FAME, FORTUNE, FAILURE:

Musicians Surviving Revolutionary France (1789–1875) examined through a Theoretical Model Construct from Max Weber's Socio-Political Economic Theories.

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This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing from the outcome of work done in collaboration except where the text specifically indicates.

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Abstract

While the music profession offers panaceas of fame and fortune to the talented and disciplined, it also bestows failure even to the most worthy and unsuspecting—a truth history often distorts. This thesis investigates the professional survivals of Paris-based musicians before, during, and after revolutions in France that generated more than fifteen regime changes from 1789 to 1871. It identifies and evaluates the strategies musicians adopted to overcome volatile social, religious, political, and economic upheavals in the unstable socio-political environments. The research method utilises a theoretical model constructed specifically for this thesis derived from Max Weber’s theories of three pure-types of authorities, the state’s legal monopoly over violence, institutions, stratification, status-groups, status, and social action expounded in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (Economy and Society)*. The model provides the framework for a structured analysis of the meaningful behaviours of musicians caught in revolutions within macro and micro-historical, philosophical, cultural, economic, and political contexts with the aim of increasing our knowledge of their fate and regime-treatment of musicians. Official statistics on deaths, arrests, exiles, executions, status, budgets, and remunerations regarding musicians as staff and freelance artists validate that transitions to new regimes adversely affected those reliant upon churches, kings, armies, and aristocrats superseded by states, state-controlled music institutions, theatres, and markets. The thesis proves that a predetermined hierarchical structure unique to musicians, dictated survival and that instrumentally rational action ensured prosperity in Paris covertly steeped in *ancien regime* traditions fractured by resurgent Monarchies, Republics, and Empires.
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To my dearest friend, Emma Braid, her husband, Gordon, and her many English and French friends, thank you all for your hospitality, which made my research in London and Paris fruitful. Thank you Shekhar Prince for lending your ear and Sasha Topalovic, from the Archives Nationales in France, for your kind diligent assistance in locating the archive files I required. I thank my family for their patience and encouragement.
Dedication

I dedicate the inspiration for chapter three vis-à-vis church and military musicians to my family: to my Huguenot ancestors exiled from France for their religious beliefs and my great-great uncle, Reverend Dr Henry Charles Deshon. Secondly, to my three times great grandfather, Major Peter Deshon, captured by the French and then exchanged during the French Revolutionary Wars, who subsequently fought in the Anglo-American Revolutionary War at New Orleans, and the Peninsular War against Napoleon I. Thirdly, to my great-great grandfather, Lieutenant Colonel Charles John Deshon, who died prematurely in India while in British service. Fourthly, to my great-great uncle, Lieutenant General Frederick George Thomas Deshon, and great uncle, Lieutenant Edward Deshon, who fought at Sebastopol in the Crimean War allied to Napoleon III. Finally, I dedicate the chapter to my grandfather, Lieutenant Roy Curzon Deshon, who fought with the British alongside the French at the Battle of the Somme in WWI and remained in France to assist in the demolition and reconstruction efforts.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANF</td>
<td>Archives nationales de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNF</td>
<td>Bibliothèque nationales de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'Association</td>
<td>L'Association des artistes musiciens (1843–1880)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'Orphéon</td>
<td>L'Orphéon de Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Paris Opéra</td>
<td>All twenty odd variations of the names for the Paris Opéra (1789–1875)</td>
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<td>RGM</td>
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CHAPTER 1: Introduction, Literature Review, Theory, and Method

Introduction

While the 1789 Revolution brought an end to feudalism and the birth of republicanism in France, it also spawned revolutions, counter-revolutions, coups d'état, and wars that fractured society and affected the short and long-term professional survival of musicians in Paris. By focusing on eleven pivotal regime changes from 1789 to 1871, this thesis examines Paris-based professional musicians in revolutionary crises made increasingly reliant upon careers sustained by state institutions, markets, middle-class audiences, entrepreneurs, and critics superseding ancien regime monarchs, patrons, and the Church.¹ The research method adopted for the thesis relies on a theoretical model specifically formulated from Max Weber's socio-political and economic theories expounded in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (Economy and Society) that embraces historical, economic, philosophical, political, statistical, social, and cultural contexts.² The model provides a macro–to–micro method of analysing power structures in Paris that this thesis argues determined the outcomes of the social actions of musicians—categorised according to Weber's stratifications of music genres and instruments before, during, and after revolutionary episodes.³ The comparative historical analysis utilises Weber's theories of three

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¹The crisis years examined are 1789, 1793–1794, 1795, 1799, 1804, 1814–15, 1830, 1848, 1851, 1870, and 1871.
³Macro-history focuses on large-scale and long-term trends of cultures over long periods involving group activities like revolutions understood through comparative analyses: patterns discovered are usually repeatable and
pure-types ('ideal types' or **idealtypenlehre**) of authority, the state’s monopoly over violence, institutions, bureaucracy, stratification, status-groups (**Stände**), status, and social actions (**Gemeinschaftsitandeln**) to analyse professional survival.

Moreover, this thesis uses Weber’s **Verstehen** interrogative method—sometimes referred to as **Deuten, Sinn, Handeln**, and **Verhalten**—to examine the behaviours of musicians as **social actors** to arrive at ‘subjectively understandable’ interpretations of their strategies within socio-political contexts. This method elicits new understandings and interpretations about social actors and situations through rational (subdivided into logical and mathematical), emotionally empathic, and artistically appreciative observations. At a macro-level, **Massenkulturgut Verstehen** is the observable understanding of the ‘cultural processes of the masses’ concerning matters such as **public utility** (utilité publique or **utilitas rei publicae**), politicised music, music-as-art, and popular music. At a micro-level, **aktuelles Verstehen** is the observable (actual) understandings gained about an individual at specific points and where possible, it demonstrates consistent behaviour patterns over long periods within large and small contexts. **Erklärendes Verstehen** is the explanatory understanding gained about an actor’s behaviour within broad contexts when facts remain hidden from observation, whereby the observer empathises with a social actor to provide (subjective) meaningful interpretations based on insight, experience, and knowledge.

The research, in which I place myself as a professional operatic and concert performer, lecturer, teacher, economist, historian, former accountant, and theosophist, enables me to apply skills to assist in answering the thorny issues of survival regarding the challenging vocation in music. As an opera singer, I faced a professional survival crisis in the 1990s when the Victoria State Opera went into receivership after the Premier and Victorian State Government washed its hands of the company. Unlike the First Republic, which saw the benefit in retaining the Paris Opéra by declaring it a **public utility**, the Victorian Parliament withdrew its financial support, and none involved in the ‘merger’ between Australia’s two principal opera companies offered employment to those abandoned by the state. The same occurred for the soloists (me) of the old Victorian

explainable. Micro-history, defined by Carlo Ginzburg in the 1970s, focuses on intensive social and cultural investigations of **units of activity** of institutions, groups, and individuals usually through case studies to show how large-scale historical abstractions affect smaller units. Weber, **Economy and Society**, Chapter IV.

4 See Weber, **Economy and Society**, 5, 57-58, 390, and see **Class, Status, and Party**. See Eduardo De la Fuente and Peter Murphy eds. **Philosophical and Cultural Theories of Music**, Vol. 8. (Boston: Koninklijke Brill NY, 2010) and Dennis H. Wrong (ed.), **Max Weber** (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970), 18-24 and 153, for explanations of **Verstehen** and meaningful observations of actors. Talcott Parsons also explains **aktuelles Verstehen** and **erklärendes Verstehen** in Weber’s **The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism**.
Concert Orchestra that had toured Country Victoria for seventy-five-years when the Department of Premier and Cabinet ceased funding it. Richard Bonynghe’s letter, 29 May 2004, reproduced Appendix 8, offers illuminating insight into survival as valid today as it is for revolutionary Paris.

The research aims to complement and extend the existing scholarship on the theoretical approaches to French history and music, having identified the gaps in the literature concerning Paris-based musicians and revolutions. One aspect demonstrates how regimes treated musicians differently by consulting official decrees and ordinances, primary historical and biographical documents, and specifically the AJ/13 and AJ/37 archival series from the Paris Opéra and Paris Conservatorium located at Archives Nationales Francais. Another aspect utilises statistical and budgetary information divulging the numbers guillotined, executed, imprisoned, exiled, who served regimes, prospered, or suffered poverty and the financial transactions associated with music institutions and salaries offered. Historians recognise 1789, 1830, and 1848 as years of revolution in France and 1792 the year King Louis XVI forfeited his power. This thesis extends the research to include the semi-coups of 1793 and 1794; coups d’état of 1799, 1804, and 1851, the defeats and coups of 1814–1815; the 1870 Franco-Prussian War establishing the Third Republic; the Paris Commune uprising March-May 1871 and the return of the Third Republic, 22 May 1871. Incorporating coups, the thesis conforms to Weber’s broad concept of revolution.

In spite of all the changes of masters in France since the time of the First Empire, the power apparatus remained essentially the same. Such an apparatus makes “revolution,” in the sense of the forceful creation of entirely new formations of authority, more and more impossible—technically, because of control over modern means of communication (telegraph etc.), and also because of its increasingly rationalised inner structure. The place of "revolutions" is under this process taken by coups d’état, as again France demonstrates in a classical manner since all successful transformations there have been of this nature. 5

In six chapters, this thesis examines and assesses the crisis behaviours of musicians within macro contexts focussed on their relationships with power (authority, states, institutions, stratification, and status-groups), perceptions of status, and types of social action. The original contribution to theory and scholarship is two-fold. It constructs a theoretical model and research method founded upon Weber’s theories primarily espoused in Economy and Society to define a systematic analysis-base of musicians as groups and individuals within large-scale

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5 See Weber, Economy and Society, 35–38 and 989. Revolutions for this thesis include coups d’état that overthrow the existing political powers, a principle Sagan supports who argues there were three revolutions between 1789 and 1794. See Eli Sagan, Citizens and Cannibals, chapters 1–3. Social revolutions generally develop from 'class-based revolts' to transform society and state structures, while 'political revolutions transform state structures but not social structures.' See Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China (Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1979), 4–9 and 33–36. See Appendix 1 for a list of regimes.
historical contexts. See the theoretical structural prism in Figure 1.1. Second, it offers innovative interpretations of the causal links between revolutions, regimes, and professional survival. Weber intended to integrate music into the processes of the rationalisation of political and economic society, but died before realising this. The posthumous publication of his unfinished Die rationalen und soziologischen Grundlagen der Musik (The Rational and Social Foundations of Music) used in this thesis, often appears as an appendix to his Economy and Society.

The underlying question this thesis asks is, did the most talented musicians survive revolutions best in Paris or the most politically cunning, most socially well connected, or most adaptable? The thesis statement claims that because musical talent did not define survival prospects in or after revolutions, musicians need patrons and should join or create a status-group. Answers to this question rely on discovering discernable repeatable strategies that Paris-based musicians assumed to survive within crisis contexts. The subsidiary questions are as follows. How did those recognised as talented musicians survive in Paris before, during, and after revolutions? Under which regimes did musicians fare best and why? How many musicians met with misfortune? Did status-groups influence survival? Did perceptions of status influence survival? Finally, how useful is this Weberian theoretical model for the enquiry? The thesis rests on the premise that Weber's socio-political theories of authority, states, power, and institutions explain factors influencing survival within macro-settings while his theories concerning stratification, status-groups, status, and social action assist in evaluating strategies at micro-levels. The thesis argues that three types of authority in Paris defined the meaning of culture and the function of music that predetermined the protocols of successful social action for musicians.

It was only by the rise of charismatic leaders against the legal authorities and by the development around them of groups of charismatic followers that it was possible to take power away from the old authorities. It was furthermore only through the maintenance of the old bureaucratic organisation that power once achieved could be retained.

Weber explains that survival often entails an effective use of willpower, knowledge, and opportunity. He defines the difference between power (Macht) and domination (Hershaft). Power ensues when an individual or group is in ‘a position to carry out his [her and their] own will despite resistance’ whereas domination ensues from the ‘probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons.’

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7 Weber, Economy and Society, 226.

8 See Weber, Economy and Society, 53.
good dose of habit.’ The statement articulates the criteria for analysing an actor’s livelihood and non-livelihood actions within the socio-political economies that encapsulates the thesis structure from the top-down as shown in Figure 1.1 and Appendix 9.

Figure 1.1 Theoretical model constructed for the thesis based on Max Weber’s theories. The diagram represents Weber’s ideological powers of three pure-types of authorities, states, and institutions, bureaucracy, stratification, status-groups, and status that determined survival.

Weber sometimes calls his sociological theory (Kategorienlehre) an open-ended and generally value-free consistent formulation for assessing trans-epochal and trans-cultural social events for empirical approaches to history. His rational ‘value-neutral’ method is appropriate for such an historical analysis as this. Neither a functionalist, nor an orthodox Marxian sociologist, nor a revisionist like August Comte, Émile Durkheim, Herbert Spencer, Albert Mathiez, Alfred Cobban, or William Doyle, Weber integrates into his theory ‘what kind of action is functionally necessary’ to identify the meaningful behaviours of individuals, analysed via four types of social action, to determine their ‘fitness to survive.’ He fashions ‘ideal types’ (static and dynamic) and the Verstehen to formulate a methodological middle ground against positivism that provides a logical comparative historical method suitable for all epochs in history by incorporating complexities of ideologies and purpose-rational action as heuristic interpretive devices.

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9 Roth’s Introduction to Weber’s, Economy and Society, XXXV.

10 Roth’s Introduction to Economy and Society, XXXVI, LVII and see 242 for value-neutrality (Werturteilsfreiheit).

11 Weber, Economy and Society, 16–18. Indeed, the hungry and fierce survive best given the various beginnings of individuals and random factors of life, as none starts at the same place in the race.

12 See Philip Gossett, ‘Carl Dahlhaus and the "Ideal Type"’, 19th-Century Music, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Summer, 1989), 51. One argument against ideal types claims that it is a subjective assessment. Neil J. Smelser, Comparative Methods in the
survival strategies of individuals and groups resisting power or domination during and after a revolution (as a kind of existential crisis) usually engage in Weber’s three types of social behaviours. These are ‘conflict’ (Kampf or the imposition of willpower over resistance), ‘competition’ (regulated peaceful conflict), and ‘social selection’ (based on hierarchies and behaviours). Survival for musicians would seem to require adaptive endeavours to maintain a profession to avoid having to escape Paris, imprisonment, exile, death, poverty, becoming an artisan, or unemployment. Unlike most other professionals, usually musicians work long unpaid hours practising and rehearsing to perfect their craft, and due to such isolation, often do not develop political and social skills or calculated action—something they assign to managers, agents, friends, and patrons. These factors seem to explain the difficulties they face when interacting with socio-political fabrics in real-world contexts. To date, scholars have not analysed musicians’ survival behaviours within regime-power contexts of revolutions in France or utilised Weber’s theories for musicological research. This thesis endeavours to fill this gap.

**Literature Review**

The formidable breadth of primary and secondary sources used for this thesis—covering eighty-five years of French revolutionary history, music, musicians, politics, economics, statistics, philosophy, and theory—requires segregating the literature review into three main categories. These are history (incorporating statistics, politics, and economics), music (assimilating music theory in the musicological base), and theory, focused on Max Weber. Historians, economists, statisticians, and socio-political scientists seldom acknowledge music’s powerful political, economic, intellectual, social, or revolutionary power in France, and rarely incorporate Weber into their theoretical discussions. A disconnect between the disciplines with musicology creates

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14 Anthony Kemp’s study on psychological temperaments and personality-types of musicians related to instruments indicate that performers are extroverted: singers are ‘unique’ as sensitive living musical instruments because ‘voices are born and not made,’ while conductors and composers behave like administrators, i.e., ‘rational.’ Anthony E. Kemp, *Musical Temperament: Psychology and Personality of Musicians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), Chapter, 9.
problems for scholars wishing to place nineteenth-century music and musicians within socio-politico, economic, and historical settings. Of all the music genres, church and military music have remained the most neglected fields of research, as scholars tend to focus on famous Paris-based operatic and orchestral composers and performers that comprise only about .05% of music professionals. This focus is possibly due to their notoriety, public interest, an abundance of primary sources, a massive base of secondary sources, and perceptions of their genius and contributions to music. The thesis debunks some of the myths regarding their fame and fortune.

a) History and Politics

Apart from the plethora of primary sources from states, officials, statisticians, musicians, and formidable protagonists like Prince Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince Clemens von Metternich, Alexis de Tocqueville, Thomas Paine, Thomas Carlyle, Edmond Burke, Hippolyte Taine, and Adolph Thiers, the secondary sources and doctoral dissertations consulted usually refer to historical events and victors, but rarely to musicians. The most discussed topics are the 1789 Revolution, The Reign of Terror, and Napoleon Bonaparte, and the most neglected topic is the 1871 Commune uprising. Invaluable discussions on primary sources regarding decrees, laws, and ordinances (1789–1799), and Napoleon (1799–1815) come from John Stewart and Owen Connelly.15 The French and English publications consulted, some of which are neo-Marxist and primarily empirical, explain the causes of uprisings and sequences of events during revolutions by year (in brackets). The notable authors are, François Furét (1770–1880), Peter McPhee (French society (1789–1875), Robespierre, and the 1789 Revolution), Elizabeth Latimer (1830–1890), Eli Sagan (1789-1794) Crane Brinton (Talleyrand and Revolution), David Garrioch (1789 and bourgeoisie), George Rudé (1783–1815), and Peter Jones (1848).16 Regarding the


monarchies of Europe, Napoleonic wars, and the role the Congresses of Vienna (Wiener Kongress), chaired by Klemens von Metternich, played in defeating Napoleon in 1814 and 1815, Charles Webster and Philip Dwyer, while informative, omit essentials regarding dignitaries, staged concerts, music programs, and operas. The Vienna Congress was the most spectacular political, social, and musical phenomenon event in Europe, but very little scholarship emerged regarding its music, operas, or musicians, except perhaps concerning Beethoven and Meyerbeer. An informative thesis about republican exiles in England after the collapse of the second government of the Second Republic in 1848 comes from Thomas Jones whose statistical analysis shows that of an estimated 4,500 exiles in Britain, 3,000 returned to France. He explains how the networks of British organisations, its Masonic Lodges, churches, charities, and committees provided relief for destitute French exiles, also mentioning Victor Hugo and Victor Schoelcher when discussing Sir Julius Benedict and the exiled composer, Charles Bénézit. Details of the 1848 revolutions in Paris, President Napoleon’s ascent to power, the 1851 coup d’état, and the role the local militia played, come from Priscilla Robertson and Eugène Ténot. These provide insight into first-hand accounts of events, laws, statistics, deaths, and primarily drummers and buglers.

Eric Hobsbawm, a rare historian who includes music into his discussions of French history, devotes entire chapters to Napoleonic concepts of ‘careers open to talent’ and the arts in France and Europe, substantiating many of Weber’s principles concerning charisma. He explains that the post-revolutionary status of the French as citizens (replacing nationals and subjects of the King) liberated them from hereditary occupational limitations through the ‘triumph of merit over birth’ exemplified in Napoleon as ‘the little corporal’ who rose to become a great general and emperor. Hobsbawm discusses the Napoleonic concepts of talent that displaced the old

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17 Charles K. Webster, *The Congress of Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1918). After Napoleon’s escape from Elba and re-entry into France, a joint declaration by Austria, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Sweden declared Napoléon an international outlaw on 13 March 1815, and then, the ‘big four’ signed a treaty on 25 March 1815 to end his power. Defeated via the Duke of Wellington, Napoleon abdicated on 22 June 1815. See Philip G. Dwyer, *Talleyrand: Profiles in Power* (Edinburgh: Harlow, Pearson Education Ltd, 2002), 144.

18 Thomas C. Jones, *French Republican exiles in Britain, 1848–1870* (PhD Dissertation, Faculty of History, University of Cambridge, 2010), 26 and 34.


honour status criteria that inspired musicians, the educated, hardworking, shrewd, and greedy to achieve distinction by saying that the ‘hitherto dubious theatrical and operatic performers, became respected and respectable, suitable candidates for knighthood or peerage.’ The paradox Hobsbawm notes is that the new officialdom and status criteria after 1815 created a ‘closed society of bureaucracy’ of wealthy political élites, concurring with Weber’s theory about the rationalisation of society via states, institutions, bureaucracies, officialdom, and pariah status-groups. Another progressive Weber historian and musicologist, Jann Pasler, discusses the phenomenon of public utility focused on the cultural participation of the working classes in music in the public domain. Concentrating on ‘music’s value to the state’ and ‘when, why, and how music came to be part of public policy’ from the 1790s, she explains the changing criteria of utilité publique under regimes. Her work integrates well with Weber’s Massenkulturgut Verstehen (mass cultural understanding) and Christine Adam’s research on poverty, single mothers, charity, and the ancien régime’s concepts of utilité publique. She explains the forces in France after 1830 that enabled the formation of voluntary organisations—typifying Weber’s rational ideal type of organisation (Vergesellschaftung) manifest as a voluntary association (Zweckverein). During the eighteen hundreds, primarily the choral society, l’Orphéon de Paris, and the philanthropic organisation, l’Association des artistes musiciens (one of three with De la Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs and De l’Association des Artistes Dramatiques), staged fundraising concerts to alleviate the financial distress of destitute musicians. She demonstrates that the long-term effect of the state-support for utilité publique displaced the church-based charities with state-sanctioned charities that led to the development of the welfare state.

b) Musicology and Musicians

The theoretically rich musicological literature base does not embrace Weber’s theories or discuss musicians surviving revolutions, but addresses separately political and social climates, genres, institutions, iconic musicians, eighteenth and nineteenth-century historiography, and aesthetics. Musicologists usually discuss music history, opera, musicians, instruments, critics, culture, ancien régime genres, choral movement, and organisations operating under public utility mandates during the First Republic, First Empire, Restoration, July Monarchy, Second Republic,

22 Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital, 1848–1875, 335.

23 Jann Pasler, Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France (California: University of California Press, 2009), 33 and 68–93. She discusses music, the state, utilité publique, and social mœurs.

Second Empire, and the Third Republic. The virtually unknown and less revered musicians from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often did not write mémoires or provide primary sources for research, and this lacking coupled with language barriers presents difficulties for scholars. The piecemeal documentation and some secondary sources from authors like Pierre Lafond, who biographer Bernard Miall relies upon, serve as primary sources for ancient regime musicians Pierre-Jean Garat, Mlle. Maillard, Rudolph Kreutzer, and others. Miall notes that regarding Garat, only a few brief obituaries exist and no contemporary wrote about his life.\(^{25}\)

Formidable scholarship, focused on opera, comes from Jean Mongrédien, James Johnson, Henry Raynor, T. J. Walsh, Patrick Barbier, Mark Everist, William Crosten, Jann Pasler, Victoria Johnson, and Jane Fulcher.\(^{26}\) Mongrédien and James Johnson discuss developments in French music genres, specifically the opera, within historical contexts from 1789 to 1830. Victoria Johnson’s scholarship, pertinent for the years either side of the 1789 Revolution, reveals the early in-house power struggles at the Opéra when singers fought for self-administration under the Republic. Raynor, Walsh, Barbier, Everist, and Crosten trace the operatic and music developments until 1848. Pasler and Fulcher view music within broad political contexts up until the 1870s focused on the choral movement, philanthropy, and public utility. Virtually forgotten, but invaluable, sources used for this thesis come from J. G. Prod’homme, M. Lassabathie, and François-Henri-Joseph Blaze (Castil-Blaze), and Henry-Sutherland Edwards that contain specific information


about the Paris Opéra, Paris Conservatoire, revolutions, salons, Napoleon Bonaparte, and status-concepts regarding musicians.  

27 Donna Marie Di Grazia’s doctoral thesis on public utility offers invaluable insight into the large educational-based choir movement and philanthropic organisations in France that emerged under the July Monarchy and flourished after the 1851 coup.  

28 She concentrates on l’Orphéon and l’Association, supplying tables, music, and details from primary sources. Regarding nineteenth-century music critics in Paris, Katharine Ellis describes their ascent to power over musicians and music institutions as they defined the French music canon and who, this thesis asserts, behaved like Weber’s status-groups.  

29 Ellis confirms that musicians behaved more like geniuses than as professionals, possibly inspired by imperial concepts of careers open to talent, which tends to explain their dilemmas, struggles, and declining status under bureaucracies after Napoleon’s demise in 1815. Regarding the effects of capitalism on employment in France, Christopher Johnson and Michael Sibalis focus on struggling tailors and shoemakers affected by d’Allarde Law of 2 March 1791 that abolished guilds, which ‘demonstrates how merchant capitalism undermined artisanal independence and provoked labour militancy’.  

30 Until then, guilds had functioned as protective status-groups, ‘opposed’ to capitalist power.  

In the case of lawyers who rose to power after 1789, Peter Grajzl


and Peter Murrell argue that ‘the legal profession materially affects the quality of institutional development’ with profound implications for musicians.\textsuperscript{32} The \textit{Order of Barristers} overcame legal constraints to emerge as a supreme professional body in shaping laws legitimising regimes.

David Tunley and Steven D. Kale stand alone in their large-scale scholarship on salons, music, and song-culture in Paris from 1789 to 1870.\textsuperscript{33} They discuss history, status, performances, and protagonists that conform to Weber’s theories of stratification and status-groups with dominion over musicians. Tunley examines salaries, singing techniques, vocal styles, and compositions with half of the book offering lists of repertoire from salon concerts (by year, name, artist, and composition) of Zimmerman, Rossini, and Princess Mathilde and advertised in \textit{Menestrel, Monde Musical,} and \textit{Revue et gazette musicale}. Focused on Germany, while discussing issues relevant to Paris and Max Weber, sociologist Walter Salmen (as editor) presents nine papers from authors about music’s role in society and a musician’s social status. Like Prod’homme, they all discuss hierarchies of musicians and instruments used for ritual, political, courtly, social, and entertainment purposes, assigning music mystical and political functions similar to Weber’s irrational and rational criteria that align with Plato’s \textit{Laws}.\textsuperscript{34} Two pioneering publications about the 1871 Paris Commune music activities come from Delphine Mordey and Jess Tyre, who explain the role of the Opéra, Paris Conservatoire, and official theatres in Paris, discussing artists, programs, and the economic and political rationales behind performances.\textsuperscript{35} Mordey and Tyre highlight the issues lingering from the aborted ideals of the 1789 Revolution, explain the Commune’s disdain for the indulgent music of the Second Empire—symbolised by Jacques Offenbach’s operettas—and detail the malice of the returning Republican army under President Thiers. Evidence indicates that the Paris-based musicians who serviced state-controlled religious and military music experienced the 1789 Revolution, subsequent revolutions, and coups differently from other musicians. As these are undeveloped neglected fields of research,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} Walter Salmen ed., \textit{The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century}, trans. Herbert Kaufman and Barbara Reisner (New York: Pendragon Press, 1971), 3 and 13.
\end{itemize}
this thesis devotes half a chapter to both music genres by consulting new primary sources and old sources from the literature-base. Focused on organists, Orpha Ochse, Lawrence Archibald, and William Peterson discuss the effects of revolutions on composers, performers, and religious music, highlighting the devaluation of the profession and the necessity of entering into markets to survive. The pioneering research from Groupe de prosopographie des musiciens and Sylvie Granger’s collaborative publications summarising the work of Georges Daumet (1870–1918) and Léonce Celier (1885–1963), present vital data about church musicians, their fates, pension requests, salary hierarchies by instruments, and status in France after 1789. Further research into this genre is required to uncover documents from the French and Vatican archives about state-appointments, retirements, and deaths related to revolutions and coups.

Concerning the neglected field of French military musicians and the martial music genre, Braun Werner advises of the ‘problematic situation’ of sourcing documentation of hired professionals and army musicians. The French soldier-musicians and National Guard (Imperial and Royal) wind players, hautboists, drummers, trumpeters, and the like, do not often appear on military registers, so their fates in battles and revolutions have remained unknown. This thesis relies on two primary and four secondary sources concerning the genre. The first comes from Lieutenant-Colonel Victor-Louis Jean-François Belhomme’s five-volume publication of French military history beginning 841 AD up until 1890, which comprises details of musicians from the infantry, cavalry, marines, local militia, divisions, regiments, battalions, ordinances, decrees, laws, compositions, and structural sizes of armies. He discusses mercenaries, the Swiss, Italian, and National Guard, and the marines, detailing the roles, ranks, and remunerations of the musicians, providing invaluable data for comparing statistics and status assessments under regimes. Two formidable nineteenth-century sources come from Jean-Georges Kastner, who lays down the ancient historical foundations of military music and their music commands (drum batteries and trumpet sonneries) focused on France until 1846, whereas Albert Perrin focuses on the plight of


French military musicians for equitable remunerations and status after 1846. They both confirm the significant importance of *l’Association* to the military. Nick Mansfield explains the British perspective of war against France confirming the low-status rankings of soldiers, viewed as workers. The contemporary author, George Nafziger (editor), refers to General Henri Charles-Lavauzelle (1853–1826) offering accounts of battles involving military musicians, the activities of French Regiments, and the functions of overseas soldiers and navy musicians dating from 1622. Regarding public music, Edmond Neukomm discusses the compositional history of military marches and songs from operas and popular works by composers such as Wagner, Liszt, and Rossini. Like Oscar Commettant, Michel Brenet expounds the history of *la musique de guerre.* He discusses ordinances, instruments, marches, batteries, Kastner, Bernard Sarrette, François-Joseph Gossec, François-Joseph Fétis, Michele Carafa, *la Marseillaise,* soldier-musicians, Philippe-Rene Girault, Baron Isidore Justin-Severin Taylor, Adolphe Sax, Napoleons I and III, the reforms of 1854, and the counter-reforms of 1871. They all substantiate the decline in status and survival of French military musicians that, as a body, correspond to Weber’s *warrior community.*

c) Weber and Music

In *Economy and Society,* Weber highlights the conflicts between empirical reality and the conceptions of a world locked in struggles between ‘priestly wisdom’ and ‘secular philosophy’ that produces some of the ‘strongest tensions in man’s inner life.’ Augmenting this with references to mystics, music, and musicians, Weber upholds the principle that irrational music facilitates personal and mystical bliss (*ekstasis*) whereas rationalised music facilitates a state’s political, war, and economic ‘techniques of action.’ While Carl Dahlhaus attempts to apply some of Weber’s theories to music using ‘ideal types,’ he attracts criticism from Philip Gossett for his

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44 Weber, *Economy and Society,* 451, 526, 535, and see Chapter VI.

inconsistent misuse of the term, which this thesis notes because Weber confines the concept of ideal types to politics, economics, and social action, but not to music.\footnote{Gossett, 'Carl Dahlhaus and the "Ideal Type"', 53.} Weber’s protégé, Paul Honigsheim, plus such significant authors as Karl Jaspers, Talcott Parsons, Michael Fend, Dirk Kaesler, and Stephanus J. Muller, support applying Weber’s theories and methods for historical research that include using his incomplete treatise on music, \textit{Die rationalen und soziologischen Grundlagen der Musik}. This source has attracted conflicted attention from Dahlhaus, Gossett, Michael Fend, Christoph Braun, Isabelle Darmon, and particularly, James Wierzbicki—an article rich in secondary sources.\footnote{Paul Honigsheim, \textit{The Unknown Max Weber}, Alan Sica ed. (London: Transaction Publishers, 1946). This thesis disagrees with Wierzbicki’s idea to ‘put the last nail in the proverbial coffin of the utility of Weber’s essay as an aid to our understanding of the history of music in the West.’ Weber’s 94-page treatise refers to Pythagorean mathematical and music relationships, instrument stratification, status, Japan (15 times), Java (5), China (20), India (30), Arabia (31), Asia (8), Byzantine (10), and Helena (70), and pentatonic music (33). See Dirk Kaesler, “Still Waiting for an Intellectual Biography of Max Weber,” \textit{Max Weber Studies} 7 (2007).}


Moreover, Michael Fend, who is critical of Wierzbicki, warns readers about the inaccuracies that result from the missing footnotes of Weber’s publication which he intended to entitle, \textit{Soziologie der Musik}.\footnote{Michael Fend, “Witnessing a ‘Process of Rationalisation’?”, 103.} Surely, it is erroneous to isolate this music publication from the body of his socio-political and economic texts.

Leon Botstein, the current editor of \textit{The Music Quarterly}, acknowledges Wierzbicki’s contribution to scholarship, but upholds Weber, his remarkable contributions to sociology, and his powerful guidelines for studying musicology that embraces the pithy Lutheran, Calvinist, and Marxist theoretical principles. He champions his method of sourcing information through ‘journalism, organisations, and élites’ and his concept of ‘ideal types’ (dynamic and static), by saying that
Weber encourages the 'historian to manufacture from empirical evidence a model of sorts.' He claims that music and history research are still in 'a nascent state' of development because only 'a fragment of the evidence has been carefully examined.' He recommends establishing meticulous research methodologies for music, offering Jann Pasler as an exemplary example of a Weber musicologist whose work challenges Marxist theorists and authors like Alan Turley who asserts that 'Weber remains [merely] an outstanding starting point for music researchers.' Acknowledging the disparities between music theorists concerning Weber, asking for more Weber and less Adorno who was a Weber scholar, Botstein concludes that a methodological construct for music essentially says that 'Weber's methodology of ideal types remains suggestive as an instrument in the understanding of music history.' He proposes that from 'empirical observation, a comprehensive rational model is [may be] constructed, that when fleshed out is useful in understanding the very particular phenomena in history' observed: 'one can construct an analytical ideal type [of model] that in turn serves to penetrate the structure and meaning of individual cases.'

**d) Statistics and Economics**

Weber acknowledges the importance of statistics for research to ensure 'statistical probability,' 'statistical uniformities,' and 'statistically conclusive proof' to establish the empirical integrity of causal relations in history. Historians, economists, and statisticians rarely incorporate music or musicians into their analyses of revolutions, markets, and politics or acknowledge music's contribution to the economy. Statistical analyses (by years examined) come from Donald Greer


55 Botstein, "Max Weber and Music History," 188.

56 Jacques Attali is an exception due to his substantial interest in music, conducting, history, and publishing. See Jacques Attali, Noise: The Political Economy of Music (published as Bruits: essai sur l'économie politique de la musique in 1977), Vol. 16, trans. Brian Massumi Frederic Jameson and Susan Mc Clary (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985). Discussions on British music by authors such as Cyril Ehrlich and Leanne Langley lie outside the scope of this thesis. William Weber analyses musicians as entrepreneurs across two centuries, advocating Adam/Franz Liszt as
(1789–1799), Gavin Daly (1802–1815), Lewis Goldsmith (1830), David Pinkney (1830), Gérard Noiriel (1789–1875), Steven Huebner (1834–1867), Robert Tombs (1871), Charles Tilly (1848, 1851, 1871), and Jacques Rougerie (1871).57 The statistics, tables, and graphs constructed for this thesis concerning exiles, emigration, arrests, and deaths categorised by occupation come from internal (Paris/France) and external sources (particularly England, US, and Russia) to fill errors gaps in France’s databases. Regarding population movements from between 1814 and 1818, Walter Willcox demonstrates that many who left France after Napoleon’s demise primarily fled to America.58 He supplements the ‘scanty numerical data’ with the number of requests for passports from France’s Ministry of the Interior, even though many had left or returned to France without passports. Roger Price’s statistical survey of France’s economic and social developments from 1789 to 1875, although old, is still a fundamental source to which prime examples. William Weber ed., The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), Chapters 1–2. See Alicia Levin, Seducing Paris: Piano Virtuosos and Artistic Identity, 1820–48 (PhD dissertation, Department of Music, University of North Carolina, 2009).


most historians refer to assess the commercial, domestic, infrastructural, and capital activities regarding survival and prosperity. He shows that the Second Empire saw developments in living standards, music, café-concerts, ballet, expositions, transport, communication, and with the rise of Protestantism, an increase in secular capitalism displacing the old feudalist capitalism of ‘essentially living off the state.’

Terry Eagleton, quoting Schopenhauer, advises that after revolutions the ‘bright-eyed visions’ of authors darkened ‘into a view of humanity as one enormous marketplace’ filled with creatures ‘devouring one another.’ In verifying Eagleton and Weber’s theories of the determinants for survival, French economist, Jacques Attali, argues that ‘we must know what kind of action is functionally necessary for “survival”’ in communities to understand the meaning of survival. He presents important socio-economic analyses concerning status determinants of Parisian musicians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, claiming that ‘the emergence of the star in classical music was based on the valorisation of a stockpile’ of music products arising from the desire to capture the cultural allure (money) of the élite. Attali affirms Weber’s ideas of the bureaucratic control over institutions, laws, politics, markets, and money as musicians discovered that capitalism shifted the preferred modes of financing performers to favour composers through publishing privileges and activities authorised by the state. After 1791, the conjoined controls of state officials, police, directors, and professors, legitimised state-compliant composers and performers who emerged as a new music élite along with critics and conductors. After 1834, the shifting definitions of status under regimes and new concepts of genius or star prejudicially morphed if associated with low-status state-endorsed badged street performers who promoted their songs for money, because at its heart, the old honour stigmas remained.

