTURE. CHŒUR. Armide est encore plus aimable Qu'elle n'est redoutable. Récit. — <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> O Ciel ! ô disgrâce cruelle ! DUO ET CHŒUR. — <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> Poursuivons jusqu'au trépas. Air. — <i>Renaud.</i> Plus j'observe ces lieux et plus je [les admire]. MASCARADE DE VERSAILLES. SARA BANDE. Soli, Chœur, Orchestre. Le solo par MME CARON. les FÊTES CHÉBÉ..... RAMEAU CHŒUR. — L'acha répète nos accords. GAVOTTE. TAMBOURIN, Orchestre soli L. CHŒUR. — Dansons tous, dansons, chateaux. DARDANUS, TRIO DES SONGES. Par MME CARON, PANCHIONI. M. LAUWERS et le Chœur.	ARMIDE..... GLUCK Poème de QUINAULT. Récit. <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> O Ciel ! ô disgrâce cruelle ! CHŒUR. <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> Poursuivons jusqu'au trépas. Récit. <i>Armide, Hidraot.</i> Arrêtons-nous ici. C'est dans ce lieu fatal. Duo. Esprit de haine et de rage. Air. <i>Renaud.</i> Plus j'observe ces lieux et plus je les CHŒUR. [admire]. Jamais dans ces beaux lieux, Votre attente n'est vaine. (GAVOTTE). RONDO. <i>La Naïde.</i> On s'étonnerait moins que la saison CHŒUR. [nouvelle]. C'est l'amour qui retient dans la Récit. [chaîne]. <i>Armide.</i> Oh si la liberté me doit être ravie. Air. <i>La Haine.</i> Je réponds à tes vœux. Duo ET CHŒUR FINAL. Plus on connaît l'amour Et plus on le déteste.	La DAMNATION..... H. BERLIOZ <i>Méphisophèles.</i> M. LAUWERS. <i>Faust.</i> M. BOLLY. <i>Brander.</i> M. LABIS. Marche hongroise. Chant de la fête de Pâques. Chœur des buveurs. Chanson de Brander. Fugues sur le thème de Brander. Chanson de Méphisophèles. Bosquets et prairies du bord de l'Elbe (<i>Air de Méphisophèles</i>). Chœur de gnomes et de sylphes. (<i>Songe de Faust</i>). Ballet des sylphes. Les MAÎTRES CHANTEURS. WAGNER (1re addition). MÉDITATION (orchestre). Air du Concours Par M. BOLLY. QUINTETTE Par Mlle PLOUX, Mmes PANCHIONI, CARON, MM. LAUWERS et BOLLY. MARCHE DU TANNHAUSER.

L'Orchestre et les Chœurs seront dirigés par **M. J. PASDELOUP.**
 Le Clavecin sera tenu par **M. THIBAUT.**

FIG. 46 Concerts Padeloup program, 10 April 1881.

"Redemandé" means that the audience asked to hear this concert again. Padeloup's extension of chronology another hundred years allowed him, not only to create a historical context for Berlioz and Wagner's music, but also to suggest a foundation for the contemporary taste for it.

Mendelssohn, and Beethoven. The concert, which listed composers' names and dates across the top of the program as in 1881, was unusual not only for its chronological presentation, but also for its concentration on orchestral music, using no singers until the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.¹³⁰ Unfortunately, audiences were not intrigued by the experiment and preferred that Sunday to go hear Berlioz elsewhere. Then, in late May 1883, the comte de Chambrun hosted a series of private salon concerts, "Les Séances de musique historique," including a performance of comparable sections of *Armide* by Lully and Gluck, done at the opera in 1880. In December 1884, the Société des concerts also gave audiences the chance to compare two versions of the chorus "Voici la charmante retraite" from *Armide* by Lully and Gluck.¹³¹ However, I've not found another program with explicitly historical comparisons until the 1890s. Concerts were an important form of public pedagogy, but neither elite Opéra subscribers nor the music-loving masses were as yet interested in explicit history lessons in the concert hall.