**e) Weber’s philosophical and theoretical roots**

To formulate his theories, Weber refers philosophers Plato (428–348BC), Aristotle (384–322BC), Tacitus (56–120AD), Niccoló Machiavelli (1469–1527), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who all discuss politics, power, stratification, society, and music. Few scholars

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64 Attali, *Noise*, 72–75.

have analysed the ancient philosophical and scholastic lineages regarding music imperative to establishing the credibility of Weber’s notions of status and music. Roger Boesche, a compelling author, undertakes a comparative analysis of the philosophies of Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus, Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Tocqueville, Marx, Freud, and Nietzsche, to validate Weber’s philosophical theoretical roots concerning the dominion of authorities, states, power, bureaucracy, and capitalism. He highlights Weber’s point, relevant to musicians, of the ongoing ‘tension between specialists and cultivated individuals’ under bureaucracies as they demand an increasing technical proficiency under capitalism. Weber—quoting Goethe—warns that state bureaucracy leads to ‘specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart’ as the faceless (men) lead society towards a ‘polar night of icy darkness’ in a world dominated by technocrats. This chapter discusses this implication and the ancient philosophical lineages pertinent to status for nineteenth-century Paris-based musicians transitioning regimes, markets, and bureaucracies.

f) Integrating Theory and Method
The thesis argument validates the interconnected interrelationship between French revolutions, regimes, state-power, music institutions, and musicians at micro and macro levels by analysing the types of political control over music via law, tailored compositions, salaries, professional status, functions, and the free market by applying Weber’s theoretical rationales. Advocates for adopting a Weber-styled interpretive sociological approach to revolution, history, and musicology that challenge Kieran Allen’s strong criticisms of Weber, are Theda Skocpol, Gail Bossenga, Talcott Parsons, Karl Jaspers, Frank Parkin, and Dennis Wrong (who ranks Weber as the ‘last universal genius of the social scientists’). Eisenstadt’s appraisal of Weber’s principles

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67 Weber, *Essays in Sociology* (Politics as a Vocation), 128
regarding charisma, freedom, talent, bureaucracy, and institutions simplify some complexities noting that Weber focuses on political talent, not musical talent.\textsuperscript{69} Reminiscent of Machiavelli’s \emph{Discourses}, Skocpol, like Weber, analyses revolutions, regimes, states, and behaviours by connecting the historical relationships between political, social, religious, legal, and economic contexts.\textsuperscript{70} Weber, Skocpol, and Neil Smelser provide gateways into structuring large-scale case studies, while Alexander George and Andrew Bennett’s qualitative methods guide the processes eliminating bias.\textsuperscript{71} Skocpol declares that ‘in Weber’s view, revolutions function in the end to further bureaucratic domination [and] establish state control over the economy’ and therefore, musicians.\textsuperscript{72} In Weber’s words, ‘the Revolution and more decisively, Bonapartism made the bureaucracy all-powerful.’\textsuperscript{73} This implies that musicians, dominated by succeeding regime administrations of state-controlled music institutions, fulfilled \textit{functional} more than \textit{artistic} or \textit{aesthetic} tasks subject to increasing bureaucratic control having met the minimum benchmarks skills to secure employment. Weber stresses that the iron cage of bureaucracy marginalises talent, whereas hierarchical distinctions between ability, skill, talent, and genius indicate regime \textit{mentalité}. Alienated talented musicians entered into high-risk low-status markets where survival was tenuous, that destroyed high-status corporate monopolies of the past.

Clarifying Weber’s position regarding \emph{ancien regime} assessments of status, who, unlike Marx, separates class as an economically determined power from status as a type of social power, Bossenga restates Weber’s tenet that most class conflicts are actually status conflicts related to ‘economically irrational forces.’\textsuperscript{74} Concurring with Weber, she states that until 1789 status was ‘determined by a specific positive or negative social estimation of honour’ that the \emph{ancien regime} authority signified through tax privileges as ‘a marker of social worth.’\textsuperscript{75} Bossenga insists that the ‘roles played by law and status are central to the understanding of corporate institutions in the old regime’ as privileges were ‘legal rights’ linked to institutionalised status in a hierarchy of

\textsuperscript{69} S. N. Eisenstadt, \emph{Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 51.

\textsuperscript{70} Wrong, \emph{Max Weber}, Introduction, 53: Weber ‘belongs in the long line of Machiavellian tradition of political thought.’


\textsuperscript{72} Skocpol, \emph{States and Social Revolutions}, 286, 304, and Chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{73} See Weber, \emph{Economy and Society}, 985-986.


\textsuperscript{75} Bossenga, “Status, Corps, and Monarchy,” 133 and 138. See Weber, \emph{Economy and Society}, Chapter IV.
functions. Collectives conjoined to maintain their ‘exclusiveness’ by defining the ‘lucrative professions’ and the ‘dishonourable occupations that triggered their derogation.’ Musicians sharing an honour status were usually from propertied and wealthy families, regardless of regime. William Weber’s concepts of capitalist strategies for survival in nineteenth-century Paris advises musicians to adopt stigmatised entrepreneurial opportunistic behaviour fused ‘with a shrewd sense of self-promotion’ sometimes bordering on charlatanism, to ensure success over others. His analysis of behaviours befits Weber’s definitions of instrumentally rational social action that include calculating, callous, self-serving, expedient, ruthless, and ambitious actions.

At a macro level, the social scientist, Antony Black, in support of Weber, asserts that states function as one of the highest forms of human associations to provide four primary roles for society: protection from external attack; prevention of internal violence; settlement of disputes, and the maintenance of core values of cultures. Upholding Black, he concludes that ‘nature-states’ have superior duties of engendering culture to society by creating pockets of élite groups in art, music, and literature that—in Weber’s words—maintain a balance between Machtpolitik (political might) and Kulturpolitik (politics of culture). In point, Owen Connelly informs the reader that Napoleon had ensured through censorship laws that theatres, like the military and the church, serviced patriotism, as he believed that actors, like soldiers and priests, owed a duty of care to the nation. Melvin Tumin discusses the social forces arising from status stratification, status inequality, the conversion of talent into skill that entails sacrifice, and the replacement of segmented skills affecting status. He concludes that ‘stratification systems are inherently antagonistic’ to the development of equality of opportunity while upholding an individual’s right to express talent regardless of a ‘normative order’ or ‘restrictions’ of authority, status, or social closures. Tak Wing Chan deduces that a weakness of today’s research into social stratification theory and empiricism is the endemic ‘failure to maintain the distinction, classically proposed by Weber, between class and status’ in rejecting Marxian primacy: a point this thesis upholds.

78 Weber (ed.), The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914, Chapter 1.
80 See Weber, Economy and Society, 1417.
81 Connelly, Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 471.
83 Tak W. Chan, Social Status and Cultural Consumption (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010). 11, 28. Ch. 2.
Regarding individuals and cultural systems involving musicians, social scientist, James Kimberly, explores status stratifications by referring to system goals and norms (behaviours; task and non-task driven), classifying an individual’s status according to function, ability, performance, and loyalty, but not to honour. Unlike Weber, Kimberly is a modern functionalist who redefines status as inextricably linked to the ‘replaceability of the position occupant’ with implications for musicians surviving regimes (particularly republics), because status generated by this criterion explains why musicians may be instrumentally or functionally important under one regime and replaceable under a subsequent regime. Kimberly observes that members of status-groups uphold delineated protocols of secrecy and co-operative social closures to ensure the survival of their system-status by ascribing behavioural structures and expected performance practices for assigned positions entailing strict adherence to the rules, codes of conduct, and expectations of a cooperative mentality. Kimberly’s observations lead to T. J. Fararo’s hypothesis that individual survival is fundamentally dependent upon status-group survival. Fararo links an individual’s status (status variable) mathematically to a status-group ranking within a system, affirming the interconnections between authority, stratification, status-groups, and individuals in verifying aspects of Weber’s theories. In summary, the status (s) of a social actor (α) given a status variable in a system is reliant upon that actor’s ranking (v) within a status-group (A) and the position-ranking (c) that status-group has within a system (C).

\[ s(\alpha) = v(c(\alpha)) \]

\( s(\alpha) \) = status of α (actor) in a system C (authority/society) assigned a value of c  
\( c(\alpha) \) = value of α (actor) in a system C related to a status-group A assigned a value of v  
\( \alpha \) = social actor  
\( s \) = status  
\( c \) = status value of the status-group (A) in a system (C)  
\( v \) = variable value assigned to α within a set of actors A (status-group).

The highest possible status ranking for an individual is one (i.e., 1 x 1), derived from a first-place status ranking in the highest ranked status-group in a system when v=1 and c=1; something only absolute rulers may obtain: thus the higher the score, the lower the status. The implication of this for musicians is profound as it infers that status is crucially reliant upon status-groups, i.e., an individual’s status-ranking within a status-group and the group’s status ranking in society mediate the power relationships between individuals, groups, institutions, and ultimately, authorities. Such relationships explain rationales behind status-group closures implemented to


sustain their social, political, or economic rankings in society and to maintain the status of its members, and hence their power and wealth. Perhaps the best examples of such are eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Paris salons. Based on this tenet, perhaps musicians should join a status-group or create one—a point this thesis returns to in the concluding chapter.

**Theoretical Model: Max Weber**

Each section below describes the fundamental principles of Weber’s theories of authority, states, stratification, status-groups, and status that form the theoretical foundation for this thesis outlined in the theoretical model shown in Figure 1.1. The complexities of the socio-political and economic *milieus* carry different implications for musicians in the employ of state institutions and the free market that determined their opportunities differently during and after revolutions.

1) **Weber: Macro-Analysis**

   (i) **Theories of Authority, States, Institutions, and Bureaucracy**

   Weber asserts that hierarchy-formation in the struggle for power is an eternally natural phenomenon, arguing that domination (*Hershaft*) manifests into three pure-types of authority: Traditional, Rational-Legal, and Charismatic. This thesis rests on the premise that French regimes—dictating power through states, state-institutions, bureaucracy, and thus, music—act according to Weber’s three types of authority. The conflicting forces of *hierocracy, theocracy,* and *caesaropapism* means that each pure-type of regime-state rationalises power differently through bureaucratic administrations. As ‘relations of will concentrated in an organisational unit are essentially relations of domination’ within bureaucracies, ‘the existence and continual functioning of an administrative staff are vital’ after revolutions. All ‘forms of domination in historical reality constitute combinations, mixtures, adaptations, or modifications of pure-types of authorities, which inherit institutions and administrations from previous authorities along with their staff, rules and regulations, customs, path-dependences, and institutional imprinting that Weber and James Mahoney discuss.’ The “‘ruling organizations” that belong only to one or another of the pure-types are very exceptional’ as there is no unique starting or ending point for

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87 Although acting as status-groups, Freemasons, Lobbies and Church groups rarely feature in this thesis.


administrations because ‘the impact of decisions made in the past persists into the present and
decides the alternatives for the future.’ The blurring of administrative types under succeeding
regimes settles into a kind of bureaucratic autonomy, as pure authorities become mixed-types.

Weber, Economy and Society, 262.
Revolutions had profound implications for staff at the Paris Opéra and Conservatoire signified by new names, administrations, repertoire, and terms of employment even after Napoleon reformed music theatres of Paris. ‘[A]fter a dozen years of instability, demolition and creation, Bonaparte, then Napoleon, regularised and hierarchized the musical institutions of France, just as he had all the branches of his administration.’

On 8 August 1807, Napoleon shut twenty-five freelance theatres without recompense under Ordinance No. 462, Article 4, and compelled eight theatres to operate under the auspices of the government in reasserting the Opéra’s monopoly over Paris. See Table 1.1 listing Napoleon’s four grand and four auxiliary theatres under regimes.

Table 1.1 Theatre names under Charismatic, Traditional, and Rational-Legal Authorities (1807–1851).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Empire (1804–1815)</th>
<th>Restoration &amp; July Monarchy (1815–1830) &amp; (1830–1848)</th>
<th>Second Republic (1848–1851)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charismatic (Imperial)</td>
<td>Traditional (Royal)</td>
<td>Legal-Rational (National)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Académie Impériale de Musique</td>
<td>Académie Royal de Musique</td>
<td>Académie National de Musique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opéra-Comique</td>
<td>Théâtre-Royal de l’Opéra-Comique</td>
<td>Théâtre-National de l’Opéra-Comique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Théâtre de l’Empereur (Comédie-Française)</td>
<td>Théâtre-Français</td>
<td>Théâtre-Français</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Théâtre de l’Impératrice (Opéra-Buffa)</td>
<td>Théâtre-Royal de l’Odéon</td>
<td>Second Theatre Français (Odéon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auxquelles or Secondary Theatres</td>
<td>auxquelles or Secondary Theatres</td>
<td>auxquelles or Secondary Theatres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Théâtre de la Gâité</td>
<td>Théâtres de la Gâité</td>
<td>Théâtre de la Gâité</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Théâtres de l’Ambigu-Comique</td>
<td>Théâtres de l’Ambigu-Comique</td>
<td>Théâtres de l’Ambigu-Comique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Théâtre des Variétés</td>
<td>Théâtres des Variétés</td>
<td>Théâtre des Variétés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Théâtre du Vaudeville</td>
<td>Théâtres du Vaudeville</td>
<td>Théâtre du Vaudeville</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After Napoleon Bonaparte’s defeat in 1815, the Restoration and July Monarchy renamed his four Imperial theatres Royal, which became National under the Second Republic, returning to Imperial under the Second Empire, and reverting to National in 1870 under the Third Republic.93


93 Weber, Economy and Society, 142, in which Roth said that, ‘Economy and Society was the first strictly empirical comparison of social structure and normative order in world-historical depth.’ Also, see Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, and Weber, Politics as a Vocation, 396–450. She states that Weber proposes that ‘revolutionary domination can survive only when an efficient administration suppresses the expropriated former
Theatre-Italian, a foreign enterprise annexed to the Opéra, worked co-operatively with all regimes while the private auxiliary theatres (Secondary Theatres) flourished or failed due to revolutions, law, politics, and markets. The laws governing the theatres in Paris remained until 1852 when Napoleon III broke with his uncle’s precedents set in 1807 and permitted two auxiliary theatres to open, the Théâtre-Lyrique (formerly the short-lived Théâtre-National) and Bouffes-Parisiens, both of which came to symbolise Second-Empire market success and decadence. Generic administrative structures and the staff of the four primary Parisian theatres remained. However, concerning the Opéra, the director appointments were regime-sensitive and functioned according to power rationales of Weber’s three pure-types of authority.94

Bureaucratic authority is specifically rational in the sense of being bound to intellectually analysable rules: while charismatic authority is specifically irrational in the sense of being foreign to all rules. Traditional authority is bound to the precedents handed down from the past and to this extent oriented to rules.95

a) Traditional Authority (ancien régime, Restoration (I, II), and July Monarchy)
Traditional authority—often founded by a charismatically heroic warrior—is usually descended from an ancient patriarchal pure-type of ‘organised rule’ that requires ‘personal loyalty’ to a ‘traditionally sanctioned position of authority . . . bound to the precedents handed down from the past’.96 Leaders claim the legitimate right to rule, not through legislation, but by the sanctity of tradition through the powers of divine right, inheritance, laws of nature, the gods, and superstition, re-enforced through religious systems in which music as a ‘technique of action’ plays a dominant role.97 Exceptionally talented individuals possessing military leadership skills and power in the public domain usually founded a charismatic authority, which became a traditional authority under succeeding generations. Rulers claim legitimacy, often by divine right holders of legitimate power.’ See Roth, Economy and Society, XCVII. See Figure 2.3 for a list of the Paris Opéra Directors, Chief Conductors, and Paris Conservatoire Directors from 1789 to 1875.

94 Weber concurs with Rousseau in classifying governments into aristocracy, monarchy, democracy, and republics. He wrote that ‘Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as a simple or unmixed government’ (À proprement parler, il n’y a point de gouvernement simple).’ See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Du Contrat social ou Principes du droit politique (1762), 3.7 and 3.8 (Des gouvernements mixtes). Roth states that, ‘In the theoretical discussions the three types of legitimate domination have usually been treated in isolation,’ See Roth, Economy and Society, LXXXVIII. This thesis’s treatise on authorities arises due to France’s unique sequence of regimes corresponding to all types of authorities.

95 Weber, Economy and Society, 244–245.

96 Weber, Economy and Society, 216. Leaders include Masters, Knights, Kings, Queens, Generals, and Popes.

or blood right, believed in by virtue of the 'sanctity of age-old rules and powers,' and 'obeyed because of their traditional status (Eigenwurde).’ Professional ranks under this authority arise via hereditary rights and discretionary commands so that administrative staffs consist mainly of personal retainers, because 'it is impossible for law or administrative rule to be deliberately created by legislation.’ Positions are traditionally stereotyped as 'household officials and favourites often recruited in a purely patrimonial fashion . . . are usually supported and equipped in the master's household.' The many royal corporate bodies, guilds, and music dynasties that developed under this rule ended with the 1798 Revolution.

Until 1789, France operated as a traditional authority as did the monarchies of Europe. French officials of the royal household—an equivalent of Weber’s Oikos—of the Chambre du Roi, Menus Plaisirs, and Admin du Roi controlled the finances of France, the King's Chapel and the Paris Opéra when the time-honoured vocation in music facilitated his religious and political ceremonies. The Roman Catholic Church held cultural sway in France through education and by employing musicians who performed or taught according to the dictates of Rome. Although budgets are essential to traditional households—as seen from the many archives of the Paris Opéra budgets and cost assessments—primarily, they rely on income based on ad-hoc methods of collecting funds (taxes) and discretionary grants. Usually, the 'costs of administration are met indiscriminately' and hindered by hereditary exemptions, privileges, or financial status rights as found with France's ancien regime. Traditional commerce specifically excludes law-sensitive 'profit-making enterprise with heavy investments in fixed capital and a rational organisation of free labour oriented to the market.' Remuneration for household staff (i.e., musicians) arises from 'living from the Lord's Table' and by allowances, but not through overt commercially

98 Weber, Economy and Society, 226–227, and see Chapter XI regarding bureaucratic power.
100 Weber, Economy and Society, 230.
orientated ventures, deemed unholy and demeaning. Moreover, Weber adds that from ancient times society upheld the view that 'anyone is low-bred who follows the peaceable quest for profit' as opposed to 'profit through war.' Accordingly, ancien regime musicians facilitated in-house court entertainment, ceremony, and the ‘religious stylisation of art’ not for commercial pursuit. Though Weber declares that 'in traditionalist periods, charisma is the great revolutionary force,' charismatic composers and performers in Paris usually met with harsh criticism if they did not conform to the social norms. Thus, musicians held status by obeying social and cultural rules. Musicians of all nationalities employed under the French ancien regime authority belonged to the upper-middle-class professionals with doctors, intendants, lawyers, architects, engineers, and sea captains until 1792 when republican rational-legal authority came to power. They remained excluded from the leading Parisian salon circuits whose wealthy aristocratic patrons functioned as status-groups, monopolised the Opéra, marginalised French musicians while flirting with philosophers Molière, Rousseau, Casanova, Beaumarchais, and Voltaire, as well as capitalists, Americans, intellectuals, scientists, and the emerging bourgeoisie.

After 1815, under constitutional monarchies—the wealth of ancien regime patrons dissipated—new definitions of professional status evolved without the stigmas of honour principles in recognising charisma and talent as survival determinants in the market. Celebrity, gained through successful commercial activities, seemed to replace status concepts in giving rise to the idea of the ‘musical genius as an undervalued figure struggling against traditional social hierarchies’ who spawned the birth of the romantic era protesting against the old order. The socio-musical transformations after 1815 did not arise from innate qualities embedded in traditional authority, but rather, from Napoleon's charismatic social culture from his charismatic domination and a reaction against legalistic rational powers of the First Republic. Nevertheless, one wisely distanced oneself from merchant activities as the aristocratic salon culture still held sway in the upper fabric of society until 1848.

**b) Rational-Legal Authority (Republcs)**
This modern impersonal, rationalised, and co-operative patriarchal type of 'legal authority with bureaucratic administrative staff . . . established by agreement or by imposition' infuses political

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administrations of state-power via rational law in a ‘spirit of formalistic impersonality.’\textsuperscript{109} As a masculine rule, this authority places itself as the supreme legitimate power over the people. It requires agreement about the interdependencies of legal norms within the spheres of power based on expediency and value-rationality, whereby the laws consistently interconnect with existing laws so that subjects continue to obey ‘only “the law”’ rather than a personal or mystical authority.\textsuperscript{110} This authority is never purely legal because the mere belief in its legality through habitual action and partly by traditional forces under the law bestows its legitimacy.\textsuperscript{111} Such is evident from the 1791 Constitution (3 September 1791), Chapter II, Section 1, No. 3 declaring, ‘There is no authority in France superior to that of the law.’\textsuperscript{112} The National Assembly eliminated Feudal legitimacy in 1789 to establish a Republic founded on Roman law that excluded Canon Law to maintain a monopoly over French citizens with promises of employment based on virtue and talent. An extreme example of legalised immoral corruption arose during the Reign of Terror when the Jacobins, who legalised guillotinings, forced the Opéra’s citizen-musicians to promote state propaganda on the threat of death: thus blending Weber’s Kulturpolitik with Machtpolitik.

Rational-Legal authority favours bureaucracy controlled by secular intellectuals who replace traditional priests as legitimisers via the law and are not necessarily talented leaders, to create administrations manifest in formalism.\textsuperscript{113} Hence, the law creates a type of secular priesthood. The ‘purest type of exercise of this authority is that which employs a bureaucratic administrative staff ['administrative organ' or 'agency (\textit{Behörde})'] that operates under ‘rule-bound conduct of official business’ within spheres of competence requiring only adequate technical training while operating under the ‘principle of hierarchy.’\textsuperscript{114} Accordingly, under this authority political power dominates talent. Weber observes that the ‘development of bureaucracy greatly favours the levelling of status’ as it ‘eliminates those who can hold office on an honorary basis or as an avocation by virtue of their wealth.’\textsuperscript{115} Unlike in traditional rule, administrative staff does not own the property or the means of production it represents. Upon coming into power, the First


\textsuperscript{110} Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 218 and see 155.

\textsuperscript{111} Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 226 and 263. The First Republic relied on this ‘habit’ in sustaining the Reign of Terror.

\textsuperscript{112} The law became the governing power of the First Republic’s constitutions dated 4 December 1793, 22 August 1795 and 13 December 1799, after which Napoleon became the ultimate power.

\textsuperscript{113} Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, XCIX and 226. Warning professionals about bureaucracy, Weber laments that ‘one must ask every [talented] man: Do you in all conscience believe that you can stand mediocrity after mediocrity, year after year, climb beyond you without becoming embittered?’ Quoted by Wrong, \textit{Max Weber}, Introduction, 4.

\textsuperscript{114} Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 218–220. For discussions on legitimacy see Wrong, \textit{Max Weber}, 41–47.

\textsuperscript{115} Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 226 and 218.
Republic seized control of the Paris Opéra away from the King's Palace (symbolic of usurping royal power) and promoted only the cooperative musicians and composers to take the civic oath to the Republic as it dispensed with local and international talent as necessary.

Weber believes that rational-legal authority expedited ‘disenchantment’ through intellectualism, and ‘suppresses belief in magic’ in facilitating ‘the process of emptying the world of magical or spiritual forces’ by rationalising society through systematised law.116 The consequence of this for musicians is obvious as charismatics are unwelcome in this rule-bound authority. As Weber observes, ‘Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally, domination through knowledge’ and the ‘repression of talent’ because superiority arises by ‘lawful’ official status rather than via talent or privilege.117 Staff (i.e., musicians), enter into contractual relationships with state institutions with ‘fixed salaries’ related to their ‘technical qualifications’ (except for ruling officials and ministers) and follow career-paths with rules of promotion ‘dependent upon the judgment of superiors . . . subject to strict and systematic discipline and control.’118 The public has no say in the matter. Officials are ‘devoted to impersonal and functional purposes’ wherein ‘social levelling creates favourable situations for the development of bureaucracy by eliminating the office-holder who rules by virtue of status privileges.’119 Enforcing power over the Paris Opéra staff (i.e., disgruntled chorus members threatening to strike), Compte Saint-Priest—in his capacity as the Republican Minister of the King’s household—wrote to the new Opéra manager, Antoine Dauvergné, in 1790. He threatened that ‘all the subjects, without distinction, must serve, or they will be dismissed and stripped of their right to a pension.’120 He effectively ended the prospects for self-rule for artists and severed their ties to the King.

The First Republic’s pro-capitalist stance—exemplified by the Law of 13–19 January 1791 and Decree of 27 Vendémiaire, An III (1791)—removed the Opéra’s traditional yoke of privilege and monopoly over music in France while encouraging citizens to launch free-enterprise theatres in the public domain, subject to permissions of municipal state authorities.121 Citizenship replaced


117 Weber, Economy and Society, 222, 225, 983, and 1,000.

118 Weber, Economy and Society, 218–220.

119 Weber, Economy and Society, 226.

120 Johnson, Backstage at the Revolution, 69, whose observations confirm Weber’s theory of rational-legal authority.

121 Crosten, French Grand Opera: An Art and a Business, 12. This applied to Old Regime bar lawyers, divided between barristers (avocats) and attorneys (procureurs): The ‘National Assembly demolished their monopolies on both pleading and instruction and abolished the orders of avocats and the corporations of procureur,’ which Napoleon I
the old royal privileges with new political and economic privileges, and into this milieu fell the Paris-based staffed performers and politically aligned composers—five of whom became Paris Conservatoire Inspectors. They survived by servicing the state’s political agendas in staging secular music festivals that, according to Weber, functioned to ‘imbue the masses with the notion of the party’s power and confidence in victory and above all, to convince them of their charismatic qualification.’

This type of authority’s administrative secrecy, embodied in the superiority of the professional insider, requires that staff submit to bureaucrats who monitor their actions diligently, keeping records in an impersonal official capacity.

Archival evidence substantiates that ‘administrators in Paris, particularly at the Opéra, were meticulous—some might even suggest obsessive—record keepers.’ Levelling professional status under this authority through rationalisation led to increased prestige for administrative staff, ministers, and officials of state institutions forming exclusive bureaucratic or corporate status-groups. Weber observes: ‘A strong status sentiment among officials not only is compatible with the official’s readiness to subordinate himself to his superior without any will of his own, but—as in the case with the officer-status—sentiments are the compensatory consequence of such subordination, serving to maintain the official’s self-respect.’ The status subjugation of musicians under hierarchical officialdom is evident from the impersonal professional listings under Republics from the 1797 Bottin and Didot annuals and Almanachs du Commerce until 1875. Professional musicians, demoted in status as merchants and sellers of music, appear under the commercial category of Musique (Marchands de) whereas doctors, lawyers, architects,
engineers, and sea captains appear under their professional titles. Modifications to this system occurred under the two charismatic and traditional authorities that followed.

c) **Charismatic Authority** (Napoleon I and III/Empires)

The hero whom Beethoven wished to honor was not only a warrior genius, he was also a legislator whose universal spirit of organization embraced every manifestation of human activity, whether scientific, literary or artistic, military or political.127 According to Weber, this extraordinary transitory mystical-type of authority ‘foreign to everyday routine structures,’ arises from an exemplary leader or an heroic warrior such as Napoleon Bonaparte ‘endowed with charisma’ who forms a ‘charismatic community (Gemeinde)’ or a charismatic party reliant upon the loyalties, supernatural blessings, and bonds between the disciples (Vertrauensmänner) to create political or hierarchical organisations.128 Leaders of charismatic authorities, ‘sharply opposed to rational and particularly bureaucratic authority and traditional authority,’ place themselves as the supreme supernatural power over the people, culture, and the law.129 According to Weber’s value-free concepts, the ‘genuine prophet, like the genuine military leader and every true leader in this sense, preaches, creates, or demands new obligations’ and ‘charismatic political heroes are out for booty—especially, money,’ as they reject rational economic pursuits in the acquisition of riches.130 Weber describes both emperors Napoleon of France whose booty financed their interest in music, which brought new music genres to Paris and prosperity for musicians. The ‘revolutionary impact of charisma is usually tremendous’ in bringing huge transformations in society, but presents the potential danger of its tendency towards Weber’s sultanism whereby military force becomes a ‘purely personal instruments of the master’ or an ‘economic asset’ if its members, become subjugated as slaves.131 Napoleon, for example, who temporarily as First Consul and then permanently as Emperor via the new Constitution of December 1799, achieved total power over the law in France under Article 40, which states that ‘The First Consul promulgates the laws: he appoints and dismisses at will.’132 Those serving charismatic leaders do so as disciples and not as bureaucrats.

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128 Weber, *Economy and Society*, 246. These are military, political, or religious prodigies studied in Chapter III and XIV.


132 See Constitution of the Year VIII (13 December 1799), Title III, 40–41.
There is no such thing as an appointment or a dismissal, no career, no promotion. There is only a call at the instance of the leader on the basis of the charismatic qualification of those he summons. There is no hierarchy; the leader merely intervenes in general or in individual cases when he considers the members of his staff lack charismatic qualifications for a given task.133

This authority succeeds on the ‘conception that charisma is a quality transmitted by heredity’ whereby legitimate succession necessitates its routinisation to redefine status via status-groups of charismatically endorsed staff that form institutions, so the leader is personally involved.134 Pure charisma is foreign to economic considerations as it, as Weber advises, inevitably becomes ‘routinized’ or ‘radically changed’ forming states, bureaucracies, and institutions that become ‘traditionalized or rationalized or a combination of both.’135 Such is evident in Napoleon III and his administration in adopting his uncle’s precedents. Owing to its anti-economic nature, ‘funding itself via “booty” and extortion, whether by force or by other means, is the typical form of charismatic provision for needs’ and therefore tends to initiate wars for profit until rational policies develop.136 Napoleon Bonaparte made France wealthy via the booty of war. Charismatic leaders maintain vigorous public profiles as they encourage persuasive hopes of supernatural realisations for the ordinary people of talent, bestow charisma through appropriations of power and economic advantages for disciple-artists, and regulate recruitments where personal taste plays a significant role.137 In 1797, for example, when Napoleon Bonaparte returned to Paris after the Italian Campaign, he ‘directed the musical tastes of the capital’ supporting Italian performers, composers, and music genres over the French and German. He extinguished Luigi-Carlo-Salvatore-Maria Cherubini’s career as an esteemed French citizen-composer for the King and First Republic in favour of Paisiello and Zingarelli.138 Moreover, despite two assassination attempts against him at the Paris Opéra, Napoleon maintained his front-of-house and backstage involvement, rewarding his favourite singers and composers—most of whom were Italian—according to his taste in true charismatic style as Weber advises.

133 Weber, *Economy and Society*, 243. This is evident from Napoleon’s involvement with theatres and the Opéra.


137 There is an analogy between the laying on of hands and charismatic endorsement. See Napoleon’s letter, 26 July 1797, regarding his understanding of music when he declared, ‘Among all the fine arts, music is the one which exercises the greatest influence upon the passions, and is the one which the legislator should most encourage.’

When we speak Napoleon's name, we evoke one of the most extraordinary as well as the most widely discussed geniuses known to humanity at large, one of those who gives the world an impulsion whose repercussions make themselves felt across the centuries.139 Napoleon’s "rule of genius" elevated people of humble origin to thrones and high military commands' when men (and some women) ‘were equal before the law and careers were equally open to talent.’140 As the King of Italy and First Consul reinstating Christian worship in France under the Concordat 1801, ‘Bonaparte made the Catholic clergy one of the subdivisions of his governmental staff’ meanwhile rescuing churches earmarked for demolition thereby returning the livelihoods of church musicians by overthrowing the Republic’s Law of 13–19 January 1791.141 He simultaneously increased the numbers and public exposures of military musicians playing for concerts that belonged to his expanding army and the National Guard. In 1804, he directed the Paris Opéra to perform only operas ‘whose subjects are derived from mythology and history whose principal characters are gods, kings, and heroes.’142 According to Weber, Napoleon always concerned himself with talent, ability, and adaptability to his imperial rule of genius, rewarding musicians according to his well-informed assessment of their talent.143 In recognition of extraordinarily talented French citizens (mérites éminents), he extended the Prix de Rome and Légion d’Honneur (three ranks and two dignitaries) to musicians on 14 July 1804.

All artists of distinction who arrived in Paris invited to sing or to play at the Emperor’s concerts, [did so] on the express condition that they would accept, in silver, some honourable recompense, proportionate to their merit.144

On 2 December 1851, as Bonaparte’s charismatic heir in affecting a coup on the 52nd anniversary of his uncle’s coup, nephew Louis Napoleon, as President of the short-lived Second Republic, restored the First Consul-Empire system and delineated his legitimacy via Article 4 of the new constitution. He re-established the royal households of ‘Maison Civil’ and ‘Maison Militaire’ administered by personal imperial nobles while personally overseeing the Opéra, Conservatoire, theatres, salons, churches, military music, and large-scale public concerts in Paris.145 Like his uncle, Napoleon III managed his institutions by adopting mixed administrative styles, thereby

140 Weber, Economy and Society, 244 and see Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution, 1789–1848, 59.
142 The five grades of the Legion d’honneur whose insignia designs changed with regimes are as follows: Chevalier (Knight), Officier (Officer), Commandeur (Commander), Grand Officier (Grand Officer), and Grand Croix (Grand Cross).
143 See Weber, Economy and Society, 268. Also, see Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution (1789–1848), Chapter 10.
confirming Weber's principle of the routinisation of charismatic authority towards traditional or rationalised normality.

(ii) State Theory, Institutions, Stratification, and Status-Groups

Legal coercion by violence is the monopoly of the state.¹⁴⁶

Weber claims that power, enforceable by law and violence (Gewalt), is the state's privilege under all regimes and sets the dynamics for survival for all individuals because ‘all other groups are subordinate to the state.’¹⁴⁷ Weber dismisses philosophical notions of states as ‘conceptually irrelevant.’ He asserts that ‘the state is a relation of men dominating men’ whose ‘structure of dominancy’ sustained through authority, economic power, and privileged groups, facilitates the supremacy of a bureaucratic administration, which ‘once established, is among those social structures that are the hardest to destroy.’¹⁴⁸ The state's implementation of power through the law ‘depends on the availability of an organised coercive apparatus for the nonviolent exercise of legal coercion’ over institutions via the police, military, bureaucratic officials, and status-groups who adhere to the mentalité of the authority.¹⁴⁹ Otherwise, the state possesses an unchallenged legal endorsement to use violence to sustain its will. A stratified society of inequality results from ‘status-groups’ or ‘collectives assigned particular rights, duties, and ranks’ above others, because privilege or access to privilege, determines the ability to acquire or sustain access to wealth and power, and to exclude other status-groups and individuals from the same advantages. The status-groups in Paris, whether private or official, continually determined the employment opportunities, wealth, status, and honours of musicians.

The institution initially empowers a certain group at the expense of other groups; the advantaged group uses its additional power to expand the institution further; the expansion

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¹⁴⁶ Weber, Economy and Society, Vol. 1, 315. See Wrong, Max Weber, 36–41, and Black, State Community and Human Desire, Chapter 4, discussing states and power. The First Republic used this monopoly to chilling effect.

¹⁴⁷ See Black, State Community and Human Desire, 115.

¹⁴⁸ Weber, Essays in Sociology (Politics as a Vocation), 78, and see Weber, Economy and Society, 2, 264, 987, and Chapter II for discussions about bureaucracy. For other explanations of Weber's authorities and states, see Boesche, Theories of Tyranny from Plato to Arendt, 329–335, and Smelser, Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences, 122–140. Tocqueville, comments on the uniformity of French aristocracy saying that ‘all those men holding a position higher than the common people were alike—they had the same ideas, same habits, they pursued the same tasks, indulged in the same pleasures, read the same books, and spoke the same language.’ See Tocqueville, The Ancien Régime and the French Revolution, Book II, Chapter 9.

¹⁴⁹ Weber, Economy and Society, 314 and see chapter 3 of this thesis discussing the state's ‘violent’ exercise of legal coercion particularly against ancien regime musicians from 1789–1794 and rise of bureaucratic officials as élites.
of the institution increases the power of the advantaged group; and the advantaged group encourages additional institutional expansion.\textsuperscript{150}

2) Weber: Micro-Analysis

Unlike many social historians, Weber believes in the charismatic power of individuals as social and economic actors to change society by influencing markets, culture, and politics. He asserts that only through transformations within individuals can society override standardised habitual behaviours embedded in tradition, law, convention, or forceful authority. 'The decisive element has always been a new line of conduct' and an 'injection of a new content into social actions and rational associations resulting from an individual invention and its subsequent spread through imitation and selection.'\textsuperscript{151} For example, this would include individuals who transformed music in Paris as a direct result of the 1789 Revolution such as Bernard Sarrette, Napoleon Bonaparte, and Pierre Garat, and of the 1830 and 1848 Revolutions such as Louis Véron and Adolph Sax. The romantic era was a perfect representation of the ‘charismatic’ power of individuals to transform society through music after Napoleon set the foundations that took a generation to crystallise. By championing individuals over groups and states, Weber effectively describes the famous, infamous, innovative, and charismatic geniuses the public had recognised as virtuoso performers, composers, conductors, and impresarios, who initiated new cultural pathways in Paris.\textsuperscript{152} Rarely did individuals act without a status-group, authority-endorsement, or philanthropists such as Boquillon Wilhem, Franz Liszt, Jules Pasdeloup, and Baron von Taylor who founded or supported large socio-musical movements of l’Orphéon de Paris and Société des Jeunes Artistes and charities such as l’Association des artistes musiciens based on the legal principles of utilité publique.\textsuperscript{153} In league with committee members, Albert Perrin, Jean-Georges Kastner, and Adolph Sax worked throughout the century to unshackle military musicians from fifty years of neglect and poverty under two Monarchies and two Republics.

\textbf{a) Theory of Status-Groups}

Weber asserts that humanity has the propensity to cluster into rival status-groups for survival and to gain advantages; ‘Conflict between the means of coercion of various organisations is as old as the law itself.’\textsuperscript{154} Weber defines a status-group as ‘a plurality of persons who, within a

\textsuperscript{150} Mahoney, "Path Dependence in Historical Sociology," 521.

\textsuperscript{151} Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 754–756 and for a full discussion, see Chapter VII.

\textsuperscript{152} Some obvious candidates are Liszt, Berlioz, Meyerbeer, Wagner, Viotti, Rossini, and Gounod (with reservations).

\textsuperscript{153} See Black, \textit{State Community and Human Desire}, 45–49, Chapters 2 and 3 regarding groups, communities and culture. He explains that cultural groups are usually ‘associated with someone’s life-project’ rather than a livelihood activity. Supplementary cultural bodies ‘convey some sense of solidarity’ as ‘social or political pressure group[s].’

larger group’ successfully claim special ‘social esteem’ or ‘status monopolies’ via lifestyle privileges related to occupations, hereditary titles, status, or monopolistic powers.\textsuperscript{155} Weber distinguishes ‘conflict’ survival behaviours of individuals from the ‘selection’ processes made by others that relate to a perceived superior social status that augment exclusive advantages of a status-group while hindering the natural selection processes in society under authorities.\textsuperscript{156} The social, economic, political, or military power relationships (‘open’ or ‘closed’) in which musicians found themselves were commonly ‘determined traditionally, effectually, or rationally’ and gave rise to ‘monopolised advantages to the parties’ eliciting mutual responsibilities against targeted outsiders as was the case of \textit{ancien regime} salons.\textsuperscript{157} Status-groups often engage in political and economic conflict as intense as the conflicts between the classes, such that their competition affects the fabric of society. Not all status-groups entail the same degree of ‘honour’ as those before 1789—paramount for musicians surviving the old-world protocols—as verified by the actions of those social, economic, political, and bureaucratic status-groups comprising of salons, music critics, and \textit{le Jockey-Club-de-Paris} (the Jockey Club) examined in this thesis.

\textbf{b) Occupations and Authorities}

Weber classifies ‘income of economically acting individuals’ as gained from ‘personal services derived from specialised or specified functions’ or from ‘property, derived from the exploitation of control over important means of production.’\textsuperscript{158} Professional musicians fall into the former category. Although ‘among privileged status-groups, there is a status disqualification that operates against the performance of common physical labour’ whereby ‘artistic and literary activity is also considered degrading work as soon as it is exploited for income, or at least when it is connected with hard physical exertion.’\textsuperscript{159} Such concepts determined the status hierarchy of instruments played. Weber defines the theoretical considerations for those investigating or undertaking occupations within traditional, rational, and charismatic domains while subjected to status stratifications, closed-groups (status-groups), and erratic perceptions of status.

\ldots it is always important in studying occupational structure to know the status stratification, with the attendant status-tied types of education and other advantages and opportunities which it creates for certain kinds of skilled occupations.

It is only the functions, which require a certain minimum of training, and for which opportunity of continuous remuneration is available, which become objects of independent and stable occupations. The choice of an occupation may rest on tradition, in which case it is


\textsuperscript{156} Weber, \textit{Essays in Politics as a Vocation}, 185. See Gerth and Mills eds., \textit{From Max Weber}, Chapter VII.

\textsuperscript{157} Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 43 –46, particularly see Chapter IV, \textit{Status-Groups and Classes}, and see Chapter IX.

\textsuperscript{158} Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 204, and see Chapter II.

\textsuperscript{159} Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 936–937.
usually hereditary; on goal-oriented rational considerations, especially the possibility of returns; on charismatic or on affectual grounds; and finally, in particular, on the grounds of prestige with a particular reference to status. Originally, the more directly individual "callings" have been dependent primarily on charismatic (magical) elements, while all the rest of the occupational structure, so far as in a differentiated form it existed at all, was traditionally fixed. The requisite charismatic qualities, so far as they were not specifically personal, tended to become the object of traditional "training" in closed groups, or of hereditary transmission. Individual occupations, not of a strictly charismatic character, first appeared on a liturgical basis in large-scale households of princes, and landed lords, and then in the market economy of towns. Alongside this, however, a large role in their development had always been through literary forms of education with high-status esteem, which arose in close connection with magical, ritual, or priestly ("clerical") professional training.160

Indications are that musicians in Paris did not occupy high political or economic positions even though they serviced politicised music and influenced the fabric of society. Understanding the complex issues surrounding their opportunity and ability to survive requires further research fundamentally reliant on perceptions of status.

c) Status, Class, and Other Theories

One often hears about class, bourgeoisie, capitalism, proletariats, technology, and revolution from devotees of Marx, but seldom about status, stratification of society, status-groups, authority, and political parties from those who follow Weber, who discusses honour, legal order, and power.161 Marx discusses class (defined by property ownership) whereas Weber discusses status (determined by honour bestowed).162 The ancien regime deemed activities 'pursued for monetary gain implied the dependency upon the will of others' or a 'grubbing for money' and therefore, 'a base and sordid gain that derogates from nobility.'163 Until 1789, the French nobility claimed a monopoly over 'honour' and exerted exclusive power over the definitions of status.164

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160 Weber, Economy and Society (Sociological Categories of Economic Action), Chapter 11, 142.


164 Bossenga, "Status, Corps, and Monarchy," 133. Regarding 'bought' and 'sold' titles of nobility, 'false honour' and 'true honour,' see Ran Halévy's article in Tocqueville and Beyond, Schwartz and Schneider, editors. After March 1848, adult males acquired the right to vote and full citizenship and as participants in the 1848 February Revolution, as legitimate patriotic combatant republicans against an alleged illegitimate monarchy, gained compensation from the Third Republic. See Weber, Economy and Society, 1071 and see 1224–1227.
The First Republic defined equality under the laws connected with the legal definitions of the state and nation along with the rights of citizenship and the right to bear arms—but not to vote. Regardless, ‘the modification of the status system raised a thorny issue.’ While many denigrated the old-world distinctions, they remained socially significant during the nineteenth century in dictating success from behind the scenes in the emerging capitalist society. Musicians performing under the old-regime households until 1789, scholars agree, aristocracy regarded as no more than servants, even though they derived some status from their patrons. Mozart is a case in point. Serving as a court musician to the Archbishop of Salzburg in 1781, he complained bitterly in a letter to his father, ‘the two valets sit at the top of the table, but at least I have the honour of being placed above the cooks.’ Music activities pursued purely for financial gain, except for charity, fell into ‘dishonourable’ categories until the 1830s. Meanwhile, copyright enabled composers to earn money without stigma. Musicians thrust into the market and made dependent upon others for income transcended some stigmas attached to the selling of one’s labour by reinventing themselves as geniuses.

d) Social Action (soziales Handeln)

Amongst a plethora of possibilities where ‘human action is meaningfully related to the behaviour of other persons,’ not all are rational, political, economic, traditional, or cultural and not all status-groups are relevant to individuals or other status-groups. In addition to in-built fight or flight responses there are many possible actions individuals may adopt to ensure survival such as surrendering, enduring, or negotiating, which makes behaviour analysis complex. Weber simplifies matters by categorising ‘meaningfully oriented action’ and behaviours of individuals, whether overt or covert, by omission or acquiescence, through four lenses to arrive at recognisable generic understandings about actors. The four basic criteria of social action are:

(1) Instrumentally-rational (zweckrational), i.e., determined by expectations as to the behaviour of objects in the environment and of other humans; these expectations function as “conditions” or “means” for the attainment of an actor’s own rationally pursued and calculated ends;

(2) Value-rational (wertrational), i.e., determined by a conscious belief in the value, for its own sake, of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other behaviour independent of the prospects of success;

(3) Affectual [especially emotional], i.e., determined by an actor’s specific affects and feeling states;

165 Bossenga, “Status, Corps, and Monarchy,” 133.


168 See Weber, Economy and Society, Appendix I.

(4) **Traditional**, i.e., behaviour determined by ingrained habituation [the bulk of everyday action].

Not every social action is consensual. Actors may face ‘a group ready to defend a given territory with force against outsiders’ or from individual power-holders, status-groups, parties, and communities seeking to establish or maintain power. Culturally important groups and individuals often utilise financial and personal stratagems to fulfil their self-interested primary objectives by meeting goals through economic and political calculated action. Interpreting the reactions to complex forces may be subjective as much as objective, such that the perceptions of instrumentally rational actors often determine that value-rational action entails irrational behaviour. Actions and value-orientations of those challenging or assisting musicians, whose status and psychological profiles differ according to music genres and instruments played, can be mass-oriented, organisation-oriented, institution-oriented, class-oriented, or party-oriented.

Social action, which includes both the failure to act and passive acquiescence, may be oriented to the past, present, or expected future behaviour of others. Thus, it may be motivated by revenge for a past attack, defence against the present, or measures of defence against future aggression.

A comparative analysis of behaviours of royalist musicians reacting to the 1789 Revolution and the Jacobin Terror would demonstrate several possible interpretations of their social actions. Those who swore oaths and served regimes despite their convictions undertook Weber’s instrumentally rational actions. Those who escaped Paris due to their religious beliefs or loyalties undertook Weber's value-rational actions. Those who willingly swore oaths and served regimes also adopted value-rational actions. Those who protested with passion undertook Weber’s affectual (emotional) acts of defiance. Those who wished to perform music, regardless of the regime, adopted traditional (habitual) behaviour. This thesis deems meaningfully oriented manipulative and deceptive conduct as the equivalent of instrumentally rational action.

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171 Weber, *Economy and Society*, LXXXIV. The Paris Opéra principles serving on the Jacobin Opera Committee disciplined the disgruntled chorus singers in order to maintain personal power and privilege.

172 See Weber, *Economy and Society*, 26. ‘Rationally controlled action (Gesellschaftshandeln) may be oriented, in the actor’s eyes, to purely economic results’ in forming an economic group. ‘Social action may also combine economic and non-economic goals, or none of these’ in forming a ‘group with secondary economic interests’ as in the case of charities. See Weber, *Economy and Society*, 340.


Research Method
After having established the theoretical foundations of the thesis, the research method entails a reliance of approximately forty per cent on historical and archival research, focused on each revolution and coup, regimes, laws, states, music institutions, theatres, markets, music genres, and instruments. The primary and secondary sources consulted are from French state archives, Paris music institutions (primarily AJ/13 and AJ/37), budgets, ledgers, letters to authorities, compositions, manuscripts, military documents, police records, diaries, mémoires, autobiographies, historical accounts, gazettes, papers, journals, pamphlets, l’Orphéon, and l’Association.175 Approximately twenty per cent involves analysing published and accessible primary and secondary statistical databases from governments, institutions, organisations, and scholars regarding revolutions, populations, occupations, deaths, arrests, poverty, and emigration to discover details about musicians during the critical years examined. About forty per cent involves hermeneutic interpretations, crosslinking studies delineated by authorities, status-groups, and status within the theoretical construct. The thesis attempts to fill the gaps in scholarship through Weber guided by Smelser and Skocpol’s comparative history methods.176

The theoretical-methodological approach at a macro-level first entails identifying and analysing the French regime-equivalents of Weber’s authority-types and their pervading state-powers over music, music institutions, and musicians in crisis years of revolution. Second, it compares bureaucracies and status-groups within state-controlled music institutions under each authority with free-enterprise theatres to clarify how music’s ‘official’ and ‘unofficial’ functions varied under regimes within re-stratified societies. Third, it links stratification with status-groups and status, by examining the implication of instrument hierarchies for musicians related to state power over the Church, the military, entertainment, and the emerging capitalist music markets under authorities. Fourth, regarding the state’s monopoly over violence under each authority, it applies statistical analyses to reveal by samples the spectrums of fates of musicians during revolutions and assessed by their status-rankings and social actions. Finally, it evaluates the types of state power over mobs and charities in the public domain under regimes, how the legal developments permitting large public gatherings via music organisations under the banner of utilité publique benefitted musicians transitioning regimes.

Throughout the analyses, applying Weber’s four types of social action at a micro-level, the thesis categorises and ranks musicians and survival behaviours ‘programmed’ by law, habit, convention, inherited status, religion, education, and music pedigree. It incorporates factors such

175 Archives consulted are Bibliothèque Nationales de France (BNF), DXIX, AJ/13 (ANF), and AJ/37 (ANF).
176 Skocpol, Social Revolutions in the Modern World, 73-79: macro-causal analysis, parallel demonstration of theory, and contrast of contexts
as whether a music career-choice was inevitable and if success relied upon family wealth, belief systems, status-groups, status-marriages, alliances, institutions, bureaucracies, or pivotal circumstances that enhanced survival prospects.\footnote{Black, \textit{State Community and Human Desire}, Chapter 1. Correlating activities with ‘purpose,’ he describes music as an ‘extreme example’ of ‘intrinsic activity’ or ‘self-substantive’ rather than ‘productive’ survival of the fittest. See Black, \textit{State, Community and Human Desire}, Chapter 5 and note that on page 139 he says that ‘associations should be given a degree of independence from state authorities’ to establish their sense of ‘self-determination.’} Such criteria reveal whether musicians, affected by revolutions already possessed innate survival strategies, developed new skills, or relied upon ‘rationalised’ adaptive strategies to cope with a crisis. Having applied Weber’s theories from the top-down in earlier chapters, the analysis assesses two long-term case studies to elicit whether the implications derived from meaningful behaviours relate to or prove the effectiveness of Weber’s theories.

Regarding assessments of professional status and action, Weber focuses on socially ‘programmed’ behaviours of individuals within, or controlled by, pure-types of authorities, states, and institutions, cautioning that for professions in any epoch of history ‘occupational specialisation does not necessarily imply a continuous rendering of services.’\footnote{Max Weber, \textit{The Methodology of the Social Sciences}, trans. and ed. Edward Shils and Henry Finch (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), 50–113. Smelser outlines Weber’s idea of how authority (administrative structure or group) ‘orientates behaviour’ of individuals subject to their influence, in setting structures and limitations for a ‘program’ of action, i.e., a macro-micro relationship. See Smelser, \textit{Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences}, 129.} There is no obligation for authorities or markets to provide employment or to protect vocations, which implies that individuals must discover their own way through political, economic, social, and status turmoil. A musician’s survival-strength often relates to family lineage, genre, instrument stratification, status assessment, and remuneration. The thesis commences by categorising the status of \textit{ancien regime} Paris-based professional musicians as \textit{Upper Middle Class} according to Donald Greer’s lists of émigrés by profession from 1789–1794.\footnote{Greer, \textit{The Incidence of Emigration}, Tables I–X, The category of émigré applied to those who left France before July 1798, failed to return before May 1792, or could not prove residence after May 1792.} The \textit{Upper Middle Class}, representing ‘the official, the professional, and the business strata of French society,’ comprised of musicians, doctors, magistrates, engineers, sea captains, and architects.\footnote{Greer, \textit{The Incidence of Emigration during the French Revolution}, 86. Also, see Daly, “The Provincial Administration and the Creation of a Statistical Culture in Napoleonic France,” in \textit{Revolution, Society and the Politics of Memory}, 1996. For subsequent periods see Willcox, “Intercontinental Emigration According to National Statistics: Europe,” 105–113.} Furthermore, Greer categorises church organists and music tutors as \textit{Lower Middle Class} and military drummers (soldier-musicians) as \textit{Working Class}. 

\footnote{177 Black, \textit{State Community and Human Desire}, Chapter 1. Correlating activities with ‘purpose,’ he describes music as an ‘extreme example’ of ‘intrinsic activity’ or ‘self-substantive’ rather than ‘productive’ survival of the fittest. See Black, \textit{State, Community and Human Desire}, Chapter 5 and note that on page 139 he says that ‘associations should be given a degree of independence from state authorities’ to establish their sense of ‘self-determination.’}
Weber believes in the interactive role of the observer (me) with meaningfully orientated actors (musicians) in his paradigm for generating scientific and sociological knowledge about social actors.¹⁸¹ The anti-positivist, Weber, the positivist, Durkheim, and Karl Marx form the founding trinity of modern sociology with Weber and Durkheim positioned on opposite sides of the debates regarding academic sociology, the definitions of class and status, and Marxist concepts of political economy. Due to word-count limitations, the scope of the thesis embraces only Weber's theories, meanwhile acknowledging Marx, Durkheim, and significant contributions from Baudelaire and Bourdieu in understanding power, culture, politics, and sociology.

Crucially, my role in selecting studies and utilising the aforementioned methods of interrogation to discover causal relationships is to test the hypotheses to develop a new theoretical method. Weber claims that the ability to understand the "interests" attributed to actors depends in part on the investigator's judgement [my judgement] of the relative psychological importance of different aspects of existence.'¹⁰² Most studies are men—representative of the professional norm for nineteenth-century Paris-based musicians—while the women selected are primarily acclaimed opera singers and pianists—representative of stigmatised careers in music for women. While some bias exists towards utilising several famous and fortunate musicians, this is because they appear to epitomise ideal types or controls for success, possessing proficient survival skills that relate to assessments of their talent (i.e., they represent a musician who prospers throughout a long career).¹⁸³ Many discussions and statistics arise concerning the less fortunate that balance any biases that may appear. The thesis also challenges the idea that the most talented musicians in Paris rose to fame and fortune. The ancient regime musicians listed in Table 4.1 and others discovered during the research materialised without pre-conceived bias to support the idea that many worthy talents remained lost to history due to oversights related to their assumed low status or death. Common patterns in survival actions emerge to reveal typical successful strategies affected by changes of regimes or administrations due to revolution. Musicians who seemed to have failed—executed, jailed, exiled, lost their vocation, or became impoverished—are of interest because their dismal fates may have generated from issues beyond their control not related to talent or ineffective action. Weber's Verstehen approach to


¹⁸² Smelser, Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences, 133 and see Chapter 5 for discussions on Weber.

¹⁸³ This represents a continuous, sustainable, and prosperous career. Those who amassed a fortune consequent upon securing fame, fulfil the 'control' category, as do those who rose to fame and fortune after failure, but not those who married into fortune or whose success was substantially attributable to acquired fortune.
the four types of social action clarifies what factors led to their fate. A consistent application of the Weber theoretical model-construct elicits clarity and insight into not only theory, history, music institutions, politicised music, and music, but specifically to professional survival with implications for future research.

**Chapter Summaries**

Chapter 2 discusses Weber’s theory of three pure-types of authority to analyse regime-control over music institutions of the Paris Opéra and Paris Conservatoire, and then to Napoleon’s eight official theatres (four grand and four auxiliary) established consequent upon laws in 1807. By evaluating the survival of music institutions under authorities, the chapter demonstrates that revolutions launched regime-specific administrations that redefined the survival prospects for the politically complaint and non-compliant musicians. It illustrates how regimes used the law to impose state-control over music generating the lasting effects over the *ancien régime* musicians forced to become *staff*. The research relies on archival, historical, economic, budgetary, and statistical data concerning position-titles, salaries, employment criteria, and recognition of professional status. **184** It proves that political prejudices within regimes influenced the destinies of musicians after regime-states assigned new functional criteria to music genres. By applying Weber’s theories of stratification and status-groups, the chapter narrows its scope to examine the impact on musicians of socio-politically invested status-groups comprising of salons, music critics, and *le Jockey-Club de Paris*.

Chapter 3 introduces Weber’s concepts of social and musical stratification, rational and irrational music, socio-economic and status hierarchies of musicians ranked by genres and instruments as discussed in *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*. It discovers causal links between stratification theory and survival by comparing musicians transitioning from the *ancien régime* to constitutional monarchies (favouring *opera seria*, *opera buffa*, chamber, and sacred music), to rational-legal authorities (preferring politicised opera, nationalistic music, and festivals), and to charismatic authorities (preferring grand heroic operas, festivals, sacred music, and military music). After comparing salaries of musicians by genres, instruments, and music institutions at the Paris Opéra and Paris Conservatoire under regimes, the chapter shows how state-power over the military, churches, opera, education, and the public domain transformed after each revolution as authority-types determined new music protocols and status hierarchies influencing prospects for musicians. Focused on Weber’s *survival communities* of churches and

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184 For a list; see *Dictionnaire biographique et bibliographique, alphabétique et méthodique, des hommes les plus remarquables dans les lettres, les sciences et les arts, chez tous les peuples, à toutes les époques* par Alfred Dantès: located at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k208423n/f1 (Accessed 19 September 2014).

185 This is evident from *Almanach du Commerce* and *Bottin and Didot annuals* detailing professions in France.
warrior communities armies, the chapter reveals the fates of Catholic Church musicians and soldier-musicians, who arguably comprised about 2% of French armies and the local National Guard (dubbed the ‘2% formula’), by examining their status, salaries, occupations, and fates in revolution under regimes. Comparing them to Paris-based instrumentalists, singers, composers, and conductors of the Opéra, Conservatoire, and theatres, the analysis reveals the devastating consequences that revolutions and regimes presented. Weber’s four types of social action serve to assess survival strategies under authorities in revealing how key individuals and philanthropy attained political favour under the Second Republic to aid neglected military musicians.

Chapter 4 examines Weber’s theoretical principle of the state’s legal monopoly over violence by authority-types—supported by statistics and tables of victims and survivors by occupation—to assess the consequences of each revolution for musicians. It highlights two crisis peaks under republics in 1793–1794 and 1870–1871, with milieus saturated with death, conspiracies, betrayal, suspicion, executions, emigration, poverty, status issues, pension losses, lower wages, unemployment, and state-dependency. Focused on the Jacobin Terror, the chapter investigates the paradoxical fates of four ancien régime musicians transitioning five revolutions. It traces their complex career-paths through revolutions, coups, politics, state-controlled music institutions, and markets when nationalism, capitalism, conscription, talent, and citizenship emerged. The cases examined are opera singers, Pierre Garat (1762–1823), Mlle Maillard (1766–1818), and baritone, François [Laïs or Laïs] Lays (1758–1831), plus the violinist, Rudolph [Creutzer] Kreutzer (1766–1831). Weber’s Verstehen method reveals what their political alliances and survival strategies entailed during revolutions and changing regimes.

Chapter 5 applies Weber’s theories of hierocracy, theocracy, caesaropapism, and state-suspicion of mobs, religion, and charities as they endeavour to control crowds, institutions, organisations, and music staged in the public domain under the principles of utilité publique. Applying Weber’s Verstehen approaches at macro and micro levels, the chapter focuses on culturally influential philanthropic music organisations of l’Orphéon and l’Association established during the July Monarchy complying with the legal definitions of utilité publique that united political, military, theatrical, religious, and social networks in France. The chapter probes state power and music’s new relationship with charity during regime transitions in 1848, 1851, and 1871, analysing the activities and professional database of l’Association’s subscriber lists from 1850, minutes from the meetings from 1843 to 1875, and documents regarding l’Orphéon participants. By narrowing the scope to examine the activities Hector Berlioz (1803–1869) and Franz Liszt (1811–1886) associated with l’Association and l’Orphéon, the chapter compares their strategic, compositional, value-rational, and instrumentally rational reactions to the 1830 and 1848 revolutions. Liszt’s unfinished compositional tribute to the 1830 Revolution and his scathing articles in Revue et
Gazette Musicale that followed in 1835 concerning music professionals surviving in Paris, provides insight to the issues musicians faced during the July Monarchy. Liszt offers his friend Berlioz as a salient example of a politically and socially stigmatised genius under the regime. Unlike Liszt, Berlioz's significant compositions—often inspired by political events—do not result from his immediate response to revolutions. The chapter shows that according to Weber's assessments, Berlioz's affectual behaviour served as an obstacle to his success.

The penultimate chapter 6 applies Weber's theories (top-down) of authorities, states, status-groups, status, status-groups, and social actions to two interlinked large-time-scale studies of music professionals who survived five revolutions and four regime changes from 1830 to 1871. These are organist-composer, Charles François Gounod (1818–1893), and Spanish-born opera singer-composer, Madame Pauline Viardot (1821–1910). The chapter demonstrates that Weber's criteria of social actions viewed through macro-contexts of political alignments and status-enhancing activities prove that Republics and Empires complicated survivals differently. New interpretations of Gounod's Mémoires scrutinised with Viardot's activities indicate that Gounod's fear of republicanism meant abandoning his vocation with the Church in 1848 and then his relationship with Viardot three months after Napoleon's coup in 1851. Introducing Weber's concept of the 'household authority' related to gender, the chapter examines Viardot's partnership with her husband, his steadfast support, her salon, and alignment to republicans that proved burdensome when Napoleon III came to power. The analysis reveals how Gounod's status relationships with women secured his career prospects and two lucrative appointments that aligned him with the Second Empire.

The concluding chapter summarises the results obtained from Weber theoretical model and its effectiveness for understanding and establishing causal links between survival for musicians, revolutions, and regimes. Embracing Weber's misgivings about state's disclosure of information, it demonstrates the benefits of utilising statistics to arrive at new understandings about musicians in crisis. It shows that comparatively politicised music was crucial for establishing regime legitimacy, and that musicians suffered most after transitioning to rational-legal authorities. The chapter shows that Weber's social action criteria are useful tools to discern survival strategies in macro contexts indicate that adaptable and instrumentally rational actions yielded better prospects than value-rational, emotional, or habitual actions. It proves that most military and church musicians suffered neglect under Monarchies and Republics and along with other state and freelance musicians, survived best under Empires. Returning to T. J. Fararo's formula, the thesis determines whether professional musicians fare best by founding or joining status-groups. The conclusion summarises the implications drawn for future research related to issues of ethics, morals, and professionalism.
By applying Weber’s theoretical principles outlined above, the next chapter discusses how regime state administrations in Paris operated according to Weber’s three pure-types of authority and that the state’s monopoly over violence dictated power over the Opéra and Paris Conservatoire in shaping culture and music genres. Moreover, it shows that social stratification and Weber’s status-groups—salons, critics, and le Jockey-Club de Paris (the Jockey Club)—determined the survival prospects for Paris-based musicians differently during and after revolutions. The analysis applies Weber’s Verstehen method and four types of social action to understand and explain responses to the crises of revolutions, coups, and new regimes.
CHAPTER 2: Authority, Institutions, Status-Groups, and Social Action

Following the 1789 Revolution, newly fashioned state-controlled music institutions and theatres in Paris functioned as political gateways between regimes—consistent with Weber’s three pure-types of authority—and the public domain facilitated by compliant composers, performers, and professors promoting state propaganda. This chapter traces the political, legal, administrative, and financial developments of the Paris Opéra (founded as a royal institution in 1669) and Paris Conservatoire (founded as a national institution in 1795) under regime-types after successive revolutions. It examines how each institution administration influenced the survival prospects of state-employed musicians qualified by law, interrelationships between authority-types, state-bureaucracies, status-groups, and politicised individuals.\(^1\) It explores how social stratifications and status-groups facilitated the lines of command between authorities and musicians in state-institutions at macro-levels and whether status related to instrument stratifications—evidenced by remunerations, titles, and functions—dictated survival prospects at micro-levels.\(^2\) Regime transitions from 1792 and 1804 highlight the complexities that emerged from political alliances to the purer types of Weber’s authorities that metamorphosed into mixed types under capitalist influences. The chapter demonstrates that the social, musical, and socio-political bodies comprising of salons, music critics, and le Jockey-Club de Paris mediated power according to Weber’s status-groups routinely closing ranks against outsiders in self-interest that profoundly influenced professional status-rankings and survival prospects for musicians.

Notwithstanding revolutions, coups, or wars, Weber asserts that the most enduring force in society is bureaucracy because the ruled ‘cannot dispense with or replace the bureaucratic apparatus of authority once it exists.’\(^3\) While administrative structures tend to remain intact after revolutions, staff at the highest level usually secedes to incoming politically appointed bureaucrats, administrators, and status-groups of the new political order. Weber advises that a ‘rational ordered system of officials continues to function after the enemy has occupied the arena: he merely needs to change the top officials.’\(^4\) Nevertheless, transitions between authority-types create a routinisation of administrations into mixed types resulting from the inherited institutional imprinting from the past administrations.\(^5\) This certainly was true of the Paris

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\(^1\) The term the Paris Opéra, the Opéra and Paris Conservatoire apply to appellations of the institutions for all regimes.

\(^2\) The First Republic operated as a mixed authority (traditional and rational-legal) until 22 September 1792.


Opéra operating under twenty-five regime names as shown in Table 2.1, Table 2.2, and Table 2.3. Titles royal, national, and imperial functioned as regime signifiers that coincide with Weber’s pure-types of authority corresponding to administrations consequent upon revolutions from 1789 to 1870 when incoming officials dismissed the old and appointed new Directors, shown in Table 2.4. The long-standing Académie Royale de Musique operated under a mixed administration from 1789 until the Queen’s execution on 16 October 1793 and became Académie National de Musique under Republics, and then l’Académie Impériale de Musique under Empires: the terms Opéra, Académie, and Théâtre interchanged until 1854.

Table 2.1 The Paris Opéra names under Monarchies: Royal equates with Weber’s traditional authority.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date changed</th>
<th>Paris Opéra Names</th>
<th>Monarchies</th>
<th>Administration type</th>
<th>Approx Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28 Jun 1669</td>
<td>Académie d’Opéra</td>
<td>ancien regime</td>
<td>Royal Household</td>
<td>2y 9m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Mar 1672</td>
<td>Académie Royal de Musique</td>
<td>ancien regime</td>
<td>Royal Commissioners/ City of Paris/Royal Accountant</td>
<td>119y 6m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Sep 1791</td>
<td>Académie Royal de Musique</td>
<td>1st Republic/ Monarchy</td>
<td>City of Paris</td>
<td>11m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Apr 1814</td>
<td>Académie Royal de Musique</td>
<td>Restoration</td>
<td>Royal Superintendents</td>
<td>11m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Jul 1815</td>
<td>Académie Royal de Musique</td>
<td>Restoration</td>
<td>Royal Superintendents</td>
<td>15y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Aug 1830</td>
<td>Théâtre de l’Opéra</td>
<td>Monarchy/ National Guard</td>
<td>Royal Superintendents/National Guard</td>
<td>6 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Aug 1830</td>
<td>Académie Royal de Musique</td>
<td>July Monarchy</td>
<td>Royal Superintendents/ Franchised entrepreneur/ State intervention</td>
<td>18y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 The Paris Opéra names under Republics: National equates with Weber’s rational-legal authority.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date changed</th>
<th>Paris Opéra Name</th>
<th>Republics</th>
<th>Administration type</th>
<th>Approx Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29 Jun 1791</td>
<td>Académie de Musique</td>
<td>1st Republic/ (Monarchy)</td>
<td>City of Paris</td>
<td>3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Aug 1792</td>
<td>Académie de Musique</td>
<td>1st Republic/ (Monarchy)</td>
<td>Paris Commune</td>
<td>1yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Aug 1793</td>
<td>Opéra</td>
<td>1st Republic/ (Robespierre)</td>
<td>Paris Commune</td>
<td>2m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Oct 1793</td>
<td>Opéra National</td>
<td>1st Republic/ (Robespierre)</td>
<td>Paris Commune</td>
<td>10m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Aug 1794</td>
<td>Théâtre des Arts</td>
<td>1st Republic/ (Directory)</td>
<td>Paris Commune</td>
<td>2y 6m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Feb 1797</td>
<td>Théâtre de la République et des</td>
<td>1st Republic/ (Directory)</td>
<td>Paris Commune</td>
<td>5y 6m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Aug 1802</td>
<td>Théâtre de l’Opéra</td>
<td>1st Republic/ [Consul Nap I]</td>
<td>Paris Commune &amp; Prefects of the Imperial Palace</td>
<td>2y 11m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Apr 1814</td>
<td>Académie de Musique (2 days)</td>
<td>Provisional Republic</td>
<td>Royal Superintendents</td>
<td>2 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Feb 1848</td>
<td>Théâtre de la Nation</td>
<td>2nd Republic</td>
<td>Franchised entrepreneur/ State intervention</td>
<td>1mth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Mar 1848</td>
<td>Opéra-Théâtre de la Nation</td>
<td>2nd Republic</td>
<td>Franchised entrepreneur/ State intervention</td>
<td>1yr 6m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sep 1850</td>
<td>Académie National de Musique</td>
<td>2nd Republic</td>
<td>Franchised entrepreneur/ State intervention</td>
<td>2y 3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Sep 1870</td>
<td>Théâtre de l’Opéra</td>
<td>3rd Republic</td>
<td>Franchised entrepreneur/ State intervention</td>
<td>13 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Sep 1870</td>
<td>Théâtre National de l’Opéra</td>
<td>3rd Republic</td>
<td>Société des Artistes de l’Opéra/ State intervention</td>
<td>46 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Nov 1870</td>
<td>Théâtre National de l’Opéra</td>
<td>3rd Republic</td>
<td>Private entrepreneur/ State intervention</td>
<td>5+ y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2.3 The Paris Opéra names under Empires: Impériale equates with Weber’s charismatic authority.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date changed</th>
<th>Paris Opéra Names</th>
<th>Empires</th>
<th>Administration type</th>
<th>Approx Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29 Jun 1804</td>
<td>Académie Impériale de Musique</td>
<td>1st Empire [Nap I]</td>
<td>Prefects of the Palace/Imperial Superintendents</td>
<td>14y 9m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Mar 1815</td>
<td>Académie Impériale de Musique</td>
<td>1st Empire [Nap I]</td>
<td>Royal Superintendents</td>
<td>100 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dec 1852</td>
<td>Académie Impériale de Musique</td>
<td>2nd Empire [Nap III]</td>
<td>Franchised entrepreneur with State intervention</td>
<td>1y 6m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jul 1854</td>
<td>Théâtre Impériale de l’Opéra</td>
<td>2nd Empire [Nap III]</td>
<td>Imperial Household/ Franchised entrepreneur/ State intervention</td>
<td>16y 2m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2.4 The Paris Opéra and Paris Conservatoire Directors and Chief Conductors listed by year.

Asterisks indicate individuals who served multiple regimes; Crosnier took over from Roqueplan in 1854.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ancien regime (1789)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni-Battista Viotti *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST REPUBLIC (1789–1804)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni-Battista Viotti * (sacked)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis-Joseph Francœur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacques Cellerier (committee led by J.-J. Leroux)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee of the Commune (with François Lays)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee of the Commune</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacques Devisme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Bonet de Treiches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST EMPIRE (1804–1815)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefect Étienne Morel de Chef de ville</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis-Benoit Picard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESTORATION I &amp; II (1815–1830)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denis Pierre Jean Papillon de la Ferte</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandre Étienne Choron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persius Louis-Luc LÔSEAll de</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni-Battista Viotti * (reinstated)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>François-Antoine Habeneck</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raphaël Duplanfis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émile Timothée Lubbert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JULY MONARCHY (1830–1848)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Véron (the most successful director)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henri Duponchel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henri Duponchel, Edouard Monnais</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henri Duponchel, Edouard Monnais, Leon Pillet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henri Duponchel, Leon Pillet *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leon Pillet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leon Pillet, Henri Duponchel, Nestor Roqueplan *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECOND EMPIRE (1851–1870)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nestor Roqueplan *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECOND REPUBLIC (1848–1851)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nestor Roqueplan *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>François-Louis Crozier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphonse Royer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émile Perrin *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIRD REPUBLIC (1870–March 1871)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émile Perrin *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMUNE (March-May 1871)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant (March-May 1871)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Officially Vacant (May 1871)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugène Garnier &amp; Delphine Ugale (May 1871)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIRD REPUBLIC (1871–1875*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halanzier (1871–1897)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1871–1896 Thomas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regardless of a high turnover of directors, the Paris Opéra retained its music staff, i.e., principal artists, chorus, dancers, and orchestral players. A comparative analysis of appointments of directors at the Opéra with the Conservatoire, listed in Table 2.4, affirms that the Paris Opéra was politically volatile. The appointments of the chief conductors of the Opéra and directors of the Conservatoire were not so politically sensitive as socially, as most maintained long-term...
tenures outside the political mainstream, except perhaps for Bernard Sarrette (sacked, rehired, and sacked) and Salvadore Daniel (executed). The changing regimes in 1814 and 1815 (empire-monarchy-empire-monarchy) exemplify how each authority used the Opéra to signify its power: ‘One of the guiding forces of French and Italian composers during the Empire and Restoration was a consciousness of the ruling political power.’ When Emperor Napoleon abdicated on 6 April 1814, Académie Impériale de Musique became Académie Royale de Musique under the Restoration, returning to Académie Impériale de Musique by decree on 21 March 1815 the day after Napoleon recaptured Paris. One-hundred days later, on 22 June 1815, Napoleon abdicated for the second time. Within the fortnight, the restored monarchy renamed the Opéra, Académie Royale de Musique.

After 14 July 1789, the Opéra retained some traditional powers of the monarchy, but on 22 September 1792, the First Republic introduced new rational-legal and pro-capitalist laws by expanding state-power over the royal institutions and music theatres. The new administrators co-operated with and learned from the King's household administrations until 1793 when the Jacobins seized power. After the execution of King Louis XVI in January 1793, it unleashed laws legitimising the state's unbridled monopoly over violence, threatening and menacing the Opéra musicians, and making null and void their royal pension entitlements. Musicians only ‘enjoyed relative peace if they seemed willing to use their talent to promote the doctrines of the new covenant’ during the Reign of Terror when the Jacobins formed an élite political status-group called the Jacobin Club that amassed about 500,000 followers (Weber’s party) whose closure meant death to the Girondins and other dissenters. Suddenly, the Opéra foyer became a hub of political activity and police surveillance detecting counter-revolutionaries as ‘people distrusted performers because of their close relationships with the aristocratic patrons.’ Artists compulsorily swore a civic oath to the First Republic (later the Jacobins) to retain employment. Otherwise, they stood to lose their posts, become émigrés and political prisoners, or face the guillotine. Records indicate that up until 1793, only a few principal opera artists had fled Paris, but many more faced imprisonment and execution by the guillotine that previously alleged.