Still, concerts conceived historically in the early 1880s provided occasions for contemplating why it was important to look back on their country's past and what values the contemporary French shared with their predecessors. Appreciating France's musical history could contribute to new notions of the present and future. However, there would be a price to be paid for this retrospection.

CHANSONS POPULAIRES AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

A separate and somewhat distinct attempt to understand France's history and promote a shared sense of the nation's past arose with the increased attention to the country's *chansons populaires*, indigenous folk songs kept alive especially in rural parts of the country.¹³² In an effort to rebuild a sense of national identity, in 1884

130. This concert consisted of an orchestral suite by J.S. Bach, Gossec's Symphony *La Chasse* (The Hunt), two movements from Haydn's Symphony no. 29, two movements from Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and Beethoven's Symphony no. 9. Darcours was less interested in this concert and was surprised to find how well Gossec sounded in this company, "winning the competition" in part because the orchestra was not up to the interpretive difficulty of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. See his "Notes de musique," *Figaro*, 25 January 1882.

131. *Ménestrel*, 27 May 1883, 207.

132. Inspired by the Germans and the English, the French had been collecting *chansons populaires* in their own provinces since the 1830s and beginning in 1852, under decree from Napoléon III, as part of building political support and social harmony in the provinces. An early example is Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué, *Barzaz Breiz: Chants populaires de la Bretagne* (1839). While at first most of these were poems, after 1860 increasingly they collected songs. For a fuller discussion of this genre and its meaning in the 1880s and 1890s, see Jann Pasler, "Race and Nation: Musical Acclimatization and the Chansons Populaires in Third Republic France," in *Western Music and Race*, ed. Julie Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 147–67.

the minister of public instruction and fine arts proposed teaching “the old folk airs of the French provinces” to schoolchildren.¹³³ In 1885, modeled on the English Folklore Society, the Société des traditions populaires was formed to promote the genre. With the advent of two specialized journals, *Mélusine* (1877, 1884–1900) and the Société’s *Revue des traditions populaires* (1886–1919), edited by Gaston Paris, a medievalist at the Collège de France, folklorists’ focus shifted from collecting and classifying this repertoire over decades to analyzing it. As Weckerlin pointed out, *chansons populaires* had long been thought to express a country’s “type, its special physiognomy, particular rhythms, and other characteristics” because they remained relatively “stationary,” although putting on “new clothes” over time.¹³⁴ Two concerts the Société sponsored in 1885 at the Cercle Saint-Simon historical society supported these assumptions (fig. 47). In the first, Gaston Paris presented *chansons populaires* from throughout Europe, in the second, those from the French provinces. By including folk songs from the Flemish and Basque regions as well as Alsace, this program also shows how large they understood the country to be, with southern Flanders extending into France’s Nord region, the northern Basque country into the southwest, and Alsace with its people, considered to have been illegitimately appropriated by Germany, still part of the French nation.

Because of the oral tradition, many were convinced that this repertoire contained unmediated truths about the past. For this reason, much of the scholarship concentrated on what its poetry communicated about the *mœurs* of the inhabitants where the songs were collected. As Bourgault-Ducoudray explained in a lecture before one of the Société’s concerts on 26 February 1887, their melodies, too, had great “historical value,” in that they “permit us to go back to the origins of music.”¹³⁵ Tiersot considered folk melodies a form of “primitive music” and believed that they played a large role in the evolution of music, serving as the basis of harmonic construction. He boldly claimed that the sung parts of *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* were not compositions by Adam de la Halle, but *chansons populaires* of diverse genres.¹³⁶

133. Cited in Bernadette Lespinard, “La Chanson française,” in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIX siècle*, ed. Joël-Marie Fauquet (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 240.

134. Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, *La Chanson populaire* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1886), 3. This monograph was dedicated to Director of Fine Arts Albert Kaempfen. In addition to those in his *Echos du temps passé* (1853–57) and his book with Champfleury, *Chansons populaires des provinces de France* (1860), Weckerlin also collected and published *chansons populaires* from the Alps (1864) and Alsace (1883) and published a volume on examples of this repertoire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1887).