Before 1792, the Paris Opéra ledgers, structured according to Weber’s traditional principles of hierarchy and stratifications (see chapter 3), reveal the royal household preoccupations with

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expenses and little concern for revenue, presupposing the King’s ongoing discretionary allocations. Fiscal historians, Katheryn Norberg and J. F. Boscher, explain that the 1789 Revolution resulted from confusions over complex and cumbersome fiscal administrations of royal institutions and backlashes against proposed tax measures to liquidate France’s debt of four-billion livres accumulating interest repayments of 318,000,000 livres per annum (64% of revenue)—America defaulting on its repayments of 3,685,539 livres.9 The National Assembly and Jacobins sought to alleviate the debt and seized the assets and properties of the Church and nobility. Nevertheless, they paid unprecedentedly high salaries to the élite state officials, the Paris Opéra administrators, and politically aligned singers of Jacobin persuasion, François Lays, Augustin-Athanase Chéron (1760–1829), and Étienne Lainez as shown in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 The Paris Opéra budgets revised under the First Republic for An VII (22 Sep 1798–21 Sep 1799). Revisions of administrative costs of singers pertaining to An VII (1798–79) under the Directory brought reductions in salaries and new generic descriptions for job functions replacing names. The Budget extract shown on the left was sealed and difficult to read.10


10 AJ/13/1186: Règlement du Théâtre de la République et des Arts (An VII) or (1798) at ANF.
After the Thermidorean coup in July 1794 that ousted and executed the Jacobin leaders, the elected members of the new Directory (Directoire) continued to manage the Opéra in a rational-legal capacity, retaining the appointments and salaries of several former Jacobin favourites who had secured salaries of 12,000 francs with indemnities of up to 28,000.¹¹ Citoyen and citoyenne Chéron appear on the 1798 Directory Budget with a combined income of 24,000 supplemented by a pension (indemnity) of 11,000—one of three indemnities granted. The two Vestris singers secured a joint income of 18,545, with Maillard, Chéron, and Latour as the most highly paid principal female artists on 12,000 each. The revised budget after the 9 November 1799 coup saw Consul Napoleon reduce the staff-count, change references to artists to hommes and femmes, and halve large salaries to 6,000, granting up to 6,000-franc pensions to principal artists. The Consul employed equal numbers of men and women on equal pay, shown in Figure 2.1. Generic job descriptions for musicians—stratified according to instrument status as soloists and ensemble players—crystallised the administrative structures of the Opéra for the regimes to follow, and historians agree that ‘Napoleon created a strict disciplinary organisation for France.’¹² His charismatic anti-capitalist Empire, dispensing with restrictive Republican laws, reintroduced the protocols of monarchies and the Church, encouraging careers based on talent.

Weber states, ‘the most irresistible force is rational discipline, which eradicates not only personal charisma, but also stratification by status-groups, or at least transforms them in a rationalising direction.’¹³ Strong discipline found in musicians of large religious and military communities, certainly eventuated under radical Jacobin republicanism from 1793 to 1794 operating at the extremes of Weber’s rational spectrum. It enforced strict discipline on all musicians accompanied by death-threats as it organised politicised hymnal-styled military music, public singing, and opera spectacles for state festivals and official occasions. The music officialsdom of the Jacobin Republic ensued through five dominant ancien régime organist-composers: André-Modeste Grétry (1741–1813), Etienne Méhul (1763–1817), Jean-François [Le Sueur] Lesueur (1760–1837), Luigi-Carlo Cherubini (1760–1842), and François-Joseph Gossec (1734–1829), who tailored compositions away from traditional sacred, sonata-based instrumental and operatic genres to simplified politicised republican propaganda music.¹⁴

¹¹ Archival sources for the Paris Opéra appear under reference Al/13: Archives du Théâtre National de l’Opéra at Etat général des fonds des Archives nationales (Paris), Mise à jour 2007. See Al/13/1186 at ANF. In 1795, the franc replaced the livre, valued at 101.25¢ of a livre: i.e., Lay’s 12,000 and 28,000 livres equalled 12,150 and 28,350 francs.


¹³ See Weber, Economy and Society, 1149.

¹⁴ For a list of First Republic compositions, see M. Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire impérial de musique et de déclaration (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, Libraires Éditeurs, 1860), 22–23, 124–125, and 529. For oaths sworn to the
Weber’s terms, they had fulfilled their bureaucratic functions ‘as part of a systematic division of labour’ under the rational-legal authority and gained the upper hand.\textsuperscript{15} Rewards for their services resulted after they collectively signed the \textit{Pétition Addressée à l’Assemblée Nationale par les Auteurs et Éditeurs de Musique} and were nominated as the five founding directors of Paris Conservatoire.\textsuperscript{16} Meanwhile, royalist composers and performers—many from foreign origins—who refused to take the Civic Oath, joined the ranks of the unemployed, the émigrés, or the dead.

After the First Republic had secured power, the celebratory highlight in 1792 was Mlle Maillard’s appearance on the Opéra stage as the \textit{Goddess of Liberty} in Gossec’s \textit{Offrande à la Liberté}. The new secular music genre under Jacobin rule celebrated in the \textit{Festival of Reason} (1793), \textit{Festival of the Supreme Being} (1794), and other such festivals and productions, were primarily compositions by Gossec as the republic’s official composer. His \textit{Hymne a la Liberté}, \textit{L’Offrande à la Liberté} and \textit{Le Triumph de la République} dominated the music of Paris from 1792 to 1793. Although Grétry made two notable tributes in one-act operas, \textit{La Rosière Républicaine} and \textit{Denys Le Tyran} staged in 1794. Former National Guard Master of the Band, Captain of the 103\(^{0}\) de ligne, and ally to Sarrette, Gossec created prodigious outpourings of patriotic politicised military compositions for mammoth concerts staged in Paris and the expanding army, inundated with copies. French citizens worshipped a state-sanctioned supreme being embodied in a secular deity of patriotism, as exemplified by Caron’s text ‘Oh Dément! Oh Dément de ma Patrie!’ from Gossec’s \textit{Hymne a la Liberté} shown in Example 2.1. His one-act opera, \textit{Le Triumph de la République}, staged at the Paris Opéra in January 1793, featured André Chenier’s text, ‘Long live, long live Liberty! Hear our prayers, dear and holy Homeland,’ shown in Figure 2.2. Ironically, just before the opera débuted, Chenier incensed radical republicans and Robespierre with pro-royalist publications before he escaped Paris. Arrested in 1794, imprisoned for 140 days, he walked the scaffold on 25 July 1794 as the Terror’s final victim, three days before Robespierre’s execution.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{example21.png}
\caption{Example 2.1 Music by Gossec and text by Caron extracted from the \textit{Hymne a la Liberté} trio. ‘It is the first of the Feasts of Reason: the first communion-service of the New Religion of Chaumette.’}
\end{figure}

Republic and Empire including those of Jadin, Jouy, Beauvarlet-Charpentier, Berton, Gossec, Désaiguers, Méhul, Nadermann, Paër, and Spontini, see Alex Emery, "Dictionnaire des girouettes, ou Nos contemporains peints d’après eux-mêmes...par une société de girouettes," (Paris: Alexis Emery Library, 1815).

\textsuperscript{15} See Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 218 and 217–221.

The new political music culture that followed the sacking of the Jacobins on 28 July 1794 meant that Gossec, now sixty years of age, suffered a kind of disgrace and stigma, forced to live in a kind of musical purgatory, judged obsolete and 'gothic' by anti-republican peers in retribution. The new political music culture that followed the sacking of the Jacobins on 28 July 1794 meant that Gossec, now sixty years of age, suffered a kind of disgrace and stigma, forced to live in a kind of musical purgatory, judged obsolete and 'gothic' by anti-republican peers in retribution. Gossec’s reign ended, the first hybrid audiences suddenly appeared at the Opéra following the Thermidorean reaction, under the Directory and Consul. New music combinations reflected the complexities of the political factions in Paris, which was often confusing for musicians. Audiences comprised of ‘dissatisfied revolutionaries, self-satisfied notables, nostalgic aristocrats, and imperial cabinet ministers who had earned their stripes as republicans’. One might say that the ‘first fifteen years of the century was an incongruous patchwork whose squares were particular moments of the past half century’ while also ‘dazzling and patriotic.’

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Performances featuring allusions to kings and God returned without penalties of death. After the 1800s, Opéra audiences returned to the days before the Terror, filling auditoriums with interjections of political vehemence and patriotism, having punished former Jacobin performers.

Castil-Blaze (translated Henry-Sutherland Edwards) comments that the 'history of the Opéra, under the Consulate and Empire, is perhaps more remarkable in connexion with political than with musical events.'

What is significant about this period is the Consul's new salary hierarchy for the Opéra musicians who adopted a 50% pay cut in lieu of lucrative pensions entitlements that subsequent monarchies refused to honour. This lower remuneration served as a permanent crippling benchmark for musicians after 1815. Emperor Napoleon overthrew the Republic's Laws of 13–19, January 1791 to restrain the rampant laissez-faire trade in music and-theatres, by displacing capitalist laws with his Code Civil des Français (Code Napoleon 1807) to force shut nearly forty music venues in 1807. Generating unemployment in the market at the lower levels in Paris, he had ensured the quality of the arts by defining its cultural and legal foundations for decades. At this point, a short-lived heroic genre, dubbed the Empire Style, emerged at the Opéra to praise Napoleon in Gaspare Pacifico Luigi Spontini's opera, La Vestale (with a ballet), which perished upon Napoleon's demise in 1815 and the consequent repertoire changes, cost cuts, salary reductions, and sacked staff under the Restoration. It was so popular that the Russian Emperor and Prussian King heard it on 1 April 1814 and then King Louis XVIII on 17 May 1814 upon his first triumphant entry to Paris. By the 1820s, Rossini's operas staged at the Théâtre-Italien became a 'jewel in the crown of Restoration society' as virtuosic pianists, Italianate opera composers and singers rose to the fore, displacing French opera singers and musicians forced to reinvent themselves. Thirty years later, Berlioz praised Spontini's politicised opera in Feuilleton du Journal des Débats, 14 May 1845, which had come to symbolise the First Empire.

From 1792 until the 1801 Concordat when Napoleon reintroduced sacred music to France, the Paris Opéra functioned as the state's secular power of the Republic. Sacred music had virtually ceased. The last time France had celebrated a sacred coronation mass was in 1775, and never for an emperor. On 2 December 1804, Napoleon's coronation as the Emperor of France, King of Italy, and ruler of the Roman Papal States, featured united music genres at the newly restored Notre-Dame Cathedral in a mélange of contradictory concepts of ‘Carolingian traditions, the ancien

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21 Henry-Sutherland Edwards, History of the Opera from its Origin in Italy to the present time with Anecdotes of the Most Celebrated Composers and Vocalists of Europe (London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1862), Chapter XVII.

22 See Johnson, Listening in Paris, 184, and Walsh, Second Empire Opera, 7 and Barbier, Opera in Paris, 10. Théâtre-Français was Théâtre de la Républic, Théâtre de la Nation (1789–1793) and Théâtre de Égalité (1794–1796).
Military bands played heroic marches of sacred, imperial, and secular music with 400 to 500–voice choirs, two orchestras, and soloists who sang Giovanni Paisiello’s Mass and his Te Deum, Credo, Agnus Dei, Tu es Petrus and Gospels in Latin and Greek. Coronation motets—Accingere Gladio by Lesueur (rescued from poverty by Napoleon), Unxerunt Salomonem, and Vivat by abbé Roze—under the baton of the Emperor’s personal conductor, Jean-Baptiste Rey, featured soloists Rudolph Kreutzer on violin, six sopranos from the Opéra including Madame Branchu, (Mlle Maillard?), tenors, Adolph Nourrit and Nicolas Roland, and baritone, Lais [Lays]. Musicians benefitted from his patronage except perhaps Cherubini, Méhul, Grétry, and Gossec—stigmatised by their Jacobin past.

When traditional rule returned to France under King Louis XVIII in 1815, it did so without the usual public rituals of sacred music. Cherubini, newly ingratiated with the monarchy and sharing the post at the King’s Chapel with Lesueur, had composed Messa Solenne in Sol maggiore per l’Incoronazione di Luigi XVIII with the usual Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Angus Dei for an intended coronation mass at l’église Saint-Geneviève. Fearing reprisals from antiroyalists, Louis XVIII cancelled his coronation to the financial disadvantage of Paris-based musicians. Unofficially, in light of the rising secular milieu, France had adopted a national anthem, Le Retour des Princes Français à Paris, which replaced the Empire’s unofficial Veillons au salut de l’Empire.

Following Louis’ death in 1825, for the resplendent coronation of Charles X, Cherubini (now the Director of the Paris Conservatoire) composed Messe solennelle in sol maggiorie. Charles’ reign did not last and after the 1830 Revolution neither kings, emperors, nor musicians, returned to performing ancien régime coronation masses—monarchical or imperial—the sacred music genre became disassociated from state power. This brought the loss of employment for sacred musicians as secular militaristic music of national anthems for state occasions came to the fore. In Weber’s terms, the rationalisation of music displaced the irrational ‘electricity’ of sacred music that, according to Durkheim, reinforces the collective physical and emotional excitement of the people signifying the ancient households of royalty, kin-groups, tribes, and families.

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25 There are conflicting accounts of the composition date, allegedly composed in 1819. For a copy and story, see Biblioteca di Rome at http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/spartito/BVE0285652/1 (accessed 30 April 2016).


Weber deems that charismatic leaders and charismatic talents endorse other charismatics, their followers, and disciples because the only basis for establishing the legitimacy of personal charisma is that it must be proved i.e., it must receive recognition from others. What people deem as charismatic during one regime may become redundant under another, as revolutions, the public, and authorities change the *status-qua*. The value-rational (*wertrational*) actions of followers, 'linked to beliefs independent of the prospects of the success of an action,' generate different outcomes from instrumentally rational (*zweckrational*) actions motivated by self-interested 'rationally pursued and calculated ends.'

Contradictory fates arose after revolutions for charismatically talented musicians after 1792 faced with survival and integrity issues by generating unforeseeable consequences from adopting the same type of action. For some, their value-rational behaviour brought danger. For example, abandoning royalism and the Church, the *ancien régime* composers Gossec, Cherubini, and Grétry—as new citizens of France—ensured their survival and employment prospects under the Republic and during the Reign of Terror by adopting Weber’s instrumentally rational action, but fell into disrepute under the First Empire.

Grétry, ostensibly an unwilling contributor to the Republic, knew that his genius would not save him from the guillotine if he refused to cooperate with the oppressive Jacobins. Judiciously, he agreed to collaborate with Méhul, Cherubini, Kreutzer, Delayrac, Solie, Catel, Berton, François Devienne (Mlle Maillard's husband), Jadin, Blasius, and Deshayes to compose an opera, *Congrès des Rois*, in two days for a gratis performance on 26 February 1794. Whereas royalists, like the Italian-born genius, Niccoló Piccinni (1728–1800), did not fare well: 'The French revolution ruined Piccinni.'

A brilliant composer and professor of singing of the Conservatoire's new Italian school, Piccinni outshone Grétry, and his operas had incited the 'War of Gluckists and Piccinnists' during the 1770s. Unlike Gossec and Grétry, Piccinni refused to take the republican oath and fled Paris for Naples believing that he would find sanctuary, whereupon King Ferdinand IV placed him under house arrest for four years as a suspected revolutionary. Returning to Paris in 1798, unable to secure a post with Napoleon and without a pension, Piccinni died impoverished at Passy in 1800.

Italian-born organist, Cherubini, a Freemason of *The Grand Orient de France* and composer for the Paris Opéra, welcomed the 1789 Revolution and immediately renounced the Catholic Church and all ties to aristocracy in taking the Oath. Happily, he composed eight republican patriotic hymnals for the state military bands for the new state festivals, perhaps adopting value-rational

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29 See Weber, *Economy and Society*, 24. Weber’s two other actions are affectual (especially emotional) and traditional.


31 See Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, 62–69. Piccinni was 'the Italianists' great hope' against Gluck supporters. 'Piccinnists attacked Gluck on virtually every aspect of his reforms.'
action if he truly supported the republic, although his subsequent actions contradict this. Following the King’s execution in 1793, Cherubini fled to Rouen to escape the Terror, returning to Paris in December 1794 to take up his post of Inspector at the Conservatoire, he struggled under the Empire due perceptions of his disloyalty and arrogance. Napoleon disliked and ‘persistently ignored and ill-treated’ the moody Cherubini, sending him off to Vienna in 1797, where he remained for years, only to reconcile with him during the 100 days in 1815. After Napoleon’s second demise, quick to renounce previous republican and imperial alliances, Cherubini re-aligned himself with the aristocracy and church, serving the Restoration and July Monarchy, sustaining a long-standing lucrative post as Paris Conservatoire Director from 1822 to 1842. Napoleon had earlier granted him Chevalier of the Légion d’Honneur, which the monarchy extended to Commandeur in the year of his death. Through patient determination, adopting instrumentally rational action, Cherubini, loyal to none, survived five regimes—the equivalent of Weber’s three authorities—but more comfortable under monarchies while perhaps adopting ‘habitual’ traditional behaviour.

Italian composer, Spontini, having migrated from Italy to Paris in 1803 as Britain declared war on France, secured the adoration of Consul Napoleon and Josephine, and ‘conquered the Théâtre-Italien, Opéra-Comique, and Académie Impériale in quick succession.’ He secured fame and fortune through charismatic endorsement. Praising Napoleon, he created the heroic opera genre in La Vestale and Fernand Cortez (a prototype of the 1830s Grand Opera) that débuted at the Opéra—unfavourably reviewed by French music journalist C*** in Tablettes de Polymnie in 1810. Like Piccinni, Spontini did not obtain a Conservatoire appointment. Instead, he relied on Josephine’s support as the director of the Empress’s music and the assistant director of the Empress’s Theatre until dismissed by the superintendent of theatres, M. [Count] de Remusat, in favour of Paër. In April 1814, renouncing the defeated Napoleon to secure an appointment

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32 Bellasis, Cherubini, 77 and see Chapter IV.
33 Bellasis, Cherubini, 133.
34 He inducted into the Grand Orient de France, “Saint-Jean de Palestine” Masonic Lodge in 1784.
with the Restoration, Spontini ‘had no compunction’ in writing a letter to King Louis XVIII full of ‘insincere praise’ requesting he serves as director of the King’s private concerts and of the Théâtre-Italien. Louis hastened to grant him this honour with an excellent salary and bonus, despite his being a ‘former servant of the enemy.’ Upon Napoleon’s return, Spontini felt compromised, but retained Josephine’s favour, and after Napoleon had abdicated in 1815, he returned to his former position to take French citizenship in 1817. Both King and musician had adopted instrumentally rational action—talent and functionality overrode political concerns.

The Paris Opéra and the First Republic

Some months prior to the 1789 Revolution, the Paris Opéra (Académie Royale de Musique) suffered ongoing internal disputes between artists, despised manager, Giovanni-Battista Viotti, and the royal administrators. The King, and hence France, was on the verge of bankruptcy and as such, the institution faced extinction along with its artists, staff, administrators, repetiteurs, machinists, dressers, stagehands, porters, and machinists. On 12 July 1789, an angry crowd

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38 See Barbier, Opera in Paris, 160 and see Castil-Blaze, L’Académie impériale de musique, 113–119.


gathered at the front of the building demanding its closure—a scene Pierre-Gabriel Berthault captured in an engraving shown in Figure 2.3. To the starving mobs, the Opéra represented wastage and opulence and yet, it employed more than 400 men and women from lower classes. The Opéra closed house, and two nights passed without incident. On the auspicious 14 July 1789, the Opéra’s caterer, Charles Mangin (1721–1807), opened the backstage doors for the sans-culottes to raid the storerooms for prop-weapons on their way to the Bastille.41 The building, its contents, and its occupants remained unharmed, and soon opened for business as usual under the auspices of a constitutional monarch; King Louis XVI agreed to finance the Opéra from his personal household budget. The new bureaucratic élites of Paris police, ministers, committee members, administrators, and various others relished unchallenged access to front-of-house, backstage, dressing rooms, opera boxes, and foyer, heralding an era of terror for artists.

One-hundred-and-twenty years after its inception, the royal house of the Paris Opéra became a secular state-controlled institution with administrations epitomising the unique bureaucratic powers of Weber’s three pure authority-types.42 Its survival history is complicated, but it generally functioned as a household under monarchies, a commune under republics, and a mixed household under empires, although Napoleon’s ‘inability to delegate authority and responsibility’ was an administrative weakness.43 Bearing four name-changes in two years, the Paris Opéra remained a ‘Royal Opera House’ until 22 September 1792 when the National Assembly declared France a Republic and the Opéra a national public utility, severing traditional ties upon the King’s execution in January 1793. Confiscating the Opéra’s accounting records, Republican officials attempted to administer the colossus, and from 1792 to 1794, sans-culottes, bureaucrats, committees, and ‘l’autorité militaire’ of the National Guard misused their ‘privileged strata because of the social distribution of power’ in their favour.44 One ‘atrocious tenor’ [ténor désappointé] at the Opéra, Étienne Lefèvre, a ‘bloodthirsty republican’ and one of twelve

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42 Located at Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin from 1781 until August 1794, the Paris Opéra moved to Théâtre National de la rue de la Loi on 26 July 1794, closing on 13 February 1820 when King Louis XVIII destroyed it after Duc de Berry’s assassination. Artists moved twice in 1821, the Opera established at Salle Le Peletier (Théâtre Impériale de l’Opéra) until fire destroyed it in 1873. The Opéra moved twice before moving to Palais Garnier in 1875. Regarding ‘institutional imprinting,’ see Johnson, Backstage at the Revolution, 30–34.


44 See Weber, Economy and Society, 960.
National Guard chiefs in Paris, ‘insisted on being promoted to first characters and threatened those whom he wished to replace with denunciations and the guillotine.’

Rationally regulated association within a structure of domination finds its typical expression in bureaucracy. Traditionally prescribed social action finds it typically represented by patriarchalism. The charismatic structure of domination rests upon individual authority, based neither upon rational rules nor upon tradition.

Weber advises that rational-legal rule’s advocacy of capitalism, leads to levelling the status of staff, and in 1791, the Opéra artists foresaw the ramifications of this for their profession. After July 1789, the Paris Opéra operated as a pseudo-royal household while sharing administration with the Republican Assembly under Louis Françoêr and a committee headed by J. J. Leroux. Revolutionary talk brought disquiet to ‘[T]ruculent singers’ and ‘petulant artists . . . who complained bitterly [in] a near constant state of rebellion against the directors and especially Viotti’ with what they believed to be ‘justifiable demands.’ Fervently, they lobbied for self-government in the spirit of the times to avoid capitalist exploitations or marginalisation. One chorus lobbyist referred to artists as having become ‘docile slaves of a commissarial aristocracy’ otherwise ‘victimes indolentes de la perversité de vos chefs.’ Opera managers, Papillon de la Ferté and Antoine Dauverné, the Opéra committee, and state ministers nominally considered the artists’ petitions for self-management. They deferred, delayed, and then rejected them outright in 1790 under the Republic’s new municipality, some preferring to convert the Opéra into an enterprise, but this did not eventuate until 1830.

Despite the Republic’s pro-capitalist rationales, only a few ministers supported the Opéra artists’ requests and despite the declarations of citizen’s equal rights under free enterprise, their proposals failed. The Minister, Saint-Priest, wrote to the new Opéra director, Dauverné, threatening that ‘all subjects must serve, or they will be dismissed and stripped of their right to a pension.’ The legally binding pension entitlements that the Restoration rescinded in 1815 represented a maximum pension loss of 96,000 francs for some and an average of 16,000–25,000 for most, which meant that many died in poverty or worked extra years. Their failed

45 Edwards, History of the Opera, 70 or Castil-Blaze, L’Académie impériale de musique, 12.
46 Weber, Economy and Society, 954, and see Chapter XI for discussions about bureaucracy and states.
47 Edwards, History of the Opera, 67 or see Castil-Blaze, L’Académie impériale de musique, 11.
48 These words appear in an anonymous letter sent to management. See Johnson, Backstage at the Revolution, 69.
mission for self-government and salary sacrifice set the precursor for survival and status subjugation for all musicians in state employ.

The First Republic’s impersonal power over the Paris Opéra demonstrates aspects of Weber’s rational-legal authority in legalistic bureaucratic power, the levelling of status and subjugation of staff. However, the Jacobin terror went beyond the pale of all of Weber’s authorities. State administrators harnessed the chorus, principal artists, and orchestral players as resources to promote the tyrannical regime-milieu much like pig-farmers and managers harness the productivity of pigs and factory workers.\textsuperscript{50} They ensured the ‘domination through knowledge’ through bureaucratic titles, official secrets, and ‘straightforward duty without regard to personal considerations’ by the administrators who were not musicians.\textsuperscript{51} The Constituent Assembly laws of 2 March 1791 (\textit{Loi d’Allard}) and 14 June 1791 (\textit{Loi le Chapelier}) imposed the ‘abolition of all kinds of corporations of citizens of the same occupation and profession’ to ‘hold deliberations or make agreements among themselves.’\textsuperscript{52} They banned all guilds and outlawed the right to strike, deeming associations of workers, employers, and entrepreneurs as illegal and unconstitutional.

Chapelier’s law disempowered citizens the right to protest against any corrupt state officials, intendants, prefects, administrative and municipal bodies (hence the Jacobins) that, according to John Stewart, left ‘workers at the mercy of their employers’ to establish the state’s uncontested coercive monopoly over labour through civic and corporative segregations of power.\textsuperscript{53} The law thus enforced absolute state-control over the Opéra staff; that is, disgruntled chorus members preparing to strike. Further, promoting laissez-faire economic policies through \textit{The Liberty of the Theatres} law, Chapelier believed that competition would foster better quality theatres and music in a Paris unshackled from the Opéra’s monopoly. They were wrong. This law and the economic terrorist measures that followed increased the inferior enterprises in Paris, which exacerbated the survival pressures for artists undercut by cheap labour of amateurs flooding the market.

Danton, Hébert, Chaumette, Henriot, and Robespierre, all administrators of the Opéra; Dubuisson, Fabre d’Eglantine, librettists writing for the Opéra, and both republicans had been executed during the Reign of Terror. Chamfort, a republican, killed himself to avoid the same fate.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{50}See Johnson, \textit{Backstage at the Revolution}, Chapter 3.

\textsuperscript{51}See Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 225. Johnson recounts the chorus’s trauma during the Opera’s transition from traditional rule to a rational legal state-run institution, in Johnson, \textit{Backstage at the Revolution}, Chapters 2 and 3.


\textsuperscript{53}Stewart, \textit{A Documentary Survey}, No. 28, 165.

Viotti sacked; the King dead; disputes quashed; passionate political debates between pro-republican and royalist audiences ceased at the opera due to Jacobin death threats for supporting the monarchy and the Church. After the Convention's decree, 4 August 1793, and interventions of the Committee of Public Instruction, Opéra performers lived in peril of execution if they voiced anti-republican views, sang politically incorrect songs or texts, or even annoyed a sans-culotte or bureaucrat. The most volatile time for French citizens lay between November 1793 and February 1794 (shown in Greer's graph reproduced in Figure 2.4), but virtually ceased when Robespierre walked the scaffold on 28 July 1794. Under the Decree of 27 Vendémiaire, An III (27th day of spring in Year III of the First Republic, i.e., 18 October 1794), the reformed Republic drew up new contracts and rules of employment for opera artists, placing them squarely under rigid impersonal bureaucratic administration.

55 Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror*, 113, Table VII and 143. There are small errors in Table V, the total on page 154 should read 255 (not 225), and the total on page 164 for Table VII, France (exclusive of Paris) should read 11,361 (not 11,441). See Owen Connelly, ed., *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799–1815*, 470.


57 "In early 1794, a resident of Bordeaux was guillotined for having shouted out "Long live our noble King!" See Edwards, *History of the Opera*, X. See Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, Chapter 7, and see chapter 3 of the thesis for details.

58 Note that, An I to An XIV of the First Republic represent the years 1 to 14 starting in 1792: years generally start on 22 September with months divided by the seasonal activities. For conversions of républican to Gregorian calendar by years and months, go to archives.numerisees.calvados.fr/cgi14v3/outils/calandrier/calandrier_rev_greg.php?annee=III#.
Weber’s principle of enduring bureaucratic administration and replacement of officials at top levels certainly applies to the Paris Opéra, typified by the sacking of directors that coincided with the regimes following revolutions, as ‘nothing was more hierarchical than the Opéra’s administrative system before 1830.’ Directorial appointments were regime-specific: some recycled within same regime-types (Henri Duponchel, Édouard Monnais, Léon Pillet, and Nestor Roqueplan); some reinstated with the return of regime-types (Giovanni-Battista Viotti and Émile Perrin); or, some spanned several regimes-types (Roqueplan) as shown in Table 2.4. Regardless, old disputes did not disappear, and the incoming directors saw opportunity in cancelling pension entitlements to the peril of the old musicians.

Regime-changes empowered directors to rescind pre-existing contracts with the Opéra (state), although the legality of this remained unchallenged. Berlioz, for example, recounts that despite Roqueplan’s and Duponchel’s reaffirmed appointments as directors for the incoming Second Republic in 1848 and Second Empire in 1851, they saw opportunity in rescinding his contract to compose *La nonne sanglante*, secretly offering it to Gounod in 1852, waiting until 1854 to stage it. Napoleon’s coup was welcome by entrepreneurs after the economic and political crises after 1846, which brought increased opportunities and renewed hope for the Opéra artists who successfully petitioned the Minister of the Interior to reinstate pensions abolished in 1830. Meanwhile, *l’Association* subsidised the impoverished musicians via their fund-raising concerts.

**Regime Economics: The Paris Opéra and Music Theatres (official and public)**

Dispensing with the Paris Opéra’s traditional and republican administrative economic rationales that continued to generate deficits, the ‘First Consul [Napoleon] decided that all the [Opéra] boxes were to be paid for by those who occupied them’ thus terminating the bureaucratic abuses of privileged *sans-culottes* who issued complimentary tickets for personal advantage. Old élite theatres had suffered under *laissez-faire*, so, flush from the booty of war ‘with one stroke of the pen’ Napoleon settled *Opéra-Comique’s* debts of 1,299 livres. In keeping with anti-capitalistic charismatic principles, he reinstated the Opéra’s monopoly over theatres in July 1807, permitting the rival Théâtre-Italien to function as the preferred venue for aristocrats, instituting France’s eight official state-endorsed theatres via *Decree Impérial No. 462, Section 4*, stating ‘Le

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maximum du nombre des théâtres de notre bonne ville de Paris est fixé à huit.’ The decree remained enforced under succeeding regimes. The impoverished Restoration, fraught with skirmishes, uprisings and cholera deaths, maintained the status quo through cost cuts, returning to inefficient ancien regime administration principles, and the neglect of artists.

The 1830 Revolution initiated a profound turning point for the Opéra, its artists, and the world with the consolidation of the Grand Opera genre. A clear divide in status rankings between performers, composers, conductors, administrators, and management occurred between those at the Opéra, freelance theatres, and the Théâtre-Italien. In 1830, ticket prices at the Paris Opéra, with a seating capacity of 1,937, ranged from 3 francs 60c to 10 francs, but it ran at a substantial loss. Comparatively, and running at a profit, Italian-Opéra with a seating capacity of 1,282 (66% of the Opéra) charged from 2 francs to 12 francs for tickets earned about 68% of the Opéra’s maximum possible revenue; Opéra-Comique with a seating capacity of 89% of the Opéra earned 54% of its revenue; and Theatre-Français at 78% earned 48%. There was an anomaly!

King Louis-Philippe’s liberal Orleanist government passed Ordonnance du 29 janvier 1831, revolutionising the Opéra’s financial administration, to adopt entrepreneurial bourgeoisie-styled management practices. Addressing France’s deficits, he terminated traditional household budgetary measures in favour of capitalist rationales by appointing a franchised entrepreneur with state intervention, analogous to Weber’s mixed administration arising from institutional imprinting by placing the burdens of survival onto entrepreneur-directors to elicit profits for the Opéra—a process all regimes retained. Dispensing with economic traditionalism in favour of rationalised capitalist measures while withdrawing funding from church musicians, he removed the Opéra’s timeworn economic shackles in retaining traditional censorship processes. Before launching an opera, the palace prefect and a jury of ten examined a proposed libretto, censored, and approved it. The composer then played the music to the jury, the costs having been assessed and approved the in-house conductor directed all rehearsals overseen by the ministers of police.

The decision to depart from the traditional administration of the Opéra may have related to Louis Véron’s (1798–1867) persuasive business acumen and reputation as an entrepreneur. History confirms that ‘apart from Lully, Mr Véron was the only other manager who amassed a fortune for himself and the Opéra’ while his successors ‘continued the line of deficit-making

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63 Decree Imperial (No. 462). Relative aux Theatres, Titre II, 4: 8 août 1807; signed Hughes-B Maret. See Table 1.1.

64 Lewis Goldsmith, Statistics of France (London: Hatchard and Son, 1832), 328.

directors.’ He succeeded because of, or in spite of, the 1830 Revolution after three theatres closed in 1831—Opéra-Comique, Odéon, and Nouvcautes—but resigned his post the year after le Jockey-Club de Paris besieged the Opéra in 1834. The Opéra revenue almost doubled from 569,676.73 livres in 1831 to 1,124,625.60 in 1835, rose slightly, and then plummeted to 537,777.28 in 1848. *Annuaire général du commerce de l’industrie de la magistrature et de l’administration* shows that the year preceding the 1848 February Revolution, the Opéra’s earnings from ticket sales had fallen by 14%, whereas the Théâtre-Italien (renamed with Royal) had risen by 22%. While many had blamed the Opéra’s budget deficits on poor management, recent research indicates that fraud and ticket exploitations by royal and republican directors and bureaucrats lay at the heart of the issue. The loss of revenue arose from the indiscriminate offering of complimentary tickets that facilitated the diminishing salaries offered to artists. The graph in Figure 2.5, summarising the Paris Opéra’s reconciliations of 1854, shows the fluctuating revenues from 1830 to 1854 under the entrepreneurs who proved inferior to Véron and the recovery after the 1851 coup when Napoleon III, like his uncle, injected funds into the arts. The Opéra’s revenue serves as a barometer of the social hardships preceding revolutions and coups.

![Graph showing revenue fluctuations from 1830 to 1854](image-url)

**Figure 2.5 The graph summarises the Paris Opéra’s Récapitulation générale des Recettes (1831–1854).**

The Opéra’s receipts and expenses from 1831 to 1854, calculated under the Second Empire, show direct relationships between revolutions and revenue after 1830. By compelling opera patrons to buy tickets or to subscribe to the Opéra (as Napoleon had in 1799) instead of issuing free tickets, Véron had unearthed the hidden fraudulent activities of

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68 *Annuaire général du commerce, de l’industrie de la magistrature et de l’administration*, Spectacles, CXXVII–CXXVIII.

69 Barbier, *Opera in Paris*, 38, particularly see 36–44.

70 See ANF hand written ledgers of receipts and expenditures 1830–1854 reference AJ/13/1186.
previous directors. His directorship from 1831 to 1835, and relationship with composer and librettist, Meyerbeer and Scribe, hiring Italian trained singers, and spicing audiences with ‘cohorts and claques’ brought unprecedented financial success to the crown.\textsuperscript{71} Véron resigned when the state saw opportunity in withdrawing funding of the Opéra. Meanwhile, he launched the new French-Italianate dramatic verismo (truthful) singing style and secured the Italian bel canto (beautiful) singing style unfamiliar to Paris-trained opera singers. Blending the Italian art of beautiful singing with the French articulation, as taught by Pierre Garat, unshackled French singers from the traditional declamatory ‘howling’ style (‘screeching’ according to Napoleon) originating with Lully (Lulli) suddenly improved their prospects in Paris.\textsuperscript{72} Cardinal Mazarin had introduced Italian Opera and bel canto singing to Paris in 1645, but Lully fashioned it into a declamatory shouting-singing style. Condemning French operatic singing as early as 1778, Mozart wrote to his father from Paris complaining that the ‘confounded French tongue’ was ‘detestable' for vocal music, that French opera singers ‘yell’ and ‘howl’, and that opera should not be entrusted to ‘stupid Frenchmen.’\textsuperscript{73} Under Véron, with Habeneck as in-house conductor after Kreutzer’s death in 1824, the Opéra débuted France’s new Grand Opera genre in \textit{La Muette de Portici}, \textit{La Juive}, \textit{Robert le Diable}, \textit{Les Huguenots}, and then Berlioz’s \textit{Benvenuto Cellini}.

Resentments ran deep and long in Paris; employment opportunities were limited. Securing a position in a state music institution against fierce competition usually implied a long tenure as a professor of music, strategically blocking opportunities for rival talents. By 1830, most of the Paris Opéra composers enjoyed high status, good remunerations, and bureaucratic prestige. The convention of composers conducting their own works virtually ceased after 1817 with Kreutzer’s appointment as the Opéra’s first in-house conductor, to subjugate composers and singers to state’s bureaucracy. Strictly regulated opera performers, ‘with no say in the matter,’ remained uncompensated for extra workloads, stresses, illnesses, and poor working conditions while severely punished by administrators for making mistakes on stage; bureaucrats held sway over the arts as Weber predicts.\textsuperscript{74} French and Italian opera houses functioned side by side in Paris, but ‘owing to the hardness of the times’ leading up to and following the 1830 Revolution, their box office receipts fell to ‘two thirds less than those of previous years’ and the Opéra ball raised only 460,000 francs compared with 600,000 the previous year.\textsuperscript{75} Revolutions brought increased state control over the musically talented, as bureaucracy is hard-wired to survive.

\setstretch{1.1}

\textsuperscript{71} See Véron, \textit{Mémoires d’un bourgeois de Paris}, Vol. III. 

\textsuperscript{72} Johnson, \textit{Backstage at the Revolution}, 46–47. 


The vocal revolution that took place during the 1830s advanced the Opéra’s status in the world as a venue for singing rather than as a socio-political hub of spectacles, intrigues, card-playing, gambling, ballet dancers, and novel machinery and scenery. Subscriptions from the aristocracy (royal and imperial) usually went to the Théâtre-Italien where the singing was superior. See the summary of Huebner’s study in Figure 2.6. Barbier asserts that ‘the aristocracy felt distinctly uncomfortable at the Opera after 1830’ especially after the divisions between the Orléanists and Bourbons. Théâtre-Italien remained their preferred venue, attracting 34.4% of the subscriptions up until 1851 (larger than the Opéra in 1833–34 and 1866–67), while proprietors, diplomats, and bankers progressively made the Opéra their preferred venue. Croston confirms Huebner, writing that ‘while the older aristocracy took its patronage to the Théâtre-Italien; the bourgeoisie stormed the doors of the Académie Royale de Musique.’ By 1867, subscriptions from businesses, lawyers, doctors, and military officers had diminished as they rented opera boxes on a temporary basis and saved the most expensive seats according to their preferred operas. Meanwhile, the Jockey Club members gained control of the Opéra and most of Paris.

![Figure 2.6](image)

**Figure 2.6** The graph depicts a summary of Huebner’s occupational analysis (Table 1) of opera subscribers. According to Huebner, aristocrats (noble titles) preferred the Théâtre-Italien over the Paris Opéra, followed by the Opéra-Comique from 1834 to 1867.

After the 1851 coup, it was business as usual for the Opéra and Paris’s eight official theatres. Napoleon’s influence as President and then as Emperor brought new opportunities for all as he

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personally endorsed organisations staging large concerts involving all genres of music and state music institutions as discussed in chapter 4. The 1870 Franco-Prussian War, the 1871 Commune uprising, and the Third Republic under President Adolph Thiers almost destroyed the livelihoods of the Opéra artists, Conservatoire professors, theatre artists, and musicians of the Church and National Guard, leaving them stranded until the Palais Garnier opera theatre opened in 1875. The outset of war brought challenges to the provisional Third Republic that washed its hands of music when it closed the Opéra and Conservatoire in September 1871 upon Napoleon III's capture. Meanwhile, the Opéra Director, Émile Perrin, successfully petitioned the state to establish Société des Artistes de l'Opéra with himself as president heading a committee of nine that included George Hainl (‘chef d'orchestre’), Leo Delibes (‘chef du choeurs’), Villaret (‘sujet au chant’), and Leroy (‘secrète’) to ‘bring in money for the personnel’ of the opera.79

The handwritten entries in Journal de la régie (Régie Général) from 6 November 1870 until 12 March 1871, show that Société des Artistes de l'Opéra had staged nineteen concerts in Paris featuring operas or excerpts primarily from Donizetti’s La Favorite, Meyerbeer’s Le Prophète, Mozart’s Don Juan (Don Giovanni), Meyerbeer’s Les Huguenots, and Gounod’s Faust. Their ventures brought revenue to composers in absentia and sustained the Opéra artists (the remaining singers, ballet dancers, and orchestral players in Paris) after grossing 7,960 francs in January 1871, 9,739 in February, and plummeting to zero after 18 March until June 1871 when the Communards controlled Paris. The enterprise—run by artists for artists—revisited the concepts fought for, but lost, during the First Republic, and proved financially successful until the Communards took control of Paris and Émile Perrin refused to co-operate with them. Perceiving him as ‘hostile to the interest of the arts and artists’ and thus to them, the Communards nominated their own committee and director, they staged concerts at Napoleon’s Tuileries Salon and other venue, and then attempted to take over the Opéra artists in May—suddenly interrupted by the return of the republican troops on 22 May 1871.80

The Commune’s daily records in the Journal de régie from March to May 1871 concerning the elected eighty–strong Commune of ‘workmen, journalists, lawyers, doctors’ and musicians from the theatres in Paris demonstrate the repeated absenteeism of the Opéra artists. They resisted the Communards attempts to stage concerts involving them to generate income for victims of

79 See the combined Opéra and Commune ledger, Journal de la régie (1 Jan–31 Dec 1871), accessed via Archives de l’Opéra, or BNF, Gallica at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530324635/f15.item (accessed 20 June 2016) or see Bibliothèque-musée de l’Opéra RE: 23 (928), Régie, Journal de régie [Première série], 1 Janvier 1871 and 12 Mai 1871. The journal comprises handwritten minutes of meetings of Société des Artistes de l’Opéra from January to March 1871.

80 See Mordey, “Moments musicaux high culture in the Paris Commune,” 19.
war and resident musicians.\textsuperscript{81} Perrin’s letter, 29 April 1871, shows that the newly appointed Secretary General and Prefecture of Police, Renard, had ordered Société des Artistes de l’Opéra to perform concerts for the Commune as of 1 May 1871. The minutes from 1 May 1871 lists the Opéra principals, chorus, and orchestral members present or absent when Perrin resigned his directorship. There were 66 ‘Artistes des Choeurs présents à la Séance,’ 21 ‘Artistes des Choeurs absents,’ plus 18 orchestral players present and 40 who had left Paris.\textsuperscript{82} A new Commune orchestra formed on 8 May 1871 under Eugene Garnier, as the director on 10 May sharing the post with soprano-composer, Delphine Ugalde, from the Opéra-Comique. This was the first time in history a woman occupied the position of Director, albeit an illegal one.

They oversaw and performed in concerts raising considerable remunerations with the willing choristers, dancers, and orchestra players from the Conservatoire, music-theatres, churches, Mobile Guard, and National Guard. At the meeting on 12 May 1871, Director Garnier announced that ‘all the artists and employees of the Opéra were exempt from serving in the [Commune’s] National Guard’ even though they had shown disloyalty to the new regime.\textsuperscript{83} Upon President Thiers returning to Paris, the Commune sacked on 22 May, Perrin resumed his directorship, and by June, all artists had returned to Paris to perform in July under Halanzier’s baton. Until then, the Opéra artists—except for Villaret, Simon, and Arnaud—had remained uncooperative and unpaid.\textsuperscript{84} Meanwhile, the Paris Opéra courtyard served as a venue for thousands of Communard executions including several National Guard musicians. The events of 1871 augmented the acrimonious relationships between the musicians of the state music institutions of the Opéra with those of the Conservatoire and the theatres that took years to heal.

**State Monopoly over Violence at the Opéra**

The Paris Opéra singers did not escape the Reign of Terror as it spawned fear, suspicion, treachery, and conspiracies upon the King’s death in 1793. From 1789 until 1792, four distinguished sans-culottes—Henriot, Chaumette, Le Roux, and Hébert (plus Françoeur)—administered the Opéra as Directors, all of whom, according to Castil-Blaze, behaved abominably and were ‘very fond of moistening their throats’ with the Opéra’s reserves of alcohol while never

\textsuperscript{81} Journal de la régie lists orchestral artists believed to have left Paris. See J. B. Wright, “The Valiant Dead: William Morris and the Paris Commune of 1871,” *Journal of the William Morris Society* 13(2), (Spring 1999), 35.

\textsuperscript{82} See *Journal de la régie*, 1 Mai 1871.

\textsuperscript{83} See *Journal de la régie*, 12 Mai 1871.

\textsuperscript{84} See *Journal de la régie*, 29–30 Avril 1871 and 1 Mai 1871.
paying the bills. Meanwhile, many royalist musicians defiantly served prison sentences, walked the scaffold, or escaped France. As the Jacobins rose to power, the Opéra singers, orchestral players, and actors faced new financial hardships due to the exploitations of the new officials and most remained unpaid until the Directory in 1795, except perhaps for Lefèvre, Lainez, Lays, and Chéron who served on the Opéra’s Committee as Jacobin supporters. The Republic’s official newspaper, *Le Moniteur Universal*, advertised the daily reports of the *Tribunal Criminel Révolutionnaire* and theatre *Spectacles* (shown in Table 2.5) offering tantalising choices between public guillotinings, propaganda operas, and theatrical diversions. Those executed—accused as ‘ennemis du Peuple, en conspirant contre l’unité et l’indivisibilité de la République’ [the enemies of the people, who conspire against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic]—primarily consisted of wealthy landed nobles aged from between 19 and 80 whose estates and assets filled the state coffers, but also included musicians and five Opéra administrators.

[T]he position of singers and dancers was by no means a pleasant one under the Convention, and the tyranny of the republican chiefs was far more oppressive and of a more brutal kind, than any that had been exercised at the Académie in the days of the monarchy.

One Republican dramatist and a ‘distinguished member of the Mountain,’ Mr Léonard (Léopard) Bourdon, threatened to ‘have a guillotine erected on stage’ if the actors, singers and dancers did not work cooperatively with him to stage his macabre opera, *Tomb of the Impostors* (*Tombeau des Imposteurs*), at the Republic’s expense. Apparently, Robespierre also insisted on executing people in batches of twenty-two, so the often inebriated ‘ferocious’ Opéra administrator, Hébert (alias Père Duchesne), drafted and re-drafted a ‘sort of executioner’s memorandum’ ['Une liste de vingt-deux personnes de l’Opéra'] of twenty-two singers who he threatened to send to the guillotine if they misbehaved. Castil-Blaze comments, ‘Ce nombre 22, nombre fatal.’ Meanwhile, the Paris executioner, Charles-Henry Sanson de Longval (1739–1806), roamed threateningly about the Opéra enjoying his official status as an angel of death (see Figure 2.7 and Figure 2.8).

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85 Edwards, *History of the Opera*, 46. The Jacobins led by Robespierre, guillotined opera officials: Jacques-René Hébert (29 March 1794), François Hanriot (28 July 1794), and Pierre-Gaspard Chaumette (13 April 1794), and Jacques Le Roux (suicided before his trial before the Tribunal on 10 February 1794).

86 In 1798, one budget has Lay’s gross earnings as 16,200 francs, Chéron 19,900, Lainez 17,800, Gardel 27,130, and Vestris 18,545; another has him earning 12,000 francs in An VII–VIII (1798–99) with a 28,000 indemnity. Castil-Blaze discusses indemnities in *L’Académie impériale de musique; de 1645 à 1855*, 66.


Table 2.5 Extract from the Republic's Gazette Nationale or Le Moniteur Universal, No 277, 25 June 1794.
The Tribunal Criminel Révolutionnaire lists the daily trials and executions on the same page as the Spectacles listings of theatrical events for the night.90

LEFT: Auditorium Théâtre des Arts (1793–1797) became Théâtre de la République et des Arts (1797–1804), Académie Impériale de Musique (1804–1815), and Académie Royale de Musique (1815–1820). This site was the venue for the Reign of Terror, Hébert’s twenty-two artists threatened to guillotine, the executioner’s haunt, and two assassination attempts against Napoleon Bonaparte. The King dismantled the Opéra in 1821 after Duc de Berry’s assassination—for two years, artists were virtually homeless.91

RIGHT: Grand Salle, Académie Royale de Musique (1823–1850), built after Duc de Berry’s assassination, became Académie National de Musique (1850–1852), and Imperial Opéra (1852–1870). It was the venue for an assassination attempt against Napoleon III in January 1858 and execution of Communards in the rear-courtyard in May 1871. In 1873, it burnt down—for three years, artists were virtually homeless.92

Figure 2.7 Two views of the Paris Opéra stage and auditorium during the Reign of Terror and Restoration.

Figure 2.8 Two views of stage and auditorium Impérial Opéra (1864) and Théâtre National de l’Opéra (1880).

LEFT: 1864 stage view Académie Royale de Musique (1823–1851) and Imperial Opéra (1852–1870).93

RIGHT: Photograph of the interior of Palais Garnier, Théâtre National de l’Opéra, completed in 1875, as Haussmann’s realisation of Napoleon’s vision in 1865 for the world’s most opulent opera house.94


The Paris Opéra featured in another astonishing display of state violence against citizens in 1871 that included musicians who had cooperated with the Communards when the Third Republic quashed the Commune during the bloody week (semaine sanglante) of May 1871. According to Opéra archivist, Charles Nuitter, the return of President Thiers and his troops to Paris from Versailles brought a massive slaughter of Parisians in the streets, and two battalions occupied the rear courtyard of the Opéra, ushering the captured Communards either side. Those sent to the right ‘were locked in the Opéra’s cellars’ and ‘those to the left were shot against a wall at the back of the courtyard’ in a carnivalesque scene witnessed by military onlookers.95 They sat on the steps donned in operatic masks, skulls, and cloaks from Weber’s Der Freischütz (The Free Shooter) parodying the opera’s macabre Wolf’s Glen scene. Ironically, the opening music item for the Communard’s Répresentation Extraordinaire concert intended for 22 May, was to feature the overture from Der Freischütz with the reluctant Paris Opéra chorus members wearing those very costumes: ‘The rest of the story is all blood and horror.’96 Perhaps to eliminate the dark memories of the past, or as an act of vengeance, within two years of the Commune, the building burnt to the ground and the Opéra, acting in the capacity of a state department, moved to Palais Garnier in 1875. The Paris Conservatoire’s involvement with the Communards, not widely known, involves professors and artists abandoned by the state. Unlike the Paris Opéra artists, professors, students, staff, church musicians, and soldier-musicians did not earn income during the Franco-Prussian War, which tends to explain their cooperation with the Communards.


Sometimes closed or sometimes serving as a hospital for the wounded during revolutions, the Paris Conservatoire officially opened in 1795 under the Directory after the Thermidorean coup that ended the Jacobin’s Reign of Terror. It absorbed two traditional ancien régime vocal schools and the rational-legal military music school, l’École royale de chant and l’École ou Institut national de chant et de déclamation and then amalgamated with École Gratuite de la Garde Nationale (founded in 1792 by Sarrette) to become Institut National de Musique in 1793.98 To form the Paris Conservatoire, Bernard Sarrette had successfully read his Petition pour la creation d’un Institut national de Musique to the National Convention on 9 November 1793 (18 Brumaire, An II) by complying with the new utilité publique laws amending Chapelier’s Law, to establish the

96 See Journal de la régie, minutes dated 19 and 21 May 1871, and Latimer, France in the Nineteenth Century, 321 and Chapter XV–XVI, for a full description of events.
97 See Prod’homme, “Napoleon, Music and Musicians,” 591.
98 Regarding Sarrette’s National Guard Musicians the Convention suppressed in 1795, see Bellasis, Cherubini, 71–74.
institution under his directorship.\textsuperscript{99} The Directory endowed Sarrette's Conservatoire with an annual budget of 240,000 francs to train soldier-musicians for France's expanding army geared for war under General Napoleon.\textsuperscript{100} Almost immediately, the mandate disappeared due to the Directory's bureaucratic doublemindedness, revisited, and dismissed under succeeding regimes. The Conservatoire's erratic educational purposes and complex history, like the Opéra, saw it operate under name signifiers of royal, national, and imperial.

As a state-controlled institution, the Paris Conservatoire fulfilled Weber's criteria pertaining to state 'educational certificates or patents' acquired through formal training to enhance the status of individuals and to 'promote a guild-like closure of officialdom.'\textsuperscript{101} Primarily concerned with discussing legal education, Weber explains that, ideally, states determine the future of society and its culture through education via systems that require state appointments to senior teaching positions with an official 'character indelebilis' in preference to appointments by election or talent in order to limit party and status-group access to power.\textsuperscript{102} Under Napoleon Bonaparte's charismatic discretionary influence, the early years of the Conservatoire did not follow strict rational state protocols and brought opportunities to politically controversial musicians, many of whom had served jail sentences as royalists or as Jacobins. For Napoleon, talent and not title was the criterion for employment with the First Empire.

The Conservatoire's first five Inspectors of Instruction chosen, from Paris-based composer-organists, had abandoned the monarchy, aristocracy, and Church to serve the Republican and Jacobin states. Awarded salaries of 5,000 livres per annum, they oversaw the 'surveillance of all branches of instruction' and performances for the national festivals.\textsuperscript{103} The National Assembly decree passed in 1793 stated that the 'Conservatory shall furnish daily a body of musicians for

\textsuperscript{99} Sarrette's manuscript is located at Archives Nationales, F1007, No 1279. See Plan d'orientation général, Conservatoire national de musique [sous-série A]/37: Conservatoire national de musique at État général des fonds des Archives nationales (Paris), 2010, 1. at https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/rechercheconsultation (accessed 01 March 2016). Located at ANF.

\textsuperscript{100} See Decree Concerning the Organisation of Public Education (25 October 1795), Title IV, Articles 3 and 9, in Stewart, A Documentary Survey (No. 130), Title I–VI, 635–641. See Almanach du Commerce, 1797; ‘Associés de l'Institut,’ 233–247.

\textsuperscript{101} Weber, Economy and Society, 960 and 972.

\textsuperscript{102} Weber, Economy and Society, Chapter XI.

\textsuperscript{103} Stewart, A Documentary Survey, No. 128, Section 3–5, 623. The Decree explains functions, hierarchies, terms of employment, and salaries. Also, see Grandville, Le Dictionnaire, 37–38. Syndicat des Auteurs, Compositeurs, et Éditeurs de Musique reviewed composers demanding royalties for 'representations' (performances) of their music in public.
the service of the National Guard in the neighbourhood of the Legislative Body.'\textsuperscript{104} The proposed instruments for instruction consisted primarily of military brass, followed by the voice, organ, clavichord (piano), solfege, and composition.\textsuperscript{105} The second decree that immediately followed suppressed its military mandate under Article VI: ‘LOI portant suppression de la Musique de la Garde nationale parisienne, du 16 thermidor de la République française’ in favour of opera.\textsuperscript{106} Thus, Sarrette and the First Republic had instigated a new educational state program in music.

![Figure 2.9](image_url) "Regime budgets allocated for the Paris Conservatoire (1795–1860) according to Lassabathie." Budgets fluctuated with revolutions and regime associated with religious, military and opera requirements.\textsuperscript{107}

In 1798, the Conservatoire’s funding had dropped dramatically from 240,000 francs down to 75,568, which Napoleon remedied as First Consul with a one-off injection of 251,568, but then fell to 97,016 under the Empire down to 80,000 and up to 155,000 during the Restoration. By that point, military musicians received music instructions from within the army on location. Comparisons between the 1816 and 1830 budgets in Table 2.6 and Table 2.7 confirm pay cuts and pay discrepancies between professors depending on the instruments taught. Budgets remained deficient with only small spending increments after succeeding revolutions until Napoleon III injected 193,100 francs. Figure 2.9 shows the links between budget allocations, revolutions, and regimes.

The Paris Conservatoire blossomed under Napoleon Bonaparte’s charismatic rule and assimilated as professors, not only talented republican composers and performers, women, former Jacobins, and those the Jacobins had jailed as royalists—Pierre Garat (voice), Mme

\textsuperscript{104} Stewart, \textit{A Documentary Survey}, No. 128, Section 15, 623.

\textsuperscript{105} See Lassabathie, \textit{Histoire du Conservatoire}, 465.

\textsuperscript{106} Article XV, Decree, 3 August 1795, states ‘Le Conservatoire fournit tous les jours un Corps de Musiciens pour le service de la Garde nationale, près le Corps législatif.’ See Lassabathie, \textit{Histoire du Conservatoire}, 465–466.

\textsuperscript{107} Data formatted from Lassabathie, \textit{Histoire du Conservatoire}, 563–564.
Hélène Montgeroult (piano), and Comtesse de Charnay (repetiteur). Sarrette appointed Montgeroult, composer and distinguished keyboard virtuoso, as one of the first piano professors at the Conservatoire (October 1796 to January 1798) after saving her from the guillotine by paying her prison confinement debts. Upon Lays’ exit from the Conservatoire to return singing for the Opéra—forgiven for his Jacobin past—Sarrette appointed Napoleon's favourite tenor, Garat, as the professor of 'la classe de chant mixte' in 1799 believing that Garat’s celebrity and family’s eminent name lent status to the Conservatoire. His excellence as a teacher and shaper of a generation of singers was ‘proved by the list of his successes.’ Sarrette then extended the Conservatoire's international reputation via a network of ‘Correspondants étrangers’ to include Haydn (Vienna), Paisiello (Naples), Salieri (Vienna), Winter (Munich), Zingarelli (Rome), and Crescentini (Paris) as an enterprise unique to the First Empire. Napoleon also took a personal interest in the school and Musique de la Garde Impériale arranging for Kreutzer to furnish the Conservatoire's library with ancient manuscripts and copies of scores secured from the Italian campaign and raising the status and pay of soldier-musicians. In 1812, he approved an extra 600,000 francs for the library, a commitment the Restoration rescinded.

The charismatically endorsed Sarrette (not the state) was responsible for revolutionising singing in France by appointing Italian-trained singers as Conservatoire voice professors in preference to French declamatory voice coaches. He first appointed Bernard Mengozzi from Florence (from 1795 to 1799), followed by Napoleon's favourites Branchu, Blangini, and Garat. Prior to this, the Conservatoire Inspectors advocated Lully's declamatory barking style developed as an extension of ancient Greek art of oration (the French preferring text over music) taught at l'École royale de Chant et de Déclamation that lingered as chant déclamation and déclamation lyrique until the turn of the century. Under Sarrette, professors instructed Classes de Chant while older French professors continued with Classes de déclamation lyrique. This voice production did not attract audiences to the Opéra for its singing. By 1830, Garat and those of his ilk had corrected France’s

108 Prisoners unable to pay confinement fees faced certain death.
110 Grandville, Tableaux, 28. Two of Garat’s pupils were Louis Nourrit, father of the great Adolphe Nourrit, and acclaimed soprano, Caroline Branchu, who sang at Napoleon’s coronation in 1804. See Bernard Miall, Pierre Garat Singer and Exquisite (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913), Chapters VIII and IX, and 17 and 262.
111 ‘La Restauration ne permit pas de mettre ce projet à execution.’ See Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire, 41.
112 They taught le chant déclamation et la déclamation hommes et femmes: declamatory singing for men and women. On 14 October 1808, under Napoleon's Règlement, the Conservatoire divided into two vocal schools of École de Musique and École de Déclamation. See Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire, 263–281.
vocal aberration. The *declamatory* style ceased with the retirements of professors Simon Lasuze, Jean Baptiste Dugazon, Louis Joseph Guichard, François Lays, and Pierre Lafon.

The Restoration orientated the Conservatoire towards becoming a civil institution in distancing itself from its military past and from Napoleon, dislodging Sarrette as director and appointing a *Comité d'Administration* to oversee developments from January 1815 until April 1815. Upon Napoleon’s demise after his 100-days, it appointed a second committee, restored ‘Inspecteurs de l’Enseignement,’ demoted the reinstated Sarrette, and replaced him with the Paris Opéra chorus tenor, François-Louis Perne (1722–1832) on a reduced salary. On 1 April 1816, the King’s ordinance cut the Conservatoire staff by 12 professors: 29 dismissed and 17 newly appointed on reduced salaries. Cherubini’s appointment on 1 April 1822 as Director of the decayed *École Royal Musique et de Déclamation* followed Perne’s anxious departure after resigning in despair due to years of neglect. In 1816, Cherubini’s salary as composition professor was 3,000 francs while Perne’s, as Director, was a mere 2,000. Marquis de Lauriston, Minister of the Royal Household, appointed Director Cherubini on an excellent salary that increased to 8,000 by 1830; verified in the budget extract in Table 2.7. Napoleon’s defeat brought hardship to musicians as the Restoration dismantled his institutions and refused to honour the imperial pensions.

Delineating the revised Conservatoire salaries, after dismissing the National Guard and its soldier-musicians from France’s civilian police force [‘une force de police exclusivement civile et communale’] in 1827, the Restoration brought further unemployment for specialist musicians and the National Guard. The revolution of 1830 did not bring positive changes for the military or church musicians due to the Conservatoire’s departure from its original mandates. It preferred, instead, to train civilian musicians so that it developed into a prestigious bourgeoisie international music school servicing the Opéra and international artists and supplying musicians to America and Europe. The July Monarchy removed the religious arm of the Conservatoire to secularise the institution as it separated *l’École de Chant et de Déclamation* and temporarily annexed *la Musique de la Garde nationale* to the main school. Its cost-cutting measures in 1831 subsidised the extra staff appointed to train singers for the Opéra and the Théâtre (Royal)-Italien newly attached to the Opéra. Despite Louis-Philippe’s closing of his *Royal Chapel*, dismissing *staff* musicians on reduced pensions, and compelling Alexandre-Etienne Choron’s *Institution royal de musique religieuse* to close, enrolments at the Paris Conservatoire increased from 289 in 1831 to 580 in 1848.

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114 Bellasis, *Cherubini*, 250–251, and see chapter 3 of this thesis for details on status and salaries.


exemplified in Sarrette, répétiteur Auguste Mathurin Seuriot, and republican professors of voice, Manuel Garcia and Gilbert-Louis Duprez, and directly related to politics. The 1848 revolution and the 1851 coup brought a temporary reintroduction of military music to the Conservatoire that incorporated Adolph Sax's instruments and an increased support for those professors who interacted with the Emperor through their membership of l'Association.

Table 2.6 The Paris Conservatoire budget extract shows salary hierarchies in 1816.
The 1816 Restoration Budget of 80,000 francs shows Inspector General Perne receiving 2,000 francs, Cherubini and Méhul, as composition professors, 3,000 each, Garat, as voice professor, 2,500, with others on 2,000, 1,500, 1,000, and down to 300 for Halevy.\textsuperscript{117}

\textsuperscript{117}See 1816: AJ/37/12-13, Budget, 1 and see Budget 1822-1924 (ANF).
Table 2.7  The Paris Conservatoire budget extract shows salary hierarchies in 1831.
The 1831 July Monarchy Budget of 129,000 francs shows Cherubini as Director earning 8,000 plus a 1,000 bonus, with principal vocal, acting, and instrument professors on 2,000: a generic increase of 500 francs (33.33 per annum) over fifteen years. Halevy’s salary increased to 1,600.118

In 1870, there remained a ‘strong feeling that the Great Revolution of 1789 had been left incomplete—only the bourgeoisie had really benefited from it.’119 Thus, during the Franco-Prussian war and Commune uprising in March to May 1871 the Conservatoire and Opéra musicians experienced different fates as they undertook opposing roles in order to survive. President Thiers had suspended the Conservatoire’s music classes on 25 October 1870, and the

118 See 1831: Aj/37/12, Budget, 2 at ANF.

119 See Wright, “The Valiant Dead,” 34.
building served as a hospital while the Opéra building served as a munitions storehouse. Details about how the Conservatoire professors and music staff survived from 1870 until late 1871 are vague, apparently excluded from performing with the Paris Opéra artists who created their own enterprise, Société des Artistes de l’Opéra. The Communard siege ensued when President Thiers dismissed and then refused to pay the Paris National (formerly Imperial) Guard and its musicians as of 1 April 1871. Within the week, the Conservatoire professors, teachers, students, former students, National Guard musicians, and theatre performers formed the Commission Musicale under the banner of République Français to oversee the newly created military bands and orchestras staging concerts throughout Paris with young pianist, Raoul Pugno (1852–1914) at the head. The short-lived enterprise provided income for the state-abandoned musicians for two months who saw their appointed Conservatoire Director, Salvador Daniel, executed and then left on the street with thousands of corpses, including musicians—his name omitted from official records as discussed chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis. The Third Republic’s treatment of musicians was contemptuous and insulting. Only the Paris Opéra performers regained status with the opening of the Palais Garnier in 1875.

**Status-Groups: Salons, Critics, and Clubs**

Weber’s concepts of social stratification and status-groups operating outside the market, explain the dark side of the socio-political forces operating in revolutionary Paris and resulting regimes that determined which music genres featured at which venues, who attended, and who performed. While semi-formal social clubs and semi-professional bodies are not political parties as such, they often behave like political status-groups in wielding as much power as, for example, the Jacobin Club did in eradicating the Girondins from parliament in 1792. Weber affirms that self-interested individuals and parties ‘enjoying the same degree of honour or other ascriptive characteristics who usually form “status-groups”’ or ‘collectives assigned particular rights, duties and ranks’ generally liaise with state officials, diplomats and the élite in influencing culture through education and the echelons of society. The collaborative efforts of groups, as custodians of honour for investments for future gain or future honours, enforce their dominion over others by coercion often to perpetuate an ideology and power to facilitate stratification by wealth via social, economic, political, and professional exclusion. This statement describes those discussed below whose agendas gratified self-advancement. The three examples of status-groups in Paris—salons, music critics, and le Jockey-Club de Paris—discussed in this chapter operated within the bounds of Weber’s delineations by influencing the fates and fortunes of musicians. Not to forget that music genres and musicians were subject to hierarchical status stratifications and according to authority-types, genres, instruments played, and various irrational metaphysical and rational functional criteria.

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120 Bossenga, “Status, Corps, and Monarchy: Roots of Modern Citizenship in the Old Regime,” 133.
Weber asserts that social and status-group stratification is inherent in society, which, according to Rousseau may arise through natural and unnatural causes dependent upon convention or consensus often 'to the prejudice of others.' Status-groups tend to hinder talent differently under different authority-types and are often more oppressive than regimes or markets in their 'despotic hegemony' by resorting to covert menacing closures against 'targets' of their censure—an aberration that Liszt criticised in his six published articles in 1835. Disempowered individuals and weak status-groups usually submit to strong status-groups because there are no alternatives or the 'system of domination' is 'completely protected by an obvious community of interests' whose 'monopolies provide the most effective motives for the exclusiveness of a status-group.' Stratification perpetuates through the co-operation of those of similar honour and wealth-rankings with access to the same advantages predetermining the ability of others to acquire access to these by exclusion. Status-exclusion was rife in the salons of eighteenth-century Paris whose coveted membership validated one. The Revolution changed this forever.

**Salons as Socio-political Filters**

Traditionally feminine domains, the salons of Paris functioned as socio-economic filters with 'modalities of élite recruitment and strategies of social advancement' by closing ranks against outsiders. Status signifiers—honours, titles, etiquette, speech, jewellery, dress, fashion, shoes, signals, and handshakes—silently excluded the less fortunate and talented artists in Paris from the wealth privileges of salons. Weber observes that social and wealth domination 'creates prestige, corresponding to the position in society of the one who "keeps an open house" or the lady who has her "salon"' and who maintains status deprivations through the 'salon des refuse.' Salon-giving required considerable wealth to pay for the food, alcohol, flowers, cooks, valets, décor, and servants for the carefully screened guests and artists or dancers who provided the amusing entertainment. The implications following the 1789 Revolution for the élite meant that 'noblewomen, too, shunned the pre-revolutionary world of the salon' due to the new social ambiguities that arose in the newly created male-dominated political society of the Republic that created status levelling laws of citizenship and military service under the capitalist ideals of the

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121 See Weber, *Economy and Society*, 933–938 and see Chapter IX that defines *stand* as one's status within a group. See Rousseau, *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of Inequality among Mankind*, 1755.


125 See Weber, *Economy and Society*, 945 and LX.
Republic. Until then, music tended to serve the secondary pleasures of aristocratic salon-patrons who favoured art, philosophy, and literature over music in settings where ‘one learned conventions, discerned who was in favour and why, discovered whom to please, whom to avoid, and whom to insult.’ Salons excluded or conditionally included select musicians permitted to perform those musical practices acceptable to status-groups of opera or virtuoso playing.

The salon was said to have been a casualty of a vulgar age, of cultural decadence, social equality, coarse manners, newspapers, cercles, socialism, materialism, bad art, and the denigration of nobility in general . . . extended to include Jacobins, republicans, misogynists, and contemptable feminists.

Status-group domination, as opposed to power dominion ‘identical with the authoritarian power of command’ of states, required the obedience of its members through customs, rituals, and codes of conduct. For musicians to understand reciprocated and non-reciprocated domination relationships in Paris, one crucial question required answering: ‘Is he, within his vocational jurisdiction, a ruler, or is he the ruled, and if so, by whom?’ Answers elicited the complex power relationships between the status of vocations with the ranks of status-groups, and the ranks of individuals within status-groups, and their relationships with other status-groups, state officials, and authorities, so aptly expressed in Fararo’s formula $s(\alpha) = v(c(\alpha))$.

Patrons of the private and politically powerful ancien régime salons before 1789 delegated its guests to maintain ‘closed’ social relationships against outsiders through their shared sense of ‘mutual responsibility’, ‘entitlement’, ‘dignity’, ‘privilege’ and ‘power’ in generating closures or status disqualifications against those earning income from ‘physical labour’, ‘economic pursuit,’ and ‘entrepreneurial activity.’ The socially and politically powerful, not necessarily musically knowledgeable or respectful, ‘relied upon knowing that those groups who set taste could be easily spotted in their accustomed places’ of the Paris Opéra at the great forums of the élite

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127 See Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, 33–34. Eighteenth-century society consulted with Saint-Simon, Antoine de Courtin, and Lecerf de la Vieville for concerning breeding, fashion, behaviour, respect and etiquette, while Rousseau complained that in polite society, the ‘favoured groups rode roughshod over individual taste.’

128 See Kale, *French Salons*, 165. Cercles is a French administrative district that functioned like a Commune.


cultural celebrations. Before 1789, hierarchies were discernable from the Opéra boxes owned, hired, or frequented that functioned as a ‘public setting for private salons’ as, no one attended the opera for its singing. French singers were not highly regarded. The turning point for secular musicians and their relationships with salons in Paris began on the night of 13 July 1789. The socio-economic status for musicians then transferred from a dependency on royal patron salons to political party salons.

The exodus of royalty from Paris initially halted salon music activity, and especially the exclusive and prestigious salons engrossed in the Enlightenment principles. By 1792, a new type of socio-political salon began to emerge that facilitated the struggle for power in status-group rivalries between two republican political factions, with lethal consequences for the misaligned. From September 1792 to May 1793, the Girondins, who sat ‘on the Right of the Convention’ in parliament who opposed the Jacobins (led by Robespierre) who sat on the mountain ‘high’ on the left, lobbied for the control of the Paris Commune’s dangerous elements. At this point, Madame Roland’s salon functioned as the Girondin intellectual headquarters at Hotel Britannique in Paris where Danton frequented and the great Garat often sang. As rival political parties locked in power struggles, both the Girondins and the Jacobins (‘An Assembly of cowards’ according to Mme. Roland whose husband, Jean-Marie, led the Girondins) frequented the preferred salons that signified their political allegiances. Musicians caught in the middle of the power struggle lost not only their income, but also, also, their lives. The Girondin salon suddenly closed when Mme. Roland (scholar, philosopher, writer, political lobbyist, and Jacobin-turned-Girondist), falsely accused of treason, was arrested on 1 June 1793 and accompanied by ‘twenty-nine Girondin deputies, and two ministers,’ walked the scaffold on 9 November 1793—a spectacle advertised in Le Moniteur Universal, 10 November 1793. Madame de Beauharnais’s Jacobin salon, where Garat often performed until his imprisonment as an accused royaliste, remained active during the Terror attracting Jacobin guests, but closed in 1794 upon her husband’s execution. Notably, Madame de Fontenay’s long-surviving salon, ‘the rage of the Marais society and Jacobins,’ survived political terror to metamorphose under the First Empire

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132 See Johnson, Listening in Paris, 34.
133 See Johnson, Listening in Paris, 26.
134 Tunley, Salons, Singers, and Songs, 6.
135 See Stewart, A Documentary Survey, who explains the first phase of the National Convention (20 September 1792–2 June 1793), Chapter 5, and particularly 377.
136 Miall, Pierre Garat, 148 and 333.
137 See Mémoires de Madame Roland (1795) published as Madame Roland, The Private Memoires of Madame Roland, edited by Edward Gilpin Johnson (A.C. McClurg and Co., 1900); full name Madame Marie-Jeanne Philpnon Roland.
and the Restoration.\textsuperscript{138} The infamous Madame Therese Tallien (1773–1835), formerly Madame de Fontenay, well known to Napoleon along with her personal vocal coach who survived the Jacobins, Francois-Joseph Talma, reopened her salon as the Countess Caraman.

During 1793, Robespierre, like many other Jacobins, frequented Madame de Saint-Amaranthe’s salon where Mlle Buret and Garat often sang for the predominantly male guests, many of whom were Garat’s ‘friends and countrymen, the Girondists.’\textsuperscript{139} Allegedly, one night, ‘flush with drink and victory,’ Robespierre confided to the dinner-party guests and the Host of his plan ‘to sicken France of liberty by drenching her with blood.’\textsuperscript{140} The Opéra-Comique tenor, Antoine Trial, warned Robespierre of the indiscretion and the following day Robespierre arranged for all of those present (except for Trial) to be executed, accused of ‘attempting to poison the “saviour of France.”’\textsuperscript{141} One year after Robespierre’s execution, Trial—dubbed Robespierre’s creature—whose accusations against Mlle Buret of Comédie-Italien led to her execution, poisoned himself after his terrifying encounter with hostile vengeful audiences at the Opéra who threatened, hissed, and booed him off stage.\textsuperscript{142} The Jacobins defeated, the incoming Directory deterred all salon activities in Paris, and the short-lived Pantheon Club, founded on 16 November 1795 that attracted royalists, former Hébertists, neo-Jacobins, and political idealists in a backlash against the Terror, closed due to the Directory’s perception of its threatening nature.

As First Consul, General Napoleon created the most élite politicised salon in Paris based on Italian culture and Italian singing which began with his small family salon at Saint-Cloud and then extended to Malmaison with its ever-expanding numbers of choirs, orchestras, and opera singers. By 1814, his personal orchestra had almost doubled in size to 99 along with its budget from 90,000 to 154,000 francs.\textsuperscript{143} With the sanctioned return of the ancien regime émigrés to France, the old ‘fashionable’ salons re-emerged with Madams Regnaud de Saint-Jean d’Angely, Cambacérès, Marat, Jaubert, Récamier, and the Duchess d’Abrantes who dominated Paris teeming with revived sociable culture. French singers, composers, and instrumentalists out of favour with Napoleon struggled for recognition and employment outside of the state-controlled institutions and theatres. After 1806, Madame Juno’s salon became Garat’s new haunt and where he débuted his star pupil, Louis Nourrit, the father of the famous Paris Opéra tenor, Adolph


\textsuperscript{139} Miall, \textit{Pierre Garat}, 159.