135. “Les Chansons populaires au Cercle Saint-Simon,” *Revue des traditions populaires*, 25 March 1887, 137.

136. Julien Tiersot, “Bibliographie de la chanson populaire française,” *Revue musicale* (1904), 618.

PROGRAMME

DE LA SOIRÉE DU MERCREDI 3 JUIN

1. CHANSONS BRETONNES.

(Recueillies par M. QUELLIEN).

- a. LE ROI GRADLON, *Gwerz*.
- b. SONN.
- c. LA CHANSON DU CHASSEUR, *Sonn.*
(Harmonisation de M. Bourgault-Ducoudray).
- d. L'ANDOUILLE DU RECTEUR, air de danse.
- e. AZÉGOR, *Gwerz*.

2. MON PÈRE M'ENVOIE-T-A L'HERBÈ, ronde.

(*Chants populaires du pays messin*, par M. DE PUYMAIGRE).

3. JEAN RENAUD, complainte.

(Normandie. *Poésies populaires de la France*, Mss. de la Bib. Nat.)

4. CHANSONS BASQUES.

- a. L'OISEAU DANS SA CAGE.
(*Folk-lore du pays basque*, par M. JULIEN VINSON).
- b. LE BERGER.
(*Les Pyrénées françaises*, par M. PAUL PERRET. Harmonisation de M. Octave Fouque).

5. LES TRANSFORMATIONS.

Chanson recueillie dans le Morvan par M. JULIEN TIERSOT.

6. MONTAGNARDES ET BOURRÉES D'Auvergne.

(Communiquées par M. A. BERTHOULE, de Besse (Puy-de-Dôme).

7. VOCERO.

(Communiqué par M. ARTOLI).

8. CHANSONS D'AMOUR.

- a. LE TILLEUL, chanson flamande.
(*Chants populaires des Flamands de France*, par DE COUSSEMAKER).
- b. CELUI QUE MON CŒUR AIME TANT, chanson de l'Angoumois.
(*Chansons populaires des provinces de l'Ouest*, par J. BUJEAUD).
- c. MAUDUIT SIO L'AMOU, chanson béarnaise.
(*Pyrénées françaises*, harmonisation de M. O. Fouque).

9. CHANSONS BRESSANES.

(Recueillies par M. JULIEN TIERSOT).

- a. LES NOCES DE L'ALOUETTE ET DU MOINEAU.
- b. LA SAINT-MARTIN.

10. LA FEMME DU MARIN.

(*Chansons populaires des provinces de l'Ouest*, par J. BUJEAUD).

11. CHANSONS ALSACIENNES.

(*Chansons populaires de l'Alsace*, J. B. WECKERLIN).

- a. LA CHANSON DES BEIGNETS, chant de quête.
- b. L'ALSACE NOTRE PATRIE.

12. CHANSONS DE DANSE DE LA HAUTE-BRETAGNE.

(Recueillies par MM. P. SÉBILLOT et J. TIERSOT.)

FIG. 47 Société des traditions populaires program, 3 June 1885.

Collecting, publishing, and harmonizing *chansons populaires* involved people from the regions as well as Paris, and from all walks of life, amateurs as well as professionals. As such, the genre was ideal for encouraging collaboration among French throughout the country and creating a sense of national coherence through shared concerns.

In response to a competition for the Prix Bordin, established by the Institut de France in 1885 for the best comprehensive study of the genre, Tiersot collected *chansons populaires* from all the French provinces and analyzed them in his *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (1889). His method was to seek analogies more than differences among the variants, and his conclusions were significant. He understood these songs as reflective of the interests and style of no one class—“only the chronicles through which the people conserve their memory of past times”—and as moving from one social class to the next, generally starting out in intellectual circles and gradually taken over by the lower strata. Moreover, except in the Basque country, he found “the sum total of the *chansons populaires* identical from one end of the country to the other.”¹³⁷ The notion of a shared tradition of song intrigued republicans who were seeking ways to make the French feel as one people, yet speaking many languages, and fed the government’s desire for a reification and codification of the French past. This led it to increase its sponsorship of grants for travel (*missions*) to encourage the collection of *chansons populaires* at home and abroad.