\textsuperscript{140} Miall, \textit{Pierre Garat}, 161.


\textsuperscript{142} Miall, \textit{Pierre Garat}, 178.

\textsuperscript{143} See Prod’homme, “Napoleon, Music and Musicians,” 588–589.
Nourrit (1802–1839), who ‘utilised the lighter vocal production, typical of earlier Rossini tenors, combined with the nasal vocalisation of French singers of the early 1800’s.’144 Garat had always obeyed his uncle’s command ‘to sing for no hostess below a certain social standard’ in serving as a rare example of a musician lending status to a salon.145 During the mid-century, the ‘sociable salon overflowing with warmth and high spirits’ began to accept extraordinarily gifted commoners who, nevertheless, often came from propertied upper-middle classes.146 Napoleon’s defeat decreased opportunities for imperialist musicians replaced by royal favourites after 1815.

‘Clubs were rare during the Restoration,’ so ancien regime salon culture re-emerged along with the restored socio-political, ideological, economic, and pseudo old-world venues facilitating secret fraternisations with courtesans or playing cards.147 Once again salons served important roles in ‘the politicisation of high society’ reconciling old aristocracy to the state while refusing to recognise ‘dukes of the Imperial creation’ until ‘the July Revolution appreciably diminished the importance of salons’ as musician-styled salons came to the fore.148 Initially, after the 1830 Revolution, ‘music got off to a bad start under Louis-Philippe’ repeating the crisis for musicians forty years earlier under the Directory.149 Access to the Opéra boxes and thus to Paris’s privileged groups as in 1789, now legitimised one’s status to host one’s own salon by association by extending to artists a ‘rite of passage’ into society. For example, actor, Mlle Dervieux, and the opera dancer, Mlle Renard, set up their own salons, but assiduously screened guest artists to maintain their own status. Opera singers who performed at the salons of Duchess of Duras or Princess Bagration did so as inferiors despite their exceptional talent and ‘found it virtually impossible to be introduced into high society.’150 Even the celebrated Paris Opéra diva, Madame Malibran (Madame Viardot’s sister discussed in chapter six), lamented that performing at salons

144 Jason Christopher Vest, Adolphe Nourrit, Gilbert-Louis Duprez, and Transformations of Tenor Technique in the Early Nineteenth Century: Historical and Physiological Considerations (PhD dissertation, College of Fine Arts, University of Kentucky, 2009), Abstract.

145 See Miall, Pierre Garat, 265–266.

146 See Johnson, Listening in Paris, 16. For discussions about salons, see Tunley, Salons, Singers, and Songs and Music in the 19th-Century Parisian Salon. Tunley derives data from Marcel Proust, Œuvres complètes: les 40 titres et annexes (Nouvelle édition enrichie).

147 See Kale, French Salons, 198.


149 Tunley, Salons, Singers, and Songs, 2–6 passim.

made her feel like ‘the slave whom they pay to minister to their pleasures.’\textsuperscript{151} Musicians found it virtually impossible to improve their marriage opportunities or to extend any career prospects due to the social closures of the aristocratic salons.

The ‘war of salons’ erupted between the Legitimists and Orléanists under the July Monarchy as a reaction to the overthrow of the Restoration as a post-revolutionary Paris perpetuated a ‘bourgeoisie sociability that eroded the gender mixing of the old salon culture.’\textsuperscript{152} Matters exacerbated with the imprisonment of Duchesse de Berry—a division that affected musicians well into the 1870s. Only a few traditional salons reopened in 1831, such as Lafayette’s Orleanist salon at the Palais Royal, Madame de Rumford’s salon for concerts or grand soirées, the Érard salons, and the new-wealth salons that set the trends for hopeful musicians. According to Liszt, musicians remained excluded from patronage and privileges that would have helped them survive revolutions. The regal salons of Princess Belgiojoso, Delphine Gay, and Countess d’Agoult re-imposed old-world protocols that excluded talented performers, many of whom had joined the lower classes. After the reforms of 1833 and the cholera crisis, a romantic culture emerged as ‘part of the industry of musical Paris, [when] salons offered frequent employment—especially to singers.’\textsuperscript{153} Véron and Garat influenced the culture having promoted the new blend of \textit{verismo} and \textit{bel canto} singing techniques that brought success to French singers. Privileged exposure to society’s upper echelons met with scrutiny in order to maintain its untainted high social status.

Following the 1830 Revolution, Liszt gave private soirées at the illustrious salons of Duc d’Orléans, Duchesse de Berry, Madame Cresp-Bereytter, and George Sand (Baroness Aurore Dudevant). However, in 1835, he condemned the musical ‘dog trade’ in Paris and its salons ‘where the artist is held at a distance and excluded.’\textsuperscript{154} The revolution had not delivered on its promises and had failed to liberate musicians from a merciless Parisian society and its musical status-groups as the republican Liszt had hoped. He exclaims, ‘What wailing ignorance, what immature pretence, and intolerable mediocrity is heard in our salons, our conversations, and our journalism.’\textsuperscript{155} By the late 1830s, a new type of salon emerged in Madame Zimmermann’s bi-weekly gatherings and those of Mme la Comtesse de Merlin, M Frédérick Soulé, Mme Orr, and Mme Comtesse Grabowski who débuted German Lieder, French Art Songs, and Romances by international and local composers such as Gounod’s singing teacher Hippolyte Monpou (1804–

\textsuperscript{151} Tunley, \textit{Salons, Singers, and Songs}, 34–35.
\textsuperscript{153} Tunley, \textit{Salons, Singers, and Songs}, 42–43.
Another type of salon took on political causes such as the one as in Figure 2.10 depicting a republican salon in 1834 gathered in support of the freedom of the press with music taking a secondary role—musicians contained in the balcony away from the patrons.

Figure 2.10 Salons of Liberty: Soirée républicaine donnée dans les salons de la liberté de la presse (1834).

Slogans ‘Droits de l’Homme [The Rights of Man],’ the first line of the Marseilles, ‘Allons enfans de la Patrie,’ and ‘Liberty de la Press,’ allude to the First Republic. Under the July Monarchy, Republicans met in salons of liberty for support. This salon celebrates freedom of the press as musicians perform on the balcony above (Masonic?) handshakes of Spain, England, France, Germany, and Italy.¹⁵⁷

Functionalists argue that the 1848 Revolution destroyed the traditional salon culture and their social power, supposedly suppressed by the Second Republican state and new concerns over education, commerce, professionalism, and the press.¹⁵⁸ The male-dominated republican society initially discredited salons as displays of monarchist elitism until a new élite salon, known for its intellectual gatherings and musically gifted semi-aristocratic women arose in President Napoleon’s wife and Napoleon Bonaparte’s niece, Princess Mathilda Bonaparte. Calling upon the Conservatoire and the Opéra musicians, Princess Mathilda developed new talent in Paris and Russia in the same manner as the mezzo-soprano diva, Madame Viardot, and her salon did in advancing the careers of French performers and composers like Gounod, Saint-Saens, and Berlioz. Similarly, during the 1840s and 1850s Rossini, Madame Orfila, Princess Christina Belgiojoso, and Lionette Brothers and their music salons advanced the vocal works from European composers including the Russians. Of the four salon districts in Paris of Saint-Germain,

¹⁵⁶ See Tunley, Salons, Singers, and Songs, 73. The thesis uses the original German spelling of Zimmermann.

¹⁵⁷ Grandville Engraving at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b54001225.m.r=Grandville (Accessed 1 Feb 2016).

¹⁵⁸ See Kale, French Salons, 165, 174, chapters 5 and 6.
Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Marias, and Chaussée d'Atin, the latter became the residence for republicans such as Georges Sand, bankers, politicians, artists, sculptors, and romantic musicians, Duprez, Halévy, Chopin, Liszt, Berlioz, Gounod, and Viardot.

Following the 1851 coup, Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie established their personal high-status salon at the Tuileries as the one of most influential status-group in France coupled with the fashionable salon of Princess Pauline von Metternich. They promoted talent and politically aligned musicians in Gounod and Offenbach, supported Wagner and Smetana, and invited Abbé Liszt to their salon. Challenging the commercial salons of Salle Erard and Salle Pleyel, the private salons of de Tivoli, Mlle Joséphine Martin, and ‘Le salon privé de M. Auguste Wolff, l’un des successeurs de Pleyel’ (where Madame Viardot often sang), dominated the Paris scene under the Second Empire second only to the Tuileries. Opera salons returned to vogue along with private salons rivalling public concerts of the grand choral movement sweeping across Europe featuring opera singers, military bands, church musicians, orchestras, and amateur choirs. Republican musicians tolerated, but not supported, came to rely upon the market and private concerts if they did not gain access to the salons or employment at state music institutions. Liszt’s de-facto wife, Marie D’Agoult, a former salon celebrity of Paris aligned to the revolutionary poet, author, and historian, Alphonse de Lamartine, hosted her political salons at her residence near the Arc de Triomphe for those opposed to Louis-Napoleon, but faded from favour under imperialism. The struggling German composer, Offenbach, relied upon Gounod, l’Association, and regular appearances at Napoleon’s salon to establish support for his operettas and theatre, but found survival virtually impossible under the Third Republic. Gounod’s appearances at Napoleon’s salon fortified his status until he fled France, escaping imperial stigmas and scorn of critics upon his return to Paris in 1874. Napoleon’s death ended the prestigious and somewhat decadent era of salons as the Paris Opéra reasserted its cultural dominance as an international icon under the Third Republic eroded by capitalism as markets supplanted politicians, salons, and critics.

Music Critics as Rival Status-Groups
Weber warns of the inherent lack of consensus amongst experts engaged in criticism saying that ‘the laymen’s verdict is delivered as an irrational oracle without reasons given’ whereas the rational professional delivers his verdict with authority, but, in turn, receives criticism.

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160 See for example RGM, 1857, 83, also referred to as ‘les salons de Pleyel-Wolff.’

161 Weber, Economy and Society, 893.
Machiavelli also observes that ‘men are more ready to belittle than to praise . . . owing to the envy inherent in man’s nature.’ Arguably, the music profession is one of the most punitive. Not unlike those musicians who attracted harsh criticisms during the 1830s, Weber, a ‘sharp critic of human and institutional failures’ who ‘criticised the corporate failings of the professorial estate,’ attracted a posse of critics. His response to their invectives this was to withdraw from academia and complete Economy and Society, much like those talented musicians who retreated from Paris after their encounters with critics that blossomed due to the July Monarchy’s lax censorship that facilitated the rising power of the press and private publications. The 1830s was the golden age for critics in Paris.

Prior to 1789, Kings and members of the French Courts determined who was in favour and who was not, rewarding musicians accordingly. By 1792, the editors and owners of the Republic’s official paper, Gazette National (Le Moniteur Universal), swore oaths of allegiance and published state propaganda comprising lists of executions and lists of theatrical spectacles of the day with little thought of discussing musicians or the music canon. During the Consul and the First Empire, Journal des Débats, Le Moniteur, Gazette de France, and Journal de Paris entered into polite discussions over music, but whose authors remain anonymous. The Journal des Débats tended to attack institutions and men of the revolution while deferential to Napoleon, his music tastes, and choices of artists. One early specialist music journal, Tablettes de Polymnie 1810–1811—pre-empting Revue de Gazette Musicale—discussed the music canon, the quality of performers, and advertised concerts (‘Announces’) while offering friendly music reviews without derogation from such anonymous sources as L...D..., A.M., Z..., A...N... and Le Ch. F.

Until the 1830s, Paris-based musicians and composers usually functioned under the press-radar, guaranteed employment according to the success of an opera gauged via the Opéra’s receipts, the success of Conservatoire concerts, and favourable informal private or public scrutiny of them by salons, patrons, churches, the military, dignitaries, and regime officials. A new power relationship developed in the new discipline of critics that formalised opinion into authoritative fact using the press—opinion suddenly became fact through the press. Weber states that regarding a profession ‘what is decisive for [a] discipline is that the obedience of a plurality of men is rationally uniform.’ What resulted in Paris was a lack of rational uniformity among the experts due to irrational complexities of vanities, hostilities, status-determinants, vilifications, and commercial interests and also cabals of music critics engaged in rival status-group closures

162 Niccoló Machiavelli, The Discourses (1531), trans. L. J. Walker (London: Penguin Group, 1970), 97. These are Machiavelli’s opening words to his Preface to The Discourses, based on ten texts by Titus Livius.


164 Weber, Economy and Society, 1149.
against each other and their peers as they debated philosophy and ideas of genius, talent, and the merits of French, German, and Italian schools. While they endeavoured to define the music canon in Paris, their censures were ‘capable of degenerating into personal spite and polemic.’165 France remained considerably behind Vienna and Germany with respect to scholarly music reviews until the mid-1840s when Paris transformed ‘a discipline dominated by literary critics to one presided over by trained musicians.’166 Debates about genius (true and false) and romanticism triggered by philosophers, Michel-Paul Guy de Chabanon, Rousseau, and Comte, plagued the Paris-based critics influenced by German journalist-critics from Leipzig's Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung, and Schumann’s Neue Zeitschrift für Musik.167 Customarily, until the 1830s, ‘journalists retained an incredible anonymity through unsigned articles’ with respect to music. However, a new capitalist milieu developed after the 1830 Revolution that transformed the relationship between Banque de France—founded on 18 January 1800 over which Napoleon held tight control—and the new monarchist state, increasing private economic power over the economy. This development brought new bold enterprises into Paris along with diminishing respect for old values.

Critics emerged from the mire of journalism of Journal des Débats, Le Corsaire, Le Correspondant, Revue Européane, Le Temps, and Le Rénovateur pioneered through Belgian organist, critic extraordinaire, and philosopher of music history, Francois-Joseph Fétis. He was a known more for his critiques than his performances or compositions after moving to Paris to teach at the Paris Conservatoire in 1821. Prior to the revolution, he founded La Revue Musicale in February 1827 to lead debates about music and genius—dubbing Berlioz a ‘false genius’ labelling him with a stigma he found difficult to remove.168 After the revolution, the liberal July Monarchy permitted specialist music journals to continue with fewer restrictions—Le Ménestral, L’Artiste, Journal de Paris, plus Schlesinger’s Gazette Musicale and Fétis’s Revue Musicale that merged in 1864 to form the formidable La Revue et Gazette Musicale as judge, jury, and executioner of careers. The experts of this prestigious paper hotly debated music, texts, libretti, education, taste, singing, genres, form, Italian, German, Viennese and French schools, and music performed in Paris. The critic giants of Paris arose in Julien-Louis Geoffrey, Giuseppe Maria Cambini, Fétis, Castil-Blaze, Liszt, and Berlioz divided into factions ‘ready to storm the enemy camp.’169 Caustic

165 Ellis, Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France, 3.
166 Ellis, Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France, 8.
168 See F. J. Fétis, De Tout le Monde, exposé succinct de tout ce qui est nécessaire pour juger de cet art, 1830, title page.
169 Barbier, Opera in Paris, 209–222.
tongues and a merciless sharp wit of critics in the revised monarchist culture often compensated for a lack of musical knowledge that manifested in libellous interpretations of performances and compositions. In one case, a toxic publication led to a duel with pistols between Charles Maurice and the tenor, Lafont.\(^{170}\) As status-groups, critics influenced the Opéra, the Conservatoire, public taste, repertoire, and the happiness and fates of artists; especially those deemed as outsiders.

The upsurge of the private press in Paris meant that ‘commercial interest imperilled critical impartiality’ that undermined the integrity of status-groups that had held sway over targeted musicians.\(^{171}\) During the 1830s and 1840s, vitriolic press exchanges emerged between *Journal des Débats* and *Revue de Gazette Musicale* as Fétis, Berlioz, Liszt, and others (from spite?) pitted musician against musician, Liszt against Thalberg, and everyone against Wagner. The collusions affirm Weber’s point ‘that the laymen’s influence is inferior to that of the experts.’\(^{172}\) Eventually, critics became their own worst enemy as an increasingly informed public made their music choices without guidance. While critics sort to establish a science of music of eclecticism and the status of music as a profession by defining the instruments of destiny, they generally succumbed to commercial necessities of towing party lines, entering into hostilities, and building professional empires on the ruins of their dishonoured colleagues.\(^{173}\) Unlike the advisors of other vocations, critics eroded the status and dignity of their own profession and professionals in the public domain—Liszt concluded that they should take vows of silence.

By the late-1840s, a new marvel began to counter the influence of critic-closures in Paris due to the monarchy’s amendments to *public utility* laws and its introduction of music to school education programs in the mid-1830s that demystified a previously inaccessible culture. The school music programs, starting with *l’Orphéon*, initiated a mammoth choral movement uniting the amateur choirs of France (and Europe) and musicians of the church, National Guard, army, the Opéra, and Conservatoire to fulfil the philanthropic enterprises of *l’Association*. Most of Paris joined these organisations blessed by the Monarchy and Second Empire, struggled during the Second Republic due to the lingering fears related to republicanism. The increased public participation in choral concerts starring élite performers, composers, and conductors of the Paris Opéra and military rendered music critics virtually superfluous. After 1843, Schlesinger’s *La Revue et Gazette Musicale* then focused on the cultural and social merits of performances rather than undermining musicians as most of the critics, as musicians, had joined *l’Association*. Thus, critics under the Second Empire ceased to exert status-group power due to the

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\(^{170}\) Barbier, *Opera in Paris*, 212–14 and see the Conclusion for discussions about the Parisian press (1800–50).

\(^{171}\) Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France*, 46.


\(^{173}\) Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France*, Chapters 1 and 2.
philanthropic unity of the masses as new power over Paris-based musicians emerged in a cabal of wealthy squires diverting attention away from music and racehorses to the Opéra ballerinas.

**Le Jockey-Club de Paris challenges the Paris Opéra**

Another July Monarchy marvel arose following the 1830 Revolution with the founding of the horseracing club, *le Jockey-Club de Paris*, initially called *The Society for the Encouragement of the Improvement of Horse Breeding in France*, as the most élite Gentleman’s club in Paris. Based on English models dating from 1750, the Jockey Club initially gained support from the wealthy old and imperial aristocracies to flourish during the Second Empire with Napoleon’s sanction. It displaced the power of old aristocracy salons, royal officials, and salons with imperial-styled diplomats frequenting the grand bourgeoisie venues of the Grand Café and Hotel Scribe near the Opéra. As its name suggests, it owed its origins to horse racing in England and to Bonaparte’s interest in horses, expressed in his decree, 31 August 1805, commanding the establishment of seven horse-breeding centres throughout the Empire. Its Anglo-Gallic pseudo-sportifs transformed the club into the most prestigious male-dominated status-group in Paris with a penchant for opera ballerinas, whose spiteful members satirised and bedevilled targets of their choice. Customarily, Baron Charles de Chassiron (1818–1871) and Jockey Club members nightly haunted the Opéra’s ‘notorious foyer de la dance, where sexual assignations between dancers and privileged members of the audience were made.’

The Jockey Club maintained a somewhat unhealthy monopoly over the Opéra through the *loge infernale*, buying suspended mini-salon opera boxes and arranging for the Opéra’s compulsory opera ballets to appear after the first act to suit their dining habits. Seemingly, the ballerinas more than opera singers sustained the Paris Opéra—female singers reduced in numbers to compensate for the costs of extra ballerinas.

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In 1834, Lord Henry Seymour-Conway (the first Jockey Club president), Thomas Byron, Duc d’Orléans, Ferdinand d’Orléans, and Duc de Nemours organised France’s first *Prix du Jockey-Club* at the Chateaux de Chantilly—a Derby that continues today—with a gratuitous number of Paris-based musicians who performed in their *salon de musique*. Revolutions had little to do with a club that controlled the financial, social, political, and musical powerbases of Paris, except to

halt, temporarily, its gambling and other suspect activities. The 1848 Revolution, the 1870 war, the 1871 Commune, and Third Republic marginally diminished its superior status and international wealth-connections of high-ranking military commanders, old royalty, imperial aristocrats, and state officials. The Jockey Club acted in every way as a status-group with unbridled power.

Figure 2.11 Extract from *le Jockey-Club-de-Paris Almanach from 1859*.

Translation: 'Is it not today a learned body, a philanthropic society or even a political assembly that can flatter itself to occupy as much attention as the renowned sound of the reunion of the horsemen.

The Jockey Club has almost become a power of the State: it controls everything in the Courts, the Banks, the House of Peers, the House of Deputies, the press, all the boudoirs (bedrooms) of the capital, the diplomats, the offices of all departments, and the rats of l’Opéra.'

The Jockey Club members influenced the music repertoire performed not only at the Opéra, but also, also at the Théâtre-Lyrique, gleefully supporting Offenbach’s irreverent *Bouffes-Parisiens* until the Empire collapsed in 1870. Sarcastically, their 1859 Almanach boasts of its supreme power over all of Paris including the ‘rats’ of the Opéra shown in the Figure 2.11 extract. One military commander, an accomplished musician and composer, Napoléon Joseph Ney alias Prince de la Moskowa (a title created in 1813 by Napoleon I) ended his reign with the monarchy. The ancien revolutionary officer and French Senator, Compte Archille Delamare, served during the Second Republic, whereas Marquis de Saint Blanchard (le Comte de Biron) served during the

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175 'Le Jockey-Club est presque devenu un pouvoir dans l'État: il tient tout à la fois à la cour, à la banque, à la chambre des pairs, à la chambre des députés, à la presse, à tous les boudoirs de la capitale, à la diplomatie, aux bureaux de tous les ministères, et aux rats de l'Opéra.' See *le Jockey-Club de Paris Almanach 1859*, located at the BNF at http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32689529m (accessed 9 May 2016).
Second Empire. The Club’s Orléans property—confiscated during the Second Empire by the Coutts Bank—served as a lucrative private English clearing bank for Napoleon’s imperial nobility until 1870.\textsuperscript{176} Some Club members established philanthropic relationships with musicians owing to Moskowa’s influence (President from 1836 to 1849) who launched, with Adolph Adam, his own aristocratic choral society, Société des Concerts de musique religieuse et classique, later serving as an honorary l’Association committee member in 1850.\textsuperscript{177} In 1855, l’Association acknowledges Prince Joachim Murat donating 50 francs for ‘la fête de Sainte-Cécile’ along with dignitaries of the Empire, Armand de Gontaut-Biron (le Comte de Biron), and M. le baron Daru who appears in l’Association minutes in 1847 and 1860 to 1864.\textsuperscript{178} Under the Empire, philanthropic links with music through l’Association eroded the caustic effects of status-group closures against musicians. Nevertheless, given the club’s tremendous wealth, its support for musicians was tokenistic.

Two memorable examples of the Jockey Club’s power to dictate the survival of musicians in Paris during the Second Empire, exemplified by its treatment of Berlioz and Wagner, demonstrate how they targeted composers through ridicule and status-group closures. Their 1859 Almanach had lampooned Berlioz—still suffering from the great imperial snub from Napoleon III and his imperial ministers—by ridiculing him in several cartoons and by dubbing him ‘le cheval dilettante.’\textsuperscript{179} Regarding this type of insult, Weber argues that ‘many of very our best hypotheses and ideas are due to dilettantes’ (such as Einstein) who, because their methods differ from the acknowledged experts and due to their lack of firm or reliable work procedures, generally fail to establish peer recognition.\textsuperscript{180} This lacking applied to the Berlioz-Liszt-Wagner trinity who suffered due closures from salons, critics, and the Jockey Club. The second target of their censure was Wagner despite his association with Napoleon III through Princess Metternich who, like Berlioz, suffered due to pincer status-group closures from the close-knit Club members, music critics, antagonistic peers, the Opéra administrators, and the press. Invited to stage Tannhäuser


\textsuperscript{178} See l’Association, 1847, 34, and l’Association, 1856, 24.

\textsuperscript{179} See chapter 5 of this thesis.

\textsuperscript{180} Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, Gerth H. and Mills, C. Wright, editors and translators, New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, Chapter IV (Science as a Vocation),136.
at the Paris Opéra in March 1861 by order of Napoleon III, Wagner cut sections of the opera and composed the mandatory ballet scene, which he placed in Act I instead of the customary (compulsory) Act II. Old resentments against the German composer suddenly escalated in Paris. He entered into battle with the Jockey Club members, Paris officials, the Opéra cabals and newly appointed conductor, Dietsch, who obstructed his efforts to conduct the premiere.

Ultimately, arguments against Wagner lay in the opera’s structure. The ballet scene in Act I had not complied with the Jockey Club’s dinner arrangements that coincided with their ‘mingling’ with the Opéra’s ballerinas during the intermission. On 7 March 1861, in his unpublished letter to the Minister, Count Walewski, Wagner declared his withdrawal from the Tannhäuser rehearsals and intention to return to Germany. In the act of sabotage against Wagner and indirectly, Napoleon, during Tannhäuser’s premiere performance on 13 March 1861, key Jockey Club members trampled throughout the theatre making as much din as possible. On the following two nights, they blew whistles throughout the performances and forced the opera’s cancellation. Stung by his enemies, Wagner wrote to the Opéra director, Alphonse Royer, ‘you may regard me as if I were dead.’ Neither the Emperor nor Princess Metternich could protect Wagner from his enemies, who wrote to Royer on 25 March 1861:

Since the members of the Jockey Club [sic] do not wish to permit the public of Paris to hear my work performed on the stage of the Imperial Academy of music because of not seeing a ballet at the usual hour of their entrance into the theatre, I withdraw my score.

The result of this farce was that the Jockey Club had demonstrated its unbridled power over the Empire ans its most élite music institution, Paris-based musicians, music at large, and indirectly, Emperor Napoleon and his imperial state. During the 1870 war and the anti-imperialist anti-republican Commune uprising in 1871, the political turbulence meant that the Jockey Club ceased activities for a time. It resumed its Prix du Jockey-Club in late 1872, its power subdued under the Third Republic whose officials secured an uncontested dominion over the arts.

Conclusion

One key to survival for Paris-based musicians encountering revolutions relates to having the resources to endure a loss of employment in the crisis or having allies to assist in an escape.

181 Gounod placed his ballet in Act V for the revised version of Faust in 1869, but did not attract hostilities, although in May 1875, the Opéra would not permit him to conduct his own work for a gala concert at the new Palais Garnier.


183 Prod’homme, ‘Wagner and the Paris Opera, 227–228.

Another key arises from understanding the legal, political, social, and economic power contexts of bureaucracies, status-groups, stratifications, and the consequences of social actions. The thesis model founded on Weber’s theories (outlined in Figure 1.1), serves as a vital tool for analysing the multi-faceted aspects of coups and revolutions by categorising French regimes into Weber’s three authority-types: traditional monarchies, rational-legal republics, and charismatic empires whose institutions bore titles royal, national, and imperial. Weber outlines the various interrelated macro-to-micro mediating power connections between musicians, officials, status-groups, institutions, states, and authorities. Following the 1789 Revolution, radical republican laws established citizenship that changed France forever. It set new employment criteria that excluded talented musicians who did not swear the Civil Oath to the Republic and placed a wedge between French, German, and Italian musicians who had unlimited access to the churches and monarchies of Europe. The survival of regime-specific state-controlled music institutions and theatres ensured the economic survival of politically compliant musicians. The Opéra survived by servicing regime purposes, public utility criteria, and politicised propaganda music. The Conservatoire, originating under public utility laws and military mandates, transformed into a civil educational institute promoting talent after 1830. Politically compliant composers survived composing propaganda music, whereas performers and professors as staff forbidden from forming guilds, lost status and income under bureaucracy as Weber envisages. Until 1852, musicians lured into high-risk markets that offered high remunerations and celebrity, generally, lost status and social advancement with the state, status-groups, and the old aristocracy.

Conforming to Weber’s idea of charismatic authority, Napoleon Bonaparte transformed music in Paris via his anti-capitalist mixed administrative reforms, reintroducing sacred music, promoting military music, reinstating the Opéra’s monopoly, supporting the Conservatoire, and initiating state recognition of status for musicians. By closing the inferior theatres established under the First Republic, Napoleon delineated the criteria for quality music based on Italian models, recognising eight state-sanctioned music theatres, setting the legal and cultural templates for ensuing regimes as bureaucracy embedded into the fabric of Paris society. From Weber’s perspective, musicians survived best by adopting instrumentally rational action to counter status-group closures of salons, music critics, and le Jockey-Club de Paris, while nesting strategically in society, and attracting state honours. Political alliances, more than talent, determined one’s fate in revolution and post revolution in Paris. The next chapter introduces Weber’s stratification concepts, status rankings, and the rationalisation of Western music delineating survival prospects for musicians. Stratifications related to instruments played, status recognitions, and classifications of rational and irrational music genres—reflected in salary hierarchies—show that military and church musicians ranked as the lowest of the music professionals while they suffered extreme status diminution.
CHAPTER 3: Stratification by Genres and Instruments

Notwithstanding the new concepts of equality and citizenship in France under the republican laws after 1790, Paris-based musicians were not equal in status with each other, with state officials, or with other professionals. In the absence of high-status aristocratic and church patrons, musicians encountered a kind of Marxian division of labour in the chains of command of at the Paris Opéra and Paris Conservatoire that determined their survival for the following century. Composers and conductors claimed superior status and remunerations; critics the superior knowledge; and music administrators the superior power. Weber observes that ancient stratifications of status (Standerecht), music genres, instruments, and divisions between rational and irrational music determine the hierarchies of inequalities among musicians.¹ He implies that musicians as individuals, groups, institutions, or in large survival communities of churches and the military remain ranked automatically by genre and instrument thus inheriting a unique history, status, function, and stigma for better or for worse.² This chapter shows that the hierarchical structures of power, institutions, functions, genres, and technical divisions of labour in Paris predetermined their survival opportunities in revolutions and under new regimes.

...stratification by status goes hand in hand with a monopolisation of ideal and material goods or opportunities ... honorific preferences may consist of the privilege of wearing special costumes, of eating special dishes taboo to others, of carrying arms ... [or] to play certain musical instruments.³

Weber acknowledges the divide between the functionally rational strata of musicians serving state purposes with the irrational strata of charismatic virtuosic musicians servicing pleasure and markets. He examines the ‘correct’ role of music in society concerning music’s ‘ritual’ and ‘orgiastic’ qualities serving states, religions, wars, and the public, but not according to authorities.⁴ In determining whether the differing stratification of musicians under authorities predetermined their survival capacities during and after revolutions, the chapter examines Weber’s philosophical roots related to stratification while comparing pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary regime budgets, salary hierarchies, and pension allocations from the Paris Opéra, Paris Conservatoire, Parisian theatres, the military, and the Church. It determines whether authorities treated music genres and instruments with varying degrees of favouritism, indifference, or hostility, and then examines the fate of church and military musicians.

⁴ See Weber, Economy and Society, 539–540 and 554; Mysticism versus Asceticism
Weber claims that throughout history, the 'state and society have been greatly influenced by the struggle between military and temple nobility, between the royal and priestly following,' and thus their music.\(^5\) Authorities seek to dominate religious institutions driven by *raison d'église* and military institutions driven by *raison d'état (Rechtsstaat)*—a blend that Weber claims only Napoleon Bonaparte had ‘brilliantly formulated’ in combing all forces under his dominion.\(^6\) Ancient irrational mystical music as ‘a device for arousing ecstasy [*ekstasis*] or accompanying exorcism and apotropaic cultic actions’ declined in Europe with the rationalisation of a society driven by wars, Kings, and the Roman Christian communities who held ‘contempt for ecstatic procedures.’\(^7\) Of all genres, military music is the most rational because ‘in the army, training is directed toward combat,’ and as such, its music serves state purposes of war and military bands raise army morale for fighting and glorifying the nation.\(^8\) However, concerning the specialised functions of labour, Weber states that the most sophisticated synchronisation occurs in ‘the organisation of a symphony orchestra or the cast of a theatrical production’ with participants stratified by function, instrument, title, and talent.\(^9\) Predictably then, Paris-based musicians of the opera, theatre, military, and church experienced revolutions differently under authorities.

**Stratification: Philosophical Roots in Music**

In *Economy and Society*, Weber discusses music and stratifies musicians by adhering to ancient philosophical principles (laws) and concepts originating with Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, and Rousseau.\(^10\) Moreover, his comprehensive, but incomplete, analysis of music in his publication, *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*, refers to music systems of antiquity (Egypt, Arabia, Babylonia Asia, China, preliterate India, Middle East, Japan, and Indonesia) focused on Europe. By tracing the history of the general relationships between music and power, compared to their scope and degree of rationalisation, Weber seeks patterns in music that would be indicative of predictable behaviours related to music genres.\(^11\) He proves the mathematical, moral, and status

\(^5\) Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1160, Chapter VI, and particularly 601.

\(^6\) Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1160, Chapter VI, and particularly 601.


\(^8\) Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1414 and see chapter 4 of the thesis for comparative statistics.

\(^9\) Weber, *Economy and Society*, Chapter II, and particularly 120.


relationships between music scales (modes) and the rules of harmony derived from Pythagoras and Helmholtz that formed the basis of the rationalised Western music system ‘known only in the Occident.’\textsuperscript{12} He explains that states, churches, courts, politics, markets, and technology continually facilitated new rationalisations and stratifications of music in Europe. Before the great Revolution, the French Courts promoted the ascent of ballet and string music genres while the Italian Courts and Roman Catholic Church advanced vocal music genres. Lucrative rewards and celebrity went to performer-composers of irrational music genres that appealed to taste while status came to those who served the Church and State. In 1789, the Paris Opéra was the élite music venue in Europe although renowned for its woeful singing. As such, French opera singers had poor survival prospects until the Conservatoire professors, led by Garat, corrected the aberration by introducing Italian vocal principles to replace the French declamatory style.

Behind a mutation in the status of the musician, a rupture between two types of music . . . the musician, then, was from that day forward economically bound to a machine of power, political or commercial, which paid him a salary for creating what it needed to affirm its legitimacy.\textsuperscript{13}

Today, as then, Weber explains that we continue to view music and musicians based on principles originating from a philosophical lineage beginning with Plato who assigns musicians strict mandates of serving religions and states, advising that composers have the power to incite revolutions.\textsuperscript{14} Plato’s pupil, Aristotle, ranks mousikē, instruments, and music scales according to virtue, warning that ‘music is not merely a harmless amusement or a rational pastime; it is morally educative.’\textsuperscript{15} He asserts that the ‘professional musicians we speak of [are] vulgar people, and indeed, we think it not manly to perform music except when drunk or for fun.’\textsuperscript{16} Political theorist, Machiavelli, providing one precursor for Weber’s charismatic criteria, stratifies individuals by power and talent. ‘First, come the founders of religion; second, the founders of republics or kingdoms; third, the commanders of armies who create dominions; fourth, men of letters; and fifth, artists [musicians] who deserve some modicum of praise.’\textsuperscript{17} Accordingly, the

\textsuperscript{101–120.} Fend cautions the reader ‘against the very problematic character of that [Wierzbicki’s] article.’ Also, see editorial notes from Weber,\textit{ Essays in Sociology} (Introduction III), 51–52.


\textsuperscript{16} Aristotle,\textit{ Politics,} Book VIII, iv, 7.

\textsuperscript{17} Niccoló Machiavelli,\textit{ The Discourses} (1531), trans. L. J. Walker (London: Penguin Group, 1970), Book I, 10, passim.
power-merit hierarchy descends from those ruling in matters of God(s), to kingdoms, armies, education, down to culture, i.e., from Popes, to Kings, to Generals, to Professors, and to Geniuses (talent). The French Monarchy adhered to these principles. The First Republic substituted Popes, Kings, and Generals with the State. General Napoleon Bonaparte co-joined all three under his dominion as the King of Italy and Emperor of France with power over the Pope, as did his nephew, Napoleon III. Describing personal power relationships, Rousseau, who regards music and musicians with contempt, simplified inequality issues into natural and unnatural rankings—the latter determining the fate of the former—claiming that artists usually lower their genius by catering to popular tastes. In effect, all philosophers describe how power in society and state music institutions operate via stratifications and status-groups: music genres mirror regime-power. While events after 1789 brought new blends of rational and irrational genres, social strata, and status concepts, nevertheless, the old social and status stigmas remained—confirmed by budget allocations and salary hierarchies in music institutions in Paris discussed below.

**Stratification of Musicians: Instruments and Salaries**

Music genres symbolise the hierarchies of irrational and rational powers of the church, state, and society predetermining the status of professions and ‘the right to pursue certain non-professional dilettante artistic practices, e.g., to play certain instruments.’ Stratifications in Paris originated with society’s notions of superiority and power relationships in sophisticated settings involving Popes and Kings. Traditional status associations linked the sacred, choral, and organ genres with Popes; opera with Kings; string ensembles with Courts; and brass and percussion instruments with the military. In the 1600s, instrument rankings ‘determined by the social structure of France’ changed with the ascent of opera as new instruments employed in the orchestras broke the old social rankings built around the wind instruments. The highly trained Castrati-composers emerged with power and celebrity in the public domain that elevated the status of opera above all music genres. The French Courts elevated strings (particularly violins) ‘believed to be the most evolved of musical instruments’ above lutes, guitars, wood-winds and brass instruments. The First Republic bound music’s function to the state while offering remuneration linked to politically worthy talent. New rankings arose under succeeding regimes.