Many agreed that these models of simplicity and clarity offered a way for the French school to preserve its individuality. Numerous musicians began collecting these songs, integrating them into their music, or writing songs modeled on them. In 1885, Delibes collected them en route to Hungary, planning to use them in his next composition, and the librarian Henri Lavoix *fils* received a mission to collect them in Nordic countries, linked to the French through their alleged Celtic roots. In 1886, Comettant did the same there, and in 1889, Charles Bordes was funded to collect them in the Basque country. Thomas had incorporated a Swedish song into his *Hamlet*, and Edouard Lalo indigenous songs into his *Rapsodie norvégienne* (1878) and *Concerto russe* (1879). Bizet had shown what could be done with a provençal *chanson populaire* in his *L’Arlésienne* (1872), as had Saint-Saëns in his *Rapsodies sur des cantiques bretons* (1866) and Lalo in his *Le Roi d’Ys* (1875–81), with songs from Brittany. In the 1880s, such incorporations increased. Using melodies from the French provinces, Widor paid homage to Brittany in his ballet *La Korrigane* (1880), Massenet composed his *Scènes alsaciennes* (1882), and Saint-Saëns his *Rapsodie d’Auvergne* (1884). Augusta Holmès published her own *Chansons populaires* (1883), for which she wrote both text and music. Vincent

137. Julien Tiersot, *Mémoires populaires des provinces de France* (Paris: Heugel, 1888), dedicated to Gaston Paris, and *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris: Plon, 1889), v, vi, 1, 287, 356–59.

d'Indy built his entire *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français* (1886) around the thematic transformation of a single tune heard in his ancestors' mountains, and later composed a *Fantaisie sur des thèmes populaires français* (1888).¹³⁸ In 1887, Saint-Saëns, Massenet, and the singer Pauline Viardot (who had provided Tiersot with songs she had collected in central France) became members of the Société des traditions populaires. While conservative elites, unlike republicans, wished to use them to preserve regional languages and dialects and to assert regional identity as distinct from national identity, *chansons populaires* represented a past that composers and musicians, regardless of their political agendas, could use to nourish an appreciation for the simple and the naïve, seen as crucial aspects of the French temperament.



After they came into power in 1879, republicans engaged in a wide range of idealistic, optimistic, and sometimes pragmatic strategies to promote their values and ensure the longevity of their influence. In seeking to break down class differences, counteract the power of the Church, and secularize French society, they included music in schools, hoping it would help the French transcend illiteracy and divisiveness. Seeking to ensure greater equality of opportunity, they endeavored to make elite institutions, including the Opéra, more accessible to diverse audiences and to living composers. Certain assumptions underlay these ideas: that the middle and lower classes were interested in and capable of taking advantage of broader access to the country's serious art music; that education could prepare them for it; and that public opinion would applaud republicans' attempts to reward composers other than those popular among the elites. In any case, republicans hoped that music would awaken people from complacency, detach them from old ways of feeling and thinking, elevate taste, and encourage perseverance, tolerance, and virtue.

Republicans also looked to music history to stimulate new ways of thinking about French identity. Encouraging a taste for music from the revolutionary period, particularly Méhul, not only reengaged the public with revolutionary times but also ironically helped those of various political persuasions to find some

138. Ironically, given d'Indy's conservative politics, this harks back to the revolutionary J.-B. Leclerc, who, in his *Essai sur la propagation de la musique en France, sa conservation, et ses rapports avec le gouvernement* (1796), writes of composers during the Revolution who incorporated mountain airs from the French provinces into their theatrical works, making hardly any changes to them (16).

common ground. Revisiting other French traditions, including music of the Ancien Régime and indigenous folk song, shed light on the origins of French temperament and the development of French taste. Coming to an integrated appreciation of the French past as more than the succession of difference thus laid an important foundation for getting beyond conflict and envisioning consensus.