Old stratifications dating from before 1789 persisted in the salary hierarchies at the Paris Opéra and Paris Conservatoire during most of the 1800s, while technological advances after the 1820s emancipated charismatic talent from the restrictions of poor quality instruments that brought

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forth a new age of virtuosic talent and celebrity in performers such as Liszt and Paganini.\footnote{Weber, Die rationalen und soziologischen Grundlagen der Musik, 92.} With the explosion of the press and new censorship laws after 1830, music critics burst forth onto the music scene preoccupied with stratification and music's role in society when the piano came to epitomise Parisian middle-class culture. Prod'homme summarises the hierarchical categories of professional musicians into three: composers, interpreters (performers), and teachers (pedagogues and theoreticians). Conductors and critics gained dominion over all by the 1830s.\footnote{Prod'homme, “The Economic Status of Musicians,” 83–84. See Walter Salmen, ed., The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century, trans. Herbert Kaufman and Barbara Reisner (New York: Pendragon Press, 1971), 13 and 3 who categorises German musicians as ‘Fachmusiker (professional), Künstler (artists), and Liebhaber (music lovers or connoisseurs).’ Also, see Pasler, "The Utility of Musical Instruments," 24–76.} Addressing survival and status concerns for musicians as early as the 1780s, Grétry identified ‘the root of this inferiority not in philosophical classifications of knowledge, but in musicians’ economic practices’ in living ‘vicariously through their patrons [so they] remained impoverished as a professional class.’\footnote{Rebecca Dowd Geoffroy-Schwinden, Politics, the French Revolution, and Performance: Parisian Musicians as an Emergent Professional Class, 1749–1802 (PhD Dissertation, Duke University, 2015), 58–64, and 99–100.} This statement infers that the demise of \textit{ancien regime} patrons brought the demise of musicians’ status recognition, which this chapter supports in part. It views patron-dependency and patron-benevolence as types of charities that offer status and honour-dependency to musicians avoiding stigmatised entrepreneurial activities. After 1791, obstacles for royalist musicians upholding old-world principles arose through laws dismantling feudalism, promoting capitalism, and securing state-control of music institutions rendering them as waged staff. Weber explains that a ‘salary is not measured like a wage in terms of work done, but according to “status” that is, according to the kind of function (the “rank”).’\footnote{See Weber, Economy and Society, 963.} The laws that yoked musicians to citizenship, oath taking, and state-dependency did not discard the old hierarchies.

**Stratification: Salaries and Instruments**

Consistent with Weber’s status and instrument principles, the substantial remunerations offered to favoured musicians at the Paris Opéra under the King, Republic, Jacobins, and Directory suddenly reduced during the Consul. In 1799, the top-most salary of 8,000 francs belonged to three state-appointed administrators of the opera, followed by 6,000 each for six \textit{citizen} principal vocal artists (three men and women) and two masters of composition. Singers shared equal rank with the in-house composers of the ballet during the Consul that brought a 50% reduction in salaries offset by an equivalent pension allocation. Principal artists Chéron, Lays, Lainez, and Maillard—earning 12,000 livres under the Jacobins and Directory (see Figure 2.1)—
now earned 6,000 with 6,000 allocated towards retirement. Opera covers (Remplaçens) earned 4,500, and chorus members between 700 and 1,000. The head of the orchestra earned 3,000; soloists of the violin, oboe, clarinet, cornet or hunting horn, bassoon, and bass earned 1,800; ensemble flutes and winds (trumpets, trombones, and bassoons) earned 900–1,300; and percussionists earned 800–1,000. Orchestral players, stratified by instruments, received higher salaries than the opera chorus did. The Opéra and Conservatoire budgets from 1798 and 1816 shown in Table 3.1, Table 3.2, Table 3.3, Table 3.5, and Appendix 2, verify the uniform salary stratifications across institutions and regimes that predetermined survival prospects.

Table 3.1 The Paris Opéra budget (1798–99) lists musicians by instrument stratifications. (État des Appointemens: Du Théâtre de la République et des Arts, An VII)

The Opéra budget (1798–1799) under the Consul lists staff by function and stratifies salaries for musicians by status and function with the ‘Premiers Artistes’ of voice earning 6,000 francs shown in page 1 below. Expenditure on 415 staff totalled 765,250 yielding an average salary of 1,843.98.27

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26 AJ/13/1186, Administration générale de l’Opéra, Règlement du Théâtre de la République et des Arts (an VII), ANF.

27 AJ/13/1186, Administration générale de l’Opéra, ANF, and see Appendix 2 for a complete list.
Table 3.2 The Paris Conservatoire salary hierarchy (1816) listed by instruments (page 1).
The 1816 personalised budget of the Restoration lists names, instruments, and salaries, but not pensions. Inspector General Perne earned 2,000 francs; Cherubini and Méhul, as professors of composition, 3,000; Garat, as professor of voice (class du perfection), 2,000 plus a 500-franc gratification; professors of piano, 1,200; and Halévy and Zimmerman, as repetiteurs, 300, and 500.\(^\text{28}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Traitements</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.M. Perne</td>
<td>Instructeur spécial du class du perfection</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cherubini, Mélul</td>
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<td>3,000</td>
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<td>Alé</td>
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<td>Dausigne</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Garat</td>
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<td>2,000 plus 500 francs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carnot</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000 plus 500 francs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Béranger</td>
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<td>Martin</td>
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</table>

Table 3.3  The Paris Conservatoire salary hierarchy (1816) listed by instruments (page 2).
Professors of déclamation (Saint-Prix and Fleury) earned 2,000 francs; Professors of violin (Kreutzer and Baillot) and cello (Baudiot and Levasseur) earned 1,500 francs, Professors of winds, 1,200, and the librarian 2,000. An expenditure of 52,800 francs for 45 staff gives an average salary at the Paris Conservatoire of 1,173 francs per annum.29

In 1815, impoverished from wars and the punitive measures from Europe’s four great monarchies of the two Vienna Conferences, the Restoration retained the status quo of salaries at

29 Extract from AJ/37/12/2, Dossiers annuels 1: exercices 1816–1831, ANF. For lists of appointments see Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire, 1–572.
the Opéra at diminished values in real terms, meanwhile neglecting the Conservatoire. Heralding a new economic age in France in 1831, the July Monarchy adopted an innovative financial management of the Opéra by appointing a new director, Louis Véron, acting in the capacity of an entrepreneur. Despite the Opéra’s revenue almost doubling from 569,000 francs to 1,124,600 within a year, the performer’s salaries stagnated while royalties paid to composers increased under the new copyright laws. Foreshadowing poverty issues that triggered the 1848 Revolution due to famines, waves of business bankruptcies, critical levels of unemployment, and collapse of the stock exchange and Bank of France, the Opéra’s revenue plummeted to 537,800 francs. It peaked following the 1851 coup as shown in Figure 2.5. The Opéra salaries usually remained about 55% higher than Conservatoire salaries, which were about 55% higher than salaries for most military and church musicians on less than 500 francs per annum. Comparatively, in 1798, the violin soloists of the Opéra earned from between 1,300 and 1,800 francs (see Appendix 2). Almost twenty years later, after four regime changes, the Conservatoire violin professor, Rudolph Kreutzer, earned the equivalent salary, which increased in 1817 to 2,000 upon his appointment as the Opéra’s first in-house conductor (Chef d’orchestre de l’Opéra).30 Meanwhile, Cherubini, as the Conservatoire’s composer-administrator, had sealed an 8,000–franc salary: the equivalent of the three Opéra administrators forty years earlier, nevertheless, lucrative in 1830.

Weber observes that, generally, ‘private salaried employees grow statistically faster than workers.’31 However, in France private salaries continued to outstrip those of the formerly élite musicians of the Opéra and Conservatoire. When King Charles X came to the throne in 1825, he doubled the administrative staff of most state institutions and escalated the salary inequalities of musicians compared with other professionals that remained until 1866. The average incomes of state civil servants, blue-collar workers, and white-collar employees increased from between 33% and 38%, whereas, elsewhere in the market, they rose by an average of 74%.32 The 1830 Revolution that triggered staff losses at the Conservatoire resulted from cost-cutting practices when the July Monarchy disinvested in two music genres in favour of opera. It abandoned its military music mandate and the sacred music school, Institution royale de musique Religieuse, also known as the Choron School (l’École Choron), to employ extra opera voice teachers. In 1831, composers, Berton and Lesueur, earned the highest salaries of 3,000 francs; a professor of composition 2,500; and Cherubini 8,000 until his death in 1843 (see Table 3.4). At a minimum, professors earning a mere 2,000 francs in 1831 should have earned at least 2,450 by 1850.

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30 AJ/37/12, Paris Conservatoire Budget, August 1831, ANF.
31 See Weber, Economy and Sociology, 1394.
Instead, the top few salaries remained at 2,000 whereas most others reduced after a committee-review following the 1848 Revolution. The ongoing impoverishment somewhat explains the increasing number of disgruntled (republican) professors involved in the Paris Commune music activities in 1871. Although salaries at the Paris Opéra had reduced in real terms and the pensions offered had fallen to one-third of their value, they were almost double those paid to the Conservatoire staff. Table 3.5 shows the Opéra’s inequitable salaries totalling 12,874.20 francs per month of eight male and five female singers beginning July 1870 under the Third Republic.

Table 3.4 Extract from 1831 Conservatoire de Musique Budget shows salary hierarchies. The revised personalised budget of 1831 under the July Monarchy after the 1830 Revolution shows pensions, but an increased expenditure on administration carried over from the 1820s and on voice teachers for opera, meant sacrificing expenditure on the Choron Sacred School and military music.33

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33 Extract from Al/37/12/2, Dossiers annuels 1: exercices 1816–1831, ANF.
Table 3.5 The Paris Opéra budget (September 1870) shows salaries/pensions of principal vocalists.

By September 1870, three months after the Franco-Prussian war broke on 19 July, the Opéra reduced the number of administrators, paid its top male vocal artist, Villaret, 4,000 francs and top female vocal artist, Gueymard, 5,000, with pensions representing one-third of salaries.34 The Third Republic started new ledgers beginning July 1870 without carrying forward the outstanding pensions from the Empire, which calls into question whether these were honoured. See Table 3.6 to compare artists in 1873.

Following the 1848 revolution(s), the 1851 coup, the 1870 war, and 1871 Communard uprising, each regime perpetuated the salary and status degradation of music professionals. On 14 March 1848, a month after Louis-Philippe had abdicated, the Second Republic Assembly appointed a special commission to make recommendations to the state concerning Conservatoire appointments and salaries. The Committee comprised of Conservatoire professors, Auber, Halévy, Lecouppaye, Panseron, Levasseur, Benoist, Girard, Meifreid, Marniontel, Bazin, Samson, Provost, Louis Peirot, and Rety. They proposed 103 new regulations for professors and students to come into effect on 22 November 1850.35 Two permanent committees formed that year, Comité d’enseignement des études musicales and Comité d’enseignement des études dramatiques,

34 See AJ/13/1185 (Opéra: administration, personnel, matériel et comptabilité, Théâtre des Variétés) and AJ/13/445 (Administration provisoire pendant la Commune) for details, and see AJ/13/446, (Administration provisoire de la Société des artistes de l’Opéra 1 sous la direction d’Halanzier, de juillet à octobre 1871) at ANF.

35 Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire, 324–325: Titre IV, Chapter IV, XXXVI–XXXVIII.
increasing the bureaucratic control over music under the Republic as Weber predicts concerning the linked forces of state-officials and propertied-classes monopolising education.\textsuperscript{36} The new regulations stated that professors required endorsement from the Minister of the Interior to legitimise their appointments albeit under reduced salary hierarchical classifications. The three new tiers comprised 2,000–1,200 francs for professors, 1,000–300 for associate professors, 1,600–1,000 for solfège professors and 2,500 for Halévy as the professor of composition.\textsuperscript{37} Ironically, the Conservatoire’s secretary (unnamed) and the librarian (Berlioz) on 2,500 earned more than the first-class professors, while the agent on 1,500 earned more than associate professors—there is no mention of the Director’s remuneration in the budget. The ordinance that followed under the Empire in 1855 merely increased pension provisions, retaining status-levelling officialdom (discussed in chapter 1), rewarding administrators, and subjugating professors to defer to state officials in all matters: a policy \textit{L’Association} worked to reverse. It seems that appointments were not always full-time, which meant that extra income was potentially accessible for performers via concerts, theatres, markets, as well as Carvalho’s Théâtre-Lyrique or Offenbach’s Bouffes-Parisiens—both collapsing with the Second Empire.

\textbf{Freelance Musicians Classified as ‘Merchants’ after 1789}

The French state public recognition of musicians changed after every revolution under authorities according to Weber’s principles demonstrating the positive influence of charismatic authorities. The first official recognition of music professionals after the 1789 Revolution appeared under the Directory in the 1798–1799 \textit{Almanach du commerce de Paris} (Bottin and Didot annuals), separating those employed in state institutions (‘Institutrices’) from those in the free market.\textsuperscript{38} The French National Institute (\textit{Institute Nationale}) formed and graded state-appointed professionals into three classes covering the years from 1795 to 1797. Its first \textit{Almanach} lists music, \textit{Musique et Déclamation}, in the lowest third classification, as shown in Figure 3.1. The \textit{Almanach} lists six Paris Conservatoire Inspectors Méhul (Méul), Grétry, Molé, Gossec, Monvel, and Grandménil (Grandmesnil) as \textit{Des Membres de l’Institut-National des Sciences et Arts: Troisième Classe: Littérature et Beaux-Arts; Musique et Déclamation}, with Le Conservatoire de Paris, and as \textit{Associés de l’Institut}. Cherubini’s name is missing. All other musicians appear under the category of \textit{Marchands de Musique} (page 267) as one of the 56 \textit{Marchands} categories grouped with \textit{Marchands de chocolat} (257), \textit{Marchands de curiosité} (259), \textit{Marchands de dentelles} (259), and \textit{Marchands de parasols} (269), and so on.

\textsuperscript{36} See Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 74–75 and 303 (2e).

\textsuperscript{37} Lassabathie, \textit{Histoire du Conservatoire}, 324–325. Jacques-Marie Boutet Monvel and Jean-Baptiste Fauchard Grandménil were actors and authors from Comédie-Francê.

\textsuperscript{38} See \textit{Almanach du Commerce}, 1798, 235, 244, 247, and 267 at gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32688404r/date.
The republican state status criteria conform to Weber’s observations of rational-legal authority elevating bureaucrats and state-appointed politically aligned staff above other professionals and those in the market; classifying most musicians with the ancien régime stigmatised title of merchant. Moreover, under the Consul and Empire, Napoleon’s dislike for some composers and performers led to conflicting representations of their professional classifications. Conservatoire Inspector, Cherubini, ‘persistently ignored and ill-treated by the First Consul,’ received no honours, hardly any income, and did not appear in the first Almanach (1798–99). In 1799, he appears in the new Non-Commerçants category—along with Gossec, Lesueur, and Méhul—as ‘inspecteur de l'instruction du conservatoire.’ During the First Empire, while compulsorily stationed in Vienna, Inspector Cherubini, along with Creutzer [Kreutzer], Boyeldieu, and Méhul appear under the category of Musique (Marchands de) in the 1805 Almanach. Additionally,

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39 *Almanach du Commerce*, 1799, 344 and 362 at gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32688404r/date (1797–1838).

Méhul, Grétry, Grand-Menil, Monvel, and Gossec appear with a reduced rank with the *Institut National, Classe des Beaux-Arts, Quatrième Classe* (previously *Troisième Classe, Cinquième Section*).40

The administrative effects of Napoleon’s coups on 9 November 1799 (18 Brumaire, An VII) and on 2 December 1804 (11 Frimaire, An XIII) did not permeate Paris’s music institutions until his return from the Italian Campaign and wars when he passed *The French Commercial Code of 1807*. He restructured all of Paris and redefined *Marchands* as ‘those who carry on commercial transactions and make this activity their habit and profession.’41 Unlike other professionals such as doctors (classified as *Médecins*) and lawyers (*Advocats* or *Notaires*), musicians remained in the *Marchands* category until 1830. After this, forty-four musicians appear under the new category of ‘1st Classe Libéraux’ with doctors, lawyers, engineers, clergy (*Ecclésiastiques*), and magistrates in the 1831 Seine publication, *Recherches Statistiques*—the military belonging to the fifth class.42 Secular recognition of church musicians first appeared in 1856 in the *Almanach du Clergé de France* under *Section des Orgues et de la Musique Religieuse*. The July Monarchy, poignantly aware of status, inserted an additional section, *Des Professions de Paris*, in the 1833 *Almanach*, adding the high-status subcategory, *Professeurs de Musique*, comprising mainly of music editors, music printers and manufacturers, Paris-based musicians, critics, and professors listed by instrument and address. Thus, professors Zimmermann, Madame Gounod, Hertz, Nädermann, Halévy, and Schlesinger appear in this bracket.43 In 1848, under President Napoleon, the *Marchands* category for musicians disappeared while noting that references to musicians of the church (*musiciens l’église*) and military (*musiciens militaire*) had not yet manifested.44 After Emperor Napoleon’s coronation in December 1852, the Paris Opéra singers feature as *Artistes* at the *Académie Impériale de Musique*, whose classification predictably changed to an impersonal lower status of *Personnel artistique* at the *Théâtre National de l’Opéra* under the Third Republic in 1873 (See Table 3.6). Equal pay and equal opportunity for women singers at the Opéra had long disappeared by 1870. Thus, Madame Gueymard as a principal artist—in the same league as Carvalho, Viardot, and Nilsson—commanded a salary of only 5,000 francs. By 1873, the Opéra

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41 Article 1, *Commercial Code of 1807*.


43 *Almanach de Paris*, 1833, 258: In the 1849 Almanach under the Second Republic, Gounod’s mother appears as a professor with Chopin, Habeneck, Adam, Thomas, J Strauss, and Pasdeloup on page 618.

44 This thesis has identified about 80 military musicians as émigrés, guillotined, exiles, pensioners, and bandmasters.
reduced the number of female singers to nine to employ extra ballerinas, which certainly appealed to the Jockey Club members.

Table 3.6  The Almanach du Commerce 1873 of the Third Republic lists the Paris Opéra staff.
Staff listed according to function: Administration, Service du chant/dance, Conseil judiciaire (legal) and Médecins de l'Opéra (medical), and 'Personnel artistique.' There are 24 male (MM) and 9 female (Mmes) vocalists compared with 6 male and 18 female members of the ballet corps. This contrasts with earlier regimes that offered equal opportunity to all.45

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEATRE NATIONAL DE L'OPÉRA</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Halanxier, directeur.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Administration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SERVICE DES BUREAUX:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MM. Delahaye, secrétaire général.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royer (Ch.), architecte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royer (E.), bibliothécaire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aubin, caissier.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Service de la scène.

| MM. Voyer (MM), directeur de la scène. |
| Collaud (E.), inspecteur. |
| Brublé, chef machiniste. |
| Lefèvre, chef de l'habillage. |

### Théâtres nationaux. — Opéra. — Français.

#### Service du chant.

| MM. Delhaye, 1er chef d'orchestre. |
| Alde, 2e chef d'orchestre. |
| Créquy, chef de chant. |
| Salomon, chef des chœurs. |
| Mascot (VICTOIR), chef des chœurs. |
| MUSIQUE, chef de musique. |

#### Service de la danse.

| MM. Méjane, maître de ballet. |
| Pluny, réjouisseur. |
| MM. Dominique, prof. de perfectionnement. |
| MM. Naudin, réjouisseur. |
| MM. Zaou Méjane, chef de danse. |

### Service du contrôle.

| MM. Cassant, inspecteur du contrôle et de la M. Dumas, contrôleur en chef. |
| N. Ch. Gismer, architecte. |
| M. Ponceau, inspecteur des bâtiments. |

### Personnel artistique.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHANT.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Villeret.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sypa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM. Chambard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Richard).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM. Guiraud-Leons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piéts de Veiras.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DANSE.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MM. Méjane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM. Gueugnon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM. Marsant.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COEUR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MM. Bobbash.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM. Parent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM. Salawille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM. Marsant.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conseil judiciaire.

| M. Vaugon-St-Lourenco (Ct), avocat à la 1re instance. |
| M. Pelletier, avocat à la 3e instance. |

### Médecins de l'Opéra, service ordinaire.

| MM. Bauce, MM. Magin, de Laveur, Bourdon, Calvo, fier de Laveur, Ladreit de la Chardrière, Levrat, Dugeron (MM), Mauric, Firmin, Raynaud. |

### Rôle de l'Opéra, sous la direction de M. Arban.

Communist Music Groups: Church and Military Musicians

Identifying commonalities between those sharing supernatural beliefs (Weltanschauung) in monastic communities 'based on love and charity' and those providing security in 'survival communities' of armies and households, Weber claims that they have created 'associative...

45 These 'in-house' singers were resident principal artists who often performed in the chorus.
relationships’ as ‘communist groups’ to provide ‘modes of support’ for a purpose. Moreover, Weber proposes that ‘the communist warrior is the perfect counterpart to the monk’ as both acquire an intense personal discipline and rationally calculated emotions ‘based on a feeling of separateness from the ordinary everyday world and conflict with it.’ Such large communities based on strict systems of obedience in matters of life and death share similar unique bonds of self-supporting non-economic attitudes disconnected from states having created a congeniality untouchable by outside forces. Inevitably, the musicians of both types of communities generally adopt their protocols and mentalities. Indeed, authorities view these communist groups with suspicion due to their size, separate judicial systems, separate financial sources, comradery, and potential to subvert power, and therefore, seek dominion over them. One finds, for example, the majority of revolutions and coups in France involved disgruntled local militia who turned against the state. When King Louis XVI formed the National (Royal) Guard in 1789 and called upon his army to protect him Sergeant Marceau observed that they shifted their allegiances. One observer comments that ‘No sooner did the Revolution break out, than, as we have seen, the soldiers fraternised with the mob’ and overthrew their protector. The Republic’s first action in 1790 was to take control of the Kings National Guard and his army, suppress the Roman Catholic Church, exile or guillotine uncooperative clergy, and extend the right to bear arms to all citizens by removing the élite status of the nobility as military officers.

The music of communist communities is uniquely rational and evolved through centuries of rationalisation through servicing the monarchical state and the Roman Catholic Church, which repudiated imitative, emotional, sentimental, erotic, and turbulent music that countered God’s laws of harmony. Military music served the purposes of war and the state’s monopoly over violence exemplified in command codes and rules of rhythm. Soon after 1789, musicians formerly aligned to Rome, Kings, and Generals became directly answerable to the state. Securing dominion over the Catholic Church in 1812, Napoleon as General, Emperor, King, and ruler of the Papal States, imprisoned Pope Pius VII for eighteen months at Fontainebleau to compel him to renounce his temporal authority over France to ensure the ‘religion of France was directly governed by the state.’ Subsequently, the co-joined church, military, and secular state powers of empires enabled both Napoleons to appoint suitably politically aligned cardinals and bishops to serve as state officials in parliament, high-ranking officers to manage armies and the local militia, and favoured composers and performers for his Tuileries Chapel, état-major military bands, and private salons.

46 Weber, *Economy and Society*, 154: originally, the military were masculine households.
49 Ténot, *Coup d’État of Napoleon III*, 264–265. Napoleon III reversed this via generous funding to leverage for power.
Church Musicians in the Employ of Rome as of 1790

On the eve of the great Revolution, Paris had 222 active churches, which had reduced to only 39 by July 1794; most destroyed or converted to temples. The processes leading to the exodus, deaths, and unemployment totalling more than 2,000 church musicians throughout France after 1789 began with the National Assembly declaring its legal, religious, economic, and political independence from Rome. Sharing power with King Louis XVI, the Assembly proclaimed the ancient bonds between Rome and France null and void; i.e., the Roman Catholic Church as a unique and rational institution (*Anstalt*) no longer exercised legal power within or over the new French State and their assets belonged to France. The Assembly then turned to ecclesiastical matters on 24 December 1789 enacting *The Grant of Religious Liberty to Protestants* and deemed Frenchmen of all religions equal before the law. It had developed principles espoused in the defunct *Edict of Toleration* in 1787 and Article 6 of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*. Upon the King's arrest in 1792, the musicians of his chapel and army ceased their vocations, some turning to the Théâtre-Italien for employment and others emigrating. Eager to ensure the clergy's demise, one radical Assembly member, 'Momoro (husband of the Goddess of Reason) asked for the extermination of all priests,’ but parliamentarians and Robespierre objected.

The Assembly, focusing on the Catholic Church in the *Decree Prohibiting Monastic Vows in France* (13 February 1790) and *Civil Constitution of the Clergy* (12 July 1790), secularised and tabled the Ecclesiastical Offices into eighty-three state departments and ten metropolitan districts. Article 4 forbade French citizens from recognising any clerical office bearer ‘whose See is established under the name of a foreign power,’ thus rendering illegal the Roman Catholic Holy See and those in its employ. Rome retaliated by closing the French Academy and expelling its French artists, none of whom were musicians. Sealing the fate of church musicians, Article 20 stated that all other church vocations related to clerical duties or offices—i.e., musicians—not mentioned in Articles 1 to 19 ‘are abolished and suppressed.’ As of 12 July 1790, royalist church musicians (organists, cantors, serpent-players, ophicléide-players, orchestral-members, oboists, cellists, masters, and teachers) lost their livelihoods and entitlements. See the caricature of celebratory clergy exiting a parish church shown in Figure 3.2. Those clergy who swore the Civil Oath to the

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52 This document lists rules of offices by departments, appointments, salaries, and stipends linked to city populations.

53 *Decree Prohibiting Monastic Vows in France*, 1790, Article 20.
Republic by the *Decree Requiring the Clerical Oath*, 27 November 1790, gained employment in state-sanctioned vocations while church musicians performed for state festivals as required.

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 3.2** The caricature depicts a celebratory exodus of priests and nuns from France, 16 February 1790. The exodus of clergy occurred resultant upon the *National Assembly Decree Prohibiting Monastic Vows*, 13 February 1790. The decree—reversed on 29 September 1795 by the *Decree on Exercise of Worship* (Titles I–V)—declared that the ‘Republic does not pay any expenses of any religion.’

The disastrous decrees brought a schism to France, augmented by its alienation from Europe’s monarchies and Rome to which 907 disavowed musicians turned for compensation, documented in *Comité ecclésiastique* (Public Records D XIX, 1790–1791). By 1793, many royalist musicians had fled Paris or walked the scaffold. Those who stayed, faced poverty unless they took the Oath, as did composer-organists, Nicholas Séjan (1745–1819) and Gervais-François Couperin (1759–1826), who initially benefitted from their entrepreneurial activities by playing for secular festivals and the Paris Opéra. Before 1789, Séjan earned 3,600 francs from several church positions. Despite performing for concerts and securing a post as a Conservatoire Professor in 1795, his annual income eroded from 1,200 down to 450 in 1802, recovering during the Restoration on a meagre ‘salary of 1,000 francs in the principal church of the realm.’

Dismissed from the Conservatoire, Séjan begged for his imperial pension entitlements without success, like many musicians, and then died impoverished.

Discussing the innate irrational aspects of mysticism, music, religion, religious affiliations, and social stratification in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber asserts that


Protestantism had provided the avenue for rationalising France against Rome. He concludes that after 1789, the urban bourgeoisie tended to be more religious than the old aristocrats who merely tolerated the Church and its music. Accordingly, Catholics were ‘in their lower ranks, greatly interested in the enjoyment of life’ while ‘in the upper directly hostile to religion,’ which meant that France’s populace was slow to react against Jacobin anti-Christianism or adapt to capitalism.66 Throughout Europe ‘modern enterprises were overwhelmingly Protestant’ and unsympathetic to those Catholics generally without passion for enterprise and reluctant to adopt Lutheran concepts of work as ‘a calling from God.’67 Unlike Catholic France, the town musicians in Protestant-Germany enjoyed non-stigmatised vocations catering to popular tastes and bowing to the commercialisation of musical life, sometimes at the risk of incurring political disfavour.68 Catholic musicians in France did not have this liberty. They enjoyed a time-honoured status through their pseudo-mystical relationship with God via the Roman Catholic Church and a rational relationship with the King and monarchical state servicing power through rationalised music—Weber asserts was a development ‘ascribed in large measure to Benedictine, Franciscan, and Dominican monasticism.’69 The 1789 Revolution changed this forever.

Weber argues that Protestant-driven capitalism (as opposed to modernism) inequitably absorbed men into an impersonal system maintained by state bureaucratic machinery creating freedom without equality: a principle the First Republic and Jacobins exploited when the Church opposed them. The National Assembly sought control over church claims to temporal power by forcing it to surrender to the republican state in 1790 thus breaking a 1,500–year lineage and its musical traditions.60 Perceiving capitalism as dependent upon ‘formally free labour’ bought and sold in the market, Weber defines it as the pursuit of ‘renewed profit by means of continuous rational enterprise’ as opposed to the mere ‘pursuit of money’ for a living in activities considered by ancien regime nobles as ‘dirty and sinful.’61 The perception remained that church musicians served God and thus escaped this stigma while their remunerations deteriorated under Kings and regimes. Church records dating from 1533 show the King’s expenditure of 9,910 livres on his Chapelle de Musique du roi awarding basses-contre and hautes-contre voices high-status salaries of 240–500 livres, and organists and plainchant singers 140 livres.62 Until 1789, ‘most

69 Weber, Economy and Society, 1169, 407, and 539.
70 See Weber, Economy and Society, 407, 427, 526, and 539.
organ positions were held for life, and some were passed down from one generation to the next,’ but the Revolution destroyed these lineages and the traditions from Rome enforcing severe competition among them to secure modest salaries of 600 to 800 francs after 1802.\textsuperscript{63} From 1793 until 1802, there were no official organist appointments in France when church music followed strict Gallican, Roman, and Parisian rites—the Ultramontanes favouring Gregorian Chants. After 1804, musicians perpetuated Cécilien worship through hymns, choirs, and concerts that had gained popularity after 1843 through \textit{l'Orphéon} and \textit{l'Association}.\textsuperscript{64} These developments arose due to France’s schism with Rome under republicanism that Napoleon had in part way restored.

In addition to the First Republic’s anti-Christian decrees, the \textit{Chapelier Law} (14 June 1791) that enforced the ‘abolition of all kinds of corporations of citizens of the same occupation and profession’ disempowered all professional bodies.\textsuperscript{65} Those affected involved the Paris Opéra artists, theatre performers, military musicians, church musicians, lawyers, doctors, architects, sea captains, state employees, non-government guilds, societies, and corporations. Many who fled France had no respite as émigrés. From the ten years of statistical data collected from 1789 to 1799, Donald Greer identifies only five émigré organists, but did not identify any church musicians guillotined during the Terror. Data seems lost in the sizeable miscellaneous categories of the unidentified. Documents from the Vatican Archives list 907 church musicians from over 200 institutions and 60 departments from across France who sought pensions from Rome, some of whom had already emigrated.\textsuperscript{66} No document exists regarding the Belgian organist, Josse-Françoise-Joseph Benaut (1743–1794), who died on the scaffold in Paris on 13 July 1794.

The Republic’s appropriation of church property in 1793, its abolition of Catholic Services, the destruction of church organs, and the banning of performances of sacred music left cantors, instrumentalists, and the organists of the French Organ School destitute as the state converted churches into temples, storerooms, barracks, and stables. The disposal of 522 organs deemed as national furniture and put up on the auction block caused an outcry from brave organists desperate to save them from the officials and angry crowds with only about 104 repurchased or used for festivals. The organ at Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais played by the Couperin family did


\textsuperscript{65} See \textit{Le Chapelier Law}, Article 1.

not perish. ‘Of the 522 organs put to auction as a result of this measure, 418 perished.’67 Therefore, up to 418 organists were without instruments, 111 of whom sought pensions potentially leaving 317 unemployed organists unaccounted. Like Séjan and Couperin, Claude-Bénigne Balbastre (1727–1799) adapted by playing for Republican and Jacobin state festivals whereas Jean-Jacques Beauvarlet-Charpentier (1734–1794), the celebrated composer-organist of Notre-Dame until 1793, refused to cooperate and died impoverished. His son, Jacques-Marie, chose to accommodate the Empire milieu by composing and performing the new heroic genre. Secular ceremonies and festivals staged in churches consecrated as Temples of Reason provided state-sanctioned employment to musicians no longer permitted to teach at schools or colleges.68 While the First Republic extinguished the sacred genre and destroyed church organs, Napoleon restored its legitimacy in 1801, but its recovery was slow, mainly reliant on a few organ repair specialists like Claude-François Clicquot (1762–1801), François-Henry Clicquot, and his wife Antoinette Poinsellier (1742–1796) in Paris up until 1815.69

![Figure 3.3](image-url)

**Figure 3.3** The graph shows musician’s requests for pensions to Rome’s Comité ecclésiastique in 1790. Of the 907 requests, only 666 identified their instruments. See Figure 4.3 that includes vocalists. ‘Les fonctions d’instrumentistes’: (Public Records DXIX, 1790–1791).70

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68 During the Terror, written over the doors of churches with their crosses removed were the words: ‘*The French People believe in the immortality of the Soul and the existence of a Supreme Being.*’ See Bernard Miall, *Pierre Garat Singer and Exquisite* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913), 225.


70 Groupe de prosopographie des musiciens, ‘Des musiciens d’Église en 1790,’ notes 10 and14, and see Document 3.
The documents pertaining to Comité ecclésiastique (Public Records DXIX, 1790-1791) quantify the posts and divisions of the 907 church musicians requesting pensions from Rome, 73% of whom nominated their instrument, i.e., 241 did not identify their instrument. The profession divided into three main categories: Directors of choirs (Masters), instrumentalists, and cantors (including 159 choirboys), with only one composer. About 43% came from College Churches, 34% from Cathedrals, 17% from Schools, and 6% from small Parish Churches. Of the 907 requests, only a small percentage related to Paris-based musicians as in the case of Jean-Pierre Vieillard. The graph in Figure 3.3 represents the breakdown of instrumentalists (excluding vocalists) from Groupe de prosopographie des musiciens, the majority comprising 111 organists (7 women), 42 contra-bass players, and 57 serpent players (10 also played the bassoon), and the remaining body of oboists, flautists, violinists, cellists, carillon-players, and harpsichordists. Reworking figures to include three tiers of cantors (chantres) demonstrates their significance to the Church in representing 55% of the petitions, as shown in Figure 3.4, some of whom adapted to the Revolution by performing at local theatres and music societies.

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In the year of the great Revolution, church musicians’ salaries ranged from 30 livres per annum (perhaps for part-time or children cantors) up to 1,200 livres for serpent-players and contre-basses, earning a little more than a Lieutenant in the French army. Church musicians earning more than 900 livres comprised only 9% of the requests.\(^{74}\) It seems that ‘generally speaking musicians received modest salaries’ up until 1789 with over half of the petitioners earning about 525 livres per year—a little more than a Sergeant in the army although less than the Paris Opéra instrumentalists.\(^{75}\) By comparison, in 1791, soldier-musicians earned a maximum of 443 livres for a tambour-major down to 251 for a tambour player. In 1799, hired professional musicians of Napoleon’s état-major band earned from 600 to 1,800 livres (francs): ‘1 tambour-major (960), 2 caporaux-tambours (600), 1 chef de-musique (1,800) . . . 48 musiciens (800).’\(^{76}\) After 1792, some church bassoonists, oboists, flautists, and serpent-players survived as conscripts joining France’s expanding army or the National Guard as soldier-musicians or playing for the état-major bands.

Many of the socially well-connected organists who *leapt to the call* co-operated with the First Republic and Jacobins during 1793. These included Jean-François Lesueur, Guillaume Lasceux (1740–1831), Nicholas-Jean Méreaux (1745–1797), Séjan, and Couperin. By adopting Weber’s equivalent of instrumentally rational action, they featured organ music (themselves) at the civic ceremonies, festivals, dinners, and fanfares of the ‘government-authorised cults.’\(^{77}\) Séjan and Couperin arranged for the installation of two organs at the Paris Opéra (Theatre de la Républic des Arts), where they played for about ten weeks (2.5 months) until the Opéra administrators discontinued their services and refused to pay them. They appealed to the Committee for Public Instruction, which paid the outstanding 36,137 francs and 46 cents—suggestive of lucrative annual gross salaries of 93,000 francs each—and then dismissed them.\(^{78}\) The success from their capitalist enterprise to survive the anti-Christian milieu did not last, as it seemed that the stigma of church instruments remained and one was fearful to admit any relationship with the Church during the Terror. The less fortunate church organists in Paris, like Ferdinand-Albert Gautier (1748–1825) were compelled to accompany many riotous crowds singing civic songs such as the *Marseillaise, Carmagnole,* and *Ça ira* in the temple churches every ten days of the Décardis.


\(^{77}\) Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 3.

\(^{78}\) Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 6.
June 1796 marked the first month of reconciliation between France and Rome and a reprieve for church music when the victorious General Napoleon Bonaparte led his army (attached with companies of Italian volunteers) into the Papal States of Rome to claim his kingdom. He subjected Pope Pius VII to a confiscatory monetary armistice and brought Italy under French control, which was of great import for church musicians who saw their vocation restored. In the Treaty of Tolentino (17 February 1797), Napoleon secured peace and forced the Pope to relinquish his territories and pay the French Army and the French Republic 15,000,000 livres tournois each. Napoleon overthrew the anti-Christian laws that had perpetuated the separation of the church from the state and ban on religious music. Implementing other treaties, after he created the Roman Republic from the Papal States in February 1798, Napoleon declared himself the King of Italy with power over the Papacy. After 1800, his dual roles as First Consul and King enabled him to restore the legitimacy of the Roman Catholic Church in France and hence sacred music—priests resumed wearing their ecclesiastical cloth in public without fear. Under Section 24, reversing Rome's punitive law against France of 1790, Napoleon re-established the French Academy at Rome and moved it to the Villa de Medici in 1803 when he extended the prestigious Prix de Rome to musicians, whose sacred compositions the founding members of the new Institut national de France assessed and rewarded. By 1810, a third-class clerk of the state earned a 2,000-franc salary, a chief engineer 5,000, and the Opéra principals 6,000, whereas 'archbishops received 15,000 francs, bishops 10,000, and parish priests 1,500.' Church musicians, however, were not so fortunate relying on salaries of less than 500 francs.

Although political ferocity, humanistic atheism of state religion, and anti-Christian cult worship had devastated church music as an organic force of society, the Paris Conservatoire introduced the organ to its curriculum in 1795, with Séjan as a professor only to discard it in 1800. Perhaps this arose because most organs remained in states of disrepair or it suited the five Conservatoire Inspectors as organists themselves. Nevertheless, Director Bernard Sarrette retained Séjan as a professor of piano (1798) and then as a low paid professor of solfège-hommes (1800–1802 and 1814–1815). After the Concordat of 1801 acknowledged Catholicism as the majority religion in France, Séjan's attempts to have church music and organ playing installed in the Paris Conservatoire continued to fail even after 1815 while reinstated at the King's Royal Chapel. Classes for the organ reappeared at the Conservatoire in 1817, taught by the Conservatoire's

81 For information on Sarrette’s career, see French musicologist, Constant Pierre, Bernard Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation (Paris: Delalain frères, 1895).
first prize-winning composer-organist, Professor François Benoist, on a salary of 1,800 francs (less than other professors) until 1830 and which rose to 2,000 in 1850. He remained on staff until 1872, having served on l’Association committee in 1853 along with Meyerbeer and sometimes playing the organ for concerts and operas.\textsuperscript{83} Only occasionally did the Opéra require an organist for its operas—such as Meyerbeer’s \textit{Robert le diable} (\textit{Robert the Devil}) staged from 1832 until 1834—or for festivals featuring military bands, orchestras, and choirs.\textsuperscript{84} During this time, the serpent’s popularity waned as its players virtually ceased performing in public despite its high-earning capacity. In 1793, the Directory proposed appointing four serpent instructors at the Conservatoire, which reduced to one in 1795, and then to none by 1821.\textsuperscript{85} Meanwhile, many former church and military wind players had joined the Opéra or the theatre orchestras.

Rewards for French composers who won the prestigious \textit{Prix de Rome} seemed to secure their professional status and future opportunities were supreme under the First Empire, which nevertheless, favoured Italian composers. For example, Paisiello, as organist and musical director of Napoleon’s personal chapel in 1812, earned 10,000 francs plus a pension of 4,800. However, the Restoration brought him into poverty. Organist-composer, Ferdinando Paër, as Napoleon’s director of concert music, earned 28,000 francs plus expenses and a pension of 12,000. However, as an honorary professor of composition and inspector of voice at the Paris Conservatoire after 1815, he earned a mere 2,000 francs up until 1838. Eminent scholar and voice teacher, Choron secured 12,000 francs per annum in 1826 to finance his new religious music school attached to the Conservatoire with him as Director.\textsuperscript{86} The arrangement lasted until the 1830 Revolution. Meanwhile, he had staged fifty-six successful choral concerts that launched the new choral genre that followed. The Restoration had utilised imperial talents for the Conservatoire and Chapel at reduced prices for whom the July Monarchy did not offer relief.

In 1830, church musicians suffered another revolutionary blow when Louis-Philippe cut funding to churches, closed his \textit{Royal Chapel} at the Tuileries (destroyed during the revolution), abolished the \textit{maître de chapelle} position, dismissed musicians on reduced pensions, and almost halved the salaries of the remaining Notre-Dame musicians. Ochse states that ‘King Louis-Philippe was

\textsuperscript{83} Benoist taught organ for 53 years at the Conservatoire, surviving three republics and two empires, teaching Saint-Saëns, Bizet, Delibes, Massenet, and Franck. See Ochse, \textit{Organists and Organ Playing}, 148–149.

\textsuperscript{84} A set of invoices, for rental and repair of an organ to the manufacturer, John Abbey, appears in the opera archives, under the reference AI/13/289 at AI/13/281–AI/13/291, \textit{MATÉRIEL}, ANF.

\textsuperscript{85} See the final entry for serpents in Belhomme, \textit{Histoire de infanterie en France} (V), 119.

anything but helpful to church musicians’ or to musicians generally compounded by upholding Napoleon’s law of 1807 that limited music theatre numbers in Paris and thus, opportunity.\textsuperscript{87} Targeted cost cuts after abolishing the Choron School had saved the Conservatoire 12,000 francs. However, comparisons of staff-listings and budgets from 1830 with handwritten budgets for August 1831 reveal that allocations fell from 147,750 francs to 129,000 (i.e., reduced by 18,750). Consequently, 11,650 francs financed an extra 13 vocal teachers for \textit{Musique vocale} and \textit{Déclamation lyrique} with the remaining 7,100 francs allocated to \textit{Service du Chapel} that included a 1,000 indemnity and a 1,200 gratification for Cherubini in addition to his 8,000-franc salary.\textsuperscript{88} It seems that the fires of capitalism were at work.

Despite revolutions, funding cuts, and state-neglect of the sacred music genre, private restorations of organs increased throughout Paris in the 1830s, as church music began to flourish through entrepreneurial activities under a monarchy detached from Rome’s influence. One \textit{Gazette Musicale} critic noted on 17 April 1836, ‘after the whirlwind of July 1830, religious music was swept away with one blow’ when the Archbishop, as ‘one of the most obnoxious persons in Paris,’ banned orchestras from playing in churches.\textsuperscript{89} This act channelled music activities away from church charities to the public domain and philanthropy. The plethora of organ music composed after the 1830s resulted from necessity as many unemployed \textit{ancien} church musicians, teachers, and organists flooded the markets in Paris and brought innovations to the genre, while organ specialists, particularly Cavaillé-Coll, restored and modified organs. The primary agents for the changes were Alexandre-Pierre-François Boëly, César Franck, Jaak-Nikolaas Lemmens, and Fétis—who sustained a somewhat unhealthy influence over Paris-based artists. Some scholars assert that ‘Catholics and Protestants benefitted from the July Monarchy,’ however, the evidence shows that church musicians faced severe hardship, Castil-Blaze claiming in 1832 that they were starving as Paris developed a musical identity separate from German and Roman liturgies in the \textit{Parisian Rite}.\textsuperscript{90} The Protestant-Catholic rivalries perpetuated through the next decade called for revisions of the 1810 Penal Code and of Article 5 of the Charter of 1830 for a more liberal approach to worship and music.

\textsuperscript{87} Ochse, \textit{Organists and Organ Playing}, 26.


Protestants who generally did not get involved in revolutions, supported the July Monarchy, and as anti-clericalism subsided, worked with the more moderate state to establish the Reform Church and Calvinist Ministers. Their funding increased dramatically from 750,000 francs in the 1830s to 1,199,000 by 1842 that benefitted protestant businesses, education, churches and their musicians as Paris experienced a cultural revolution of romanticism. Moreover, Romanticism helped prepare the way for the growth of an emotional type of Christianity among French Catholics and Calvinists. This change assisted in integrating sacred Catholic and Protestant music genres with new emotional expressions of worship coinciding with the emergence of Grand Opera. According to some, ‘after the fall of Louis XVIII in 1830 (sic), Jewish integration into French society accelerated’ and the ‘dissolution of the traditional barriers to Jewish musicians,’ increased their influence over the Opéra through Halévy, Alkan, and Meyerbeer. Some attribute the phenomenon of the French Grand Opera genre due partly to their monopoly: realistically, Véron and Garat lay at the centre of the transformation.

Comparisons of expenditures at the Tuileries Chapel for directors, masters, organists, soloists, and orchestras show the chronic deterioration of a music vocation in 1831 that almost disappeared due to the revolution. According to Castil-Blaze, budgets fluctuated from an equivalent fixed yearly sum of 320,000 francs under Louis XV, down to zero from 1792 until 1799, after which Napoleon restored expenditure up to 350,000 in 1812. The expenditure reduced to 260,000 under King Charles X, and then to a mere 171,700 in early 1830 under Louis-Philippe, down to zero by early 1848, dramatically recovering under Napoleon III. After 1815, the monarchy’s capitalist rationale and suspension of imperial pension obligations alienated Rome, while leaving church musicians having to turn to charity, philanthropic organisations, and then to l’Association for assistance after 1843. Records indicate that in 1850, at least 23 organists from the French provinces and Paris had subscribed to l’Association with some published as receiving pensions. To elicit further information in point requires re-examining l’Association’s handwritten documents. The 1851 coup renewed their survival prospects under Napoleon who allocated 800,000,000 francs to the Papal State, thus boosting funds to all church musicians.

95 Castil-Blaze, *Chapelle-Musique des rois de France*, 177, 161, and see salaries of musicians listed by name in 1532 demonstrating their high status, 291–297. See Ténot, *Coup d’État of Napoleon III*, Appendix, 335.
The purging effects of revolutions throughout Europe in 1848 with many churches ransacked, brought uncertainty for church musicians fearing the return of anti-Christian anti-clerical republicanism of 1793. Napoleon's ascent as a Catholic President alleviated these concerns. Precise statistics regarding numbers affected by the revolution are not forthcoming, although churches, colleges, and schools closed during this period or were partly destroyed which suggests difficulties. After three uprisings in 1848, republicans General Cavaignac and Lamartine lost to Napoleon at the elections who restored the Pope’s temporal power in France on 12 April 1850, sanctioning church control over education as French society hurled itself backwards to pre-revolutionary safety. The 1851 coup d'état meant that the Catholic clergy was overwhelmed with kind attentions and favours from Emperor Napoleon and Empress Eugénie. As devout Roman Catholics, they instituted their private chapel with specially hired musicians, having arranged for the Second Empire to pay his personal archbishop’s salary of $10,000 [50,000 francs] yearly and $6,000 [30,000 francs] as a senator for life.\(^\text{96}\) Added to these were the salaries for a bishop and seven abbots, a Budget of Worship of 800,000,000 francs ('$160,000,000') and a French ‘occupation of Rome, in order to maintain the Pope secure [at a] cost [of] $9,500,000’ otherwise, 47,500,000 francs.\(^\text{97}\) These measures increased the prosperity of young church musicians, as the remnants of ancient organists as victims of previous revolutions and pension denials approached l'Association for pensions of 300, 200, and 100 francs, some of whom appear in a rare list of published requests shown in Table 3.7.

Indeed, church musicians prospered under the Second Empire due to imperial investments that fostered a surge of parish wealth and new compositions of blended genres. The yearly celebrations of the feast of the Annunciation and Sainte-Cécile Mass (22 November), and the combined concerts of l'Association, l'Orphéon, the Opéra, the Théâtre-Italien, and military bands, staged primarily at Saint-Eustache and Notre-Dame, brought relief.\(^\text{98}\) Notably, l'Association concerts between 1850 and 1870 featured organists Gounod, Batiste, Clément (maître de chapelle de Notre-Dame), Lahure, Pollet, Durand, Vautier, Populus (ancien maître de chapelle à St-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas), Chelard (maître de chapelle de Saxe-Weimar), Lafitte, Hurand, and Mademoiselle Godillon. Many worked to raise funds for the inauguration of the new organ at Saint-Eustache in 1855. Composer-organists from the Benoist like Saint-Saëns, Franck, Bizet,

\(^{96}\) Robertson, Revolutions of 1848, 97 and Ténot, Coup d’État of Napoleon III, 247 and see Appendix, 335 and 265 showing ratio of dollars to francs at 1:5.

\(^{97}\) Ténot, Coup d’État of Napoleon III, Appendix, 335.

\(^{98}\) l’Association, 1850, 69–75 describes the first of a series of concerts staged at Saint-Eustache from 22 September 1850, featuring Messe de Sainte Cécile by Adolph Adam, attended by Napoleon, his wife, Monseigneur Sibour, Zimmerman, dignitaries, soloists and musicians from theatres in Paris raising 6,000 francs for pension funds.
Delibes, and Massenet resurrected religious music incorporating it into their operas and songs while raising the stature of organ music in the public domain, collaborating with volunteers from the state and theatre orchestras, professional cantors, and amateur musicians. The emerging choral and musical philanthropic phenomenon after 1852 cemented the strong relationships between France and England and their churches as they shared in cultural exchanges during a series of international exhibitions beginning with the London Exhibition in 1851.

Table 3.7 Pension requests to l’Association from 1854 to 1862 lists ancien church organists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Request Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Special request: Ovide LAURENT, organiste et compositeur de talent et d’avenir, est atteint d’alléation mentale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>N° 9, M. Hector VAUTIER, ancien organiste de la Cathédrale de St-Denis, âgé de 84 ans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>N° 5130, LORENZO, ancien organiste de Ste-Élisabeth, âgé de 70 ans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N° 2531, Hector VAUTIER, ancien organiste de Saint-Denis, ancien chef de musique de la Garde royale, âgé de 83 ans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N° 3235, M. COURET, de Marseille, ancien organiste, recommandé par notre Comité correspondant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the hardship of the 1870 Franco-Prussian War and Siege of Paris after Napoleon’s capture, church musicians who remained in Paris staged sacred masses and concerts in the leading churches of Paris that brought some relief income. The anti-Christian posture of the Communards who had gained victory after hiding hundreds of cannons at the top of Montmartre hill during the Paris Commune did not prevent a group of musicians from staging Concert Spirituel on 7 April 1871, a church service on 10 April at Saint-Nicolas, and another on 19 April at Montmartre. Soon after President Thiers and his troops returned to Paris, most churches resumed their regular services although l’Association did not recommence staging sacred concerts until the following year, meanwhile offering pensions. See Table 3.7. The building of the Sacré-Coeur Cathedral resulted from pledges to honour 58,000 troops killed during the 1871 war, as punishment for the Communards, and to heal the rift of the preceding years. While this field of research is incomplete with many unread documents housed in parish libraries and the Vatican archives, observations support the findings of the relentless struggle for survival for those servicing the sacred music genre during peace or revolution. They highlight the

99 Anna Pan, César Franck as a Pivotal Figure in the Revitalization of French Organ Music after the Revolution (PhD Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2012). Note: many ancien regime composers played the organ.


101 Journal de la régie, 19 Mars 1871, records this as the first day of Paris Communard control.
devastation from anti-Christian of republicanism. Critical survival issues emerged from the harsh laws under rational-legal republics (particularly the Jacobins), neglect of the traditional authority of two constitutional monarchies, and benefits from the charismatic authority of two empires that endorsed relationships between the church, military, regime officials, state music institutions, and the public. Unlike the military, church participation in revolutions was minimal, suffering targeted abuse from angry mobs in 1789–94, 1830, 1848, and 1871. It seems that the musicians of the army and National Guard held the keys to power that toppled regimes.

Military Musicians: ‘Every French man is a soldier’

The history of military music and military musicians has long remained a neglected field of mainstream musicological research, which this thesis examines focussed on regimes following revolutions in France consulting Belhomme’s five-volume publication of primary sources of ordinances, decrees, and statistics. The military is a unique complex war community that adapts to servicing authorities as they arise; a group to which Weber assigns terminologies military power, military communism, politico-military structure, military technology, military status-groups, and military constitution in discussing its economic, strategic, and social significance in protecting the state. Unfortunately, Weber does not refer to the function of military music under authorities, but discusses military history, war technology, economics, warrior communism, and the origins of the discipline of war. Nevertheless, he lends insight into how and why states treat military communities (and musicians) with caution. After 1789, at its peak the French army comprised of over 600 battalions of more than 1,000,000 troops of the First Republic and First Empire of recruited and conscripted infantry, National Guard, cavalry, artillery, cuirassiers, marines, hussars, fusiliers, dragoons, lancers, grenadiers, chasseurs, chevaliers, carabineers, chevauleges, lifeguards, gendarmeries, émigrés, deserters, veterans, foreigners, and soldier-musicians. This section aims to identify the number of soldier-musician émigrés, deaths, exiles, arrests, unemployed, and those made prosperous or destitute due to revolutions. In the absence of hard data to achieve realistic results, the chapter asserts that approximately 2% of French soldiers and local National Guard who engaged in battle and revolutions were non-commissioned soldier-musicians, with about 10% originating from Paris. For the method used to calculate the 2% formula, see Figure 3.5 and Appendix 5.

Weber speaks of rationalised music used a ‘technique of action’ in the service of power. Of all music genres, military music is the most rational as it directs the army and local militia in state-

\[102\] See the Directory’s First General Conscription Law under the First Republic, 1798.


\[104\] Weber, Economy and Society, 234–235 and 282, and see Chapter IV, XVI, 153.

\[105\] See Belhomme, Histoire de infanterie en France, Tome IV, 67, 85, and 94.
purposes of war, security, and propaganda. Rationalised military music represents the commands of the state for defence purposes in sustaining its monopoly over violence, detailed in systems of encoded music notations in the language of war unique to each regime. ‘Les batteries and sonneries sont des signaux de convention . . . dans le domaine de la musique . . . tells que le rythme, le système de notation et le moyens d’exécution.’ Military leitmotifs in France originated from the music of war (la musique guerrière) dating from before Louis XII (1499) when units of fifes and tambours guided troops in battle, and the élite état-major bands guided troops through parades, marches, and assemblies. French officers required soldier-musicians to issue commands through word signals via rhythmic batteries for the tambours (drums) and arpeggios of the sonneries for the fifes, trompettes (trumpets), and clarions. Military musicians in France comprised of two types: the invited professional musicians of the état-major bands; and the recruited or conscripted soldier-musicians for the army and the National Guard who were primarily players of tambours, trumpets, fifes, and clarions. Dating from 1703, French war tactics [‘les manœuvres de guerre’] positioned the trumpeters on horses behind captains, and sometimes at the flank as the squadrons of cavalry columns moved into battle, whereas the drummers on foot were usually placed at the rear of the advancing battalions of infantry columns. Tambours and trumpeters also flanked the troops on the right and left of battalions [‘Les tambours formaient deux groupes à la droite et à la gauche du bataillon’] relaying orders of the commanding officers to the soldiers engaged with the enemy. The tasks assigned to soldier-musicians in battle required that they carry wounded officers off the field for treatment and after a battle, carry their comrades to field hospitals. Soldier-musicians engaged in high-risk activities that often led to death—exemplified in paintings by Charles Moreau, Charles Thévenin, and Horace Vernet. The number of those who died in battle or revolution and those affected by the repercussions of regime changes has remained a mystery, which the next section examines.

Before the founding of l’École Royale Militaire in 1751 and Loterie de l’École Militaire in 1757, the French royal military consisted of honourable nobles, volunteers, hired professional musicians

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106 See Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1414 and also, see 65.


109 Belhomme, *Histoire de infanterie en France* (I), 120 and 140.

110 Chiefs of staff comprised Generals, Marshals or Colonels, administrators, and tacticians. See Belhomme, *Histoire de infanterie en France* (IV), 242 and 259. The clarion replaced the cornet (ordinance dated 22 May 1822), until the army re-introduced cornets with pistons in 1848.

for the état-major bands, and enlisted soldier-musicians for combatant companies. Military musicians had served for hundreds of years in the Garde Françaises, régiments français, and Garde Suisses (Swiss Guards) amongst other companies under French Monarchies on the night King Louis XVI instituted his new Parisian National Guard (Gardes Nationales) for protection on 13 July 1789 comprising of more than 200,000 men. The irony remains that during the same night the crowds stormed the Paris Opéra, three Swiss Guards regiments and troops from the Military Academy took flight, leaving the King defenceless in the face of the revolutionaries. The aftermath of 14 July did not decimate the livelihoods of military musicians as it had church musicians, although up to thirty royalist Garde Françaises musicians had deserted or emigrated. Many of the sans-culottes who ruled Paris after 1789 had served in the Garde Français of the Royal Military House of France (Maison militaire du roi de France). Upon establishing power, the First Republic, like ensuing regimes, appointed new ministers of war and passed new laws updating the army structures, emblems, uniforms, flags, senior appointments, music codes, and functions of music bands and musicians. Each military music corps adopted the naming protocols of regimes after revolutions prepared for new instructions. Examples of regime music corps are: Corps de Musique de la Garde Nationale (1794), Fanfare de La Garde Royale (1815–1848), La Musique de la Garde de Paris (1848–1852), La Musique de la Garde Imperial (1852–1870), and La Musique de la Garde Républicaine (1871). The appointment of politically compliant senior army personnel conforms to Weber’s observations of power as discussed in chapter 2.

The exact statistics regarding the musicians of the local militia and military émigrés, arrests, and deaths in revolutions remain elusive. Donald Greer calculates that from 1789 and 1799 of the 97,545 registered French émigrés, 5,695 included officers from the nobility, 1,818 officers from the upper class, and 2,237 ordinary soldiers and sailors from the lower class, with an unknown number of musicians. The number represents approximately 10% of all émigrés: the clergy represents 25% and the nobility 16.75%. Greer identifies three émigré military drummers (‘tambours’) who he assigns a working-class status while acknowledging the analysis incomplete due to missing data, duplications, and errors thereby opening the possibility that there were more soldier-musician émigrés than alleged. By extending the probability that military musicians nested within Greer’s sub-category of 2,237 non-commissioned working-class soldiers and sailors—military musicians could not become officers until 1854—having calculated that near 2% of the army comprised of soldier-musicians, potentially an extra forty-five émigré soldier-musicians remain unaccounted. Moreover, Greer’s finding of only one drummer victim

113 Greer, The Incidence of Emigration, 81–91, 132–38 (Table VIII), and The Incidence of the Terror, 88–98 (Table V).
114 Greer, The Incidence of Emigration, 138.
of the Terror is not realistic. One is unable to apply the 2% formula to his calculations because, apart from acknowledging 277 officers as Terror victims, Greer did not subdivide the lower military ranks by classes, and categorised 2,354 (10%) victims who did not nominate their vocations in the miscellaneous category. Moreover, Paris executioner, Sanson, observes that many of the ‘emigrants who fought in the ranks of the Prussian army, and captured on the battlefield, suffered on the scaffold.’ More research on this topic is required.

Werner Braun advises that the lack of nineteenth-century documentation and statistical information regarding military musicians arose due to the sheer volume of soldier-musicians in armies and because of the temporary informal civilian-styled relationships that professional musicians enjoyed with the army’s chain of command. Their artistic duties superseded their military obligations as the army, and the marines did not recruit them formally. Attached to the chief of command (l’état-major) was a small unit of senior officers, who oversaw brigades and battalions, plus a bandmaster (chef de musique) commanding professional musicians of the état-major band (see Figure 3.6 and Figure 3.8). These musicians were high-status guests, evident from laws dating from 1764 defining salaries related to band instruments of fifes, oboes, flutes, clarinets, bassoons, trumpets, cymbals, triangles, and large and small drums.

The Paris Opéra archives also contain the records of military bandmaster appointments to the état-major bands and musicians used for military parades, spectacles, and opera balls. See letter in Figure 3.11 confirming the relationship between the military and Paris Opéra. Plate VII from Kastner’s Manuel Général de Musique contains lists of instruments used during the reign of Louis XIV and Louis XV, some of which remained with the état-major and petit état-major bands until 1830. These are the Timbale, Tambour, Trompette, Hautbois, Cromorne, Bouquine, Cornet, (Serpent), and the ancien Basson. The practice of hiring from four to forty-eight professional musicians plus a tambour-major, trompette-major, chef de orchestra (bandmaster), and a corporal tambour for the état-major ceased on 23 January 1815 when the Restoration sacked Napoleon’s army and downgraded them to the lesser petit état-major.

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115 Greer, The Incidence of the Terror, Table VII.
118 Belhomme, Histoire de infanterie en France (III), 292 and see Kastner, Manuel Général de Musique Militaire, Pl.XII.
119 Kastner, Manuel Général de Musique Militaire, 514. See war, wind, and percussion instruments in Plates I and III.
Figure 3.5 Extract from the 1793 law defining the composition of a demi-brigade and its battalions.

**Summary:** L’état-major of a demi-brigade of the French army comprised of 34 men overseeing nine battalions, senior officers, 3 surgeons, 1 tambour-major, 1 tambour-corporal and 8 musicians including the chief of music. A battalion of nine companies consisted of one company of 65 grenadiers with two tambours (3.08%) plus eight companies of 89 fusiliers including two tambours (2.25%) each. Added to this was a company of 64 canonniers. The 874 soldiers included 28 musicians (3.2%), which, excluding 10 état-major musicians who did not enter battle yields a result of 2.06% soldier-musicians.\textsuperscript{120}

The National Assembly of the First Republic modified the laws that founded the Kings’ local enforcement agency in Paris to supplement the French army and Swiss Guards, which, according to Weber’s theory, ensures the state’s monopoly over violence. The law states that the ‘national militia, as well as the maréchaussées, shall assist the troops for the purpose of pursuing and arresting disturbers of the public peace, irrespective of their status.’\textsuperscript{121} On 10 August 1789, the Decree Establishing National Guard that replaced the King’s Guard Royal came into effect to form the nucleus of a (paid) voluntary citizen army for the central government.\textsuperscript{122} General Lafayette oversaw the new National Guard and its musicians. On 29 August 1789, new definitions of the equal legal rights of citizens and seventeen principles of law appeared in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen and the Decree on the Fundamental Principles of Government binding French citizens to the law. The Republican state oversaw the newly formed constitutional monarchy using its military to enforce its legalised monopoly over violence.

After the 1789 Revolution, companies of the greater army, marines, and National Guard retained two tambour players, a tambour-major, or a caporaux tambour (corporal) while the cavalry and ‘pompiers de Paris’ retained two trumpeters or clarions (brass instruments more like trumpets than bugles).\textsuperscript{123} In 1793, the new Republican Convention created ‘la nouvelle organisation’ for the army specifying that a demi-brigade comprised of an état-major band of 10 musicians and a battalion of nine companies of 874 soldiers with 18 soldier-musicians, i.e., 2.06%. Each company

\textsuperscript{120} Belhomme, *Histoire de l'infanterie en France* (IV), 16 and (V), 332–333 for 1854; ‘Compagnie: 3 officiers, 1 sergent-major, 4 sergents, 1 fourrier, 8 caporaux, 2 tambours et 100 hommes.’

\textsuperscript{121} Stewart, *A Documentary Survey*, No. 16, paragraphs 5 and 6, 110.

\textsuperscript{122} Stewart, *A Documentary Survey*, No. 16, 110: Document 16, *Decree Establishing the National Guard*.

\textsuperscript{123} Belhomme, *Histoire de l'infanterie en France* (IV), 91 and 98, for the composition of ‘la garde nationale de Paris.’
consisted of two tambours or one trumpeter for the cavalry as described in Figure 3.5. Also, see Figure 3.7 that shows the flags of the long-standing 57th regimental musique corps originating from the mid-seventeen hundreds that served all regimes discussed in this thesis.

From left to right: Tambours (Drums): 1698, 1783, 1794, 1808, 1813–30, and 1830–40.

From left to right: Trompettes (Trumpets): 1750–89, 1793, 1811, 1829, and 1843.

**Figure 3.6 Examples of uniforms (costumes) French military musicians wore from 1698 until 1840.**

Brightly coloured flamboyant costumes (uniforms) for musicians became essential:

One explanation is to distinguish them from the main army to curb their drinking and improper public acts by making them conspicuous; another was to display ritual and ceremonial aspects of regimes – changing uniforms, flags (attached to trumpets), batteries, and sonneries accordingly.\(^{124}\)

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\(^{124}\)For a history of batteries and sonneries, see Michel Brenet, *La musique militaire* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1921), and the image extracted from the drawing by Vernier on page 89.
Figure 3.7 Gérard Besse depicts the flags of the 57th regiment musique corps from 1667 until 1875. From top left to right the flags by years: Saint-Maure, 1791, 1796, An XII (1797), 1803, 1804–1815, 1815–1820, 1821–1830, 1830–1848, 1848–1851, 1852–1870, and 1871. The twelve flags of the 57th music regiment of l'état-major bands represent authorities and France’s tri-coloured flag.\textsuperscript{125}

Soldier-musicians learned new batteries and sonneries under new regimes, as did Tambour-Majors who executed specialised movements with the mace (cane) to direct the army corps. The ordinances dated 4 March 1831 and 5 June 1831 specified 20 new batteries for the infantry drums and 26 new sonneries for cavalry trumpets followed by new Tambour-Major movements on 8 March 1831. The new moves for La Général (No. 1) required that he extend his right arm, lift the cane into the middle, and elevate it high in the air. For Le Rappel (No. 3) place the end of the cane on his right shoulder.126

After revolutions, those who remained in the army or National Guard adapted to new regimes as they modified uniforms, flags, repertoire, and signal for drums and trumpets that originated from eleven ancient cavalry batteries and sonneries under Louis XIII in 1636. Some specialist military composers of various regimes were Père Marin Mersenne, Lully, Père Marguery, Joseph-David Bühl, Lieutenant-Colonel Le Coque Madeleine, Pierre Melchior, and Georges Paulus.127 As trumpeter of the French Consular Guard, David Bühl (1781–1860), composed thirty-two new sonneries for the warring French army in 1803: reduced to twenty under the July Monarchy’s ‘ordonnance du trompette’ after the 1830 Revolution.128

Table 3.8 lists Bühl’s sonneries with metronome markings. Example 3.1 compares La Général batteries across four regimes. Example 3.2 reproduces Bühl’s fife accompaniment to the La Général batterie. Figure 3.9 and Figure 3.10 show some l’état-major bands under republics, monarchies, and empires until 1875.

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126 See Kastner, Manuel Général de Musique Militaire, 406–408. See http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41514333f; btv1b6941028b; and cb415143412 (All three sites accessed on 13 February 2017).


128 The batteries in 1636 consisted of I (L’Entrée), II (Boot-Selle), III (Autre Bout-Selle), IV (Ch.val), V (L’Estendart), VI (Le Simple Cavalquet), VII (Le Double Cavalquet), VIII (Le Charge), IX (Le Autre Charge), X (La Retraite), XI (Le Guet). See Kastner, Manuel Général de Musique Militaire, Batteries and Sonneries de l’Armée Française, 1.
Table 3.8 Joseph-David Bühl’s new 32 Cavalry sonneries composed in 1803 for Napoleon’s army. Bühl modified previous systems by adding military metronome markings (métronome militaire). Bryan Proksch asserts that Kastner credits Bühl with standardising the tempo of military calls by designing a special metronome for trumpeters that had nine different settings. Each call was assigned a tempo number and note duration. Thus, for example, 8— for Le général, shown below, signifies a trumpet’s eighth metronome setting for crotchets while 6— for Le réveil signified the sixth setting for dotted crotchets. In 1831, Pierre Melchior replaced Bühl’s system with metronome markings depicting beats (marching steps) per minute thus he used 80- for La général and 110- for Le réveil. 

Example 3.1 La Général batteries composed for the ancien regime, First Empire and July Monarchy. Consistencies of the basic structure dating from 1705 exist between the La Général tambour batteries for 1780, 1803, and 1831, under single and double time signatures of 3/8, 6/4 and 3/4.

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Example 3.2  *La Général* tambour battery with fife (Fifre) accompaniment by Joseph-David Bühl in 1803. The fife accompaniment superimposes over the third example of *batterie* shown in Example 3.3 for the new series composed for the First Empire.132

In 1790, the National Guard comprised of officers that oversaw various ‘employers, employees, shopkeepers, intellectuals, members of the professional classes, but also many dependent workers’ stratified by age, rank, district, and function—musicians separated from the militia. The Constitution of 1791 specified for all active male citizens ‘to be inscribed upon the role of the National Guard in the municipality of his domicile.’133 All militia swore an oath of ‘august solemnity’ to the nation and the King (until January 1793) before the entire regiment.134 Customarily, becoming an army officer required proof of a 400-year lineage of nobility, a mandate that the Republic and Napoleon Bonaparte overturned in 1799 in placing merit above birth. On 24 February 1793 by the *Decree for a Levy of 300,000 Men*, the National Convention enforced a type of conscription upon all citizens (males) to join the army to increase France’s military strength currently involved in retaliatory wars against the monarchies of Europe. This law therefore required employing and training up to 6,000 new soldier-musicians (i.e., 2%) plus hiring extra professional musicians for the élite bands. Thus, began Captain Sarrette’s concept of founding a military music school—the Paris Conservatoire—for this purpose.


Music took on new meanings after 1792 when ‘band music was used in a most unique and functional manner’ as musicians integrated with the remaining ancien regime instrumentalists from the defunct King’s Garde Français to form a National Guard music corps under Sarrette. General la Lafayette permitted Sarette to arrange for up to seventy-five professional musicians to play for state festivals and ceremonial occasions. Until then, Sarrette ‘personally undertook the job of financing a group of forty-five musicians, formerly of the French Guard, who had recently become unemployed.’ After their tremendous successes at the state festivals, Sarrette established and directed his Conservatoire National de Musique after which the Commune of Paris paid the salaries of his Music Corps of the National Guard and provided a permanent headquarters. His initiative brought benefits to many musicians struggling to survive the collapse of the old royal system as the ‘French Revolution fused unrefined but stirring ceremonial military music with the more artistically expressive aspects of “serious” music.’

During the three years of the Terror, the army almost doubled in size to 1,207,761 voluntary soldiers (up to 24,000 soldier-musicians) that included 39,823 auxiliary National Guard troops. i.e., about 8,000 soldier-musicians of primarily trumpet and tambour players throughout France some of whom provided drumming for the guillotinings. The number of military musicians increased following the bloodless coups on 20 May 1795 and 11 May 1798, when the Directory Council declared on 5 September 1798 that ‘Every Frenchman is a soldier and owes himself to defend the Patrie.’ It established The First General Conscription Law in France by amending Articles 9 and 286 of the Declaration of the Duties of the Citizen (22 August 1795). Under the auspices of the Minister of War, the army was ‘constituted by voluntary enlistment and by military conscription’ for four years comprising men between the age of twenty and twenty-five as a mandatory requirement of citizenship. From that point, soldier-musicians and professional musicians became conscripts or volunteers. Violinists, Kreutzer and Pierre Rode (1774–1830), and the virtuosic horn-player-clarinettist, Giovanni Punto (1746–1803) joined the army and later became Conservatoire professors. Meanwhile, some Opéra artists requested conscription exemptions (Le Requérant demande an être exempté du Service Militaire). Notably, Louis Nourrit (father of Adolph Nourrit) wrote to the Opéra Director, Étienne Morel, who wrote

135 Kastner, Manuel Général de Musique Militaire, 163–164.
137 See Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire, 156 and Kastner, Manuel Général de Musique Militaire, Plates XX–XXVI.
139 See Belhomme, Histoire de l’infanterie en France (IV), 67.
140 Stewart, A Documentary Survey; The First General Conscription Law (5 September 1798): Title I, No. 1 and 3, 730.
to the Minister of War requesting Adolph’s exemption from military service while attending the Conservatoire pending his Opéra début and due to his invaluable service to the Consol.\footnote{See letters AJ/13/63, Administration de l’an XI et de L’AN XII, Personnel (AN XI, 58 and 64) and AJ/37/85, ANF.}

\textbf{Figure 3.9} The picture shows 17 Musicians of Musique de la Garde Impériale of the First Empire (1804–1815). Under the First Republic (Directory and Consul), France spawned a ‘golden age’ of military music with bands playing compositions by Gossec, Catel, and Méhul. The état-major bands until 1815 consisted of the National Guard, Band of the Consular Guard (Musique de la Garde des Consuls), Gendarmerie de Paris, La Guard Municipale, and Garde Impériale.\footnote{Image obtained from the Military website http://kimballtrombone.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/musique-de-la-garde-imperiale.jpg (accessed 1 September 2015).}

\textbf{Figure 3.10} Pictures show musicians of the Musique d’infanterie of National Guard bands under authorities.\footnote{Images obtained from BNF, Gallica, Pellerin Epinal: Archives personnelles: Marcel Magné via http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b550019761 (accessed 1 June 2015). L’Association documents refer to military: Garde impériale (1859), Garde royale (1860s) for pensions of ‘ancien musicians,’ and Garde Républicaine (1872).}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Restoration (1830–1848)}
\begin{itemize}
\item Musique de la garde Royale
\item 21 musicians (1833)
\end{itemize}
\item \textit{Second Empire (1851–1870)}
\begin{itemize}
\item Musique de la Garde impériale
\item 35 musicians (1854)
\end{itemize}
\item \textit{Third République (1875+)}
\begin{itemize}
\item Musique de la Garde Républicaine
\item 66 musicians (1875+)
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
After the political coup of 5 December 1799, the Consul’s new constitution outlined the amended laws of citizenship that compelled men to undertake the duty to bear arms and Napoleon, as First Consul, declared the revolution ended. Section 86 of the Constitution extended pensions to the widows of soldiers killed in war or wounded in defence of Patrie albeit without mentioning military musicians or National Guard musicians and their entitlements. The data regarding these remain somewhere between the army, the National Guard, the Paris Opéra, Paris Conservatoire, music theatres, and the public domain. By 1805, following his second coup d’état, Emperor Napoleon commanded a standing army of about 530,000 volunteers, conscripts, and paid foreign contingents ('capitalist armies' according to Weber) comprising about 11,000 soldier-musicians. He meticulously organised the army and musicians into regiments, battalions, companies, infantry-divisions, brigades of light and heavy cavalry, artillery (battery), engineers, medical units, and service units.\textsuperscript{145} By 1814, his army stood at 1,002,210—the élite Imperial Guard grew from 8,000 in 1805 to about 80,000 in 1812, plus 144 professional musicians of l’état-major bands; representing an increase of about 10,000 soldier-musicians.\textsuperscript{146} The Conservatoire and specialist military training schools prepared the musicians who primarily served in wars.

The evidence regarding the fates of musicians in war and revolutions is inconsistent or lacking. In one example, estimates of the deaths of soldier-musicians in the Battle of Reims (12–13 March 1814) produced conflicting reports: one account lists two musicians out of 77 dead while another lists two musicians out of 41 dead.\textsuperscript{147} In another example, by using the 2\% formula one may estimate the number of soldier-musicians dead and widow entitlements that arose from Napoleon’s Kowno-Moscow war effort in the winter of 1813 (depicted in Charles Joseph Minard’s famous graph of 1869).\textsuperscript{148} The combined French, Italian, and Swiss armies had withered from 422,000 men to about 10,000 men upon their return to France. This figure represents the deaths of nearly 8,000 soldier-musicians—with about 10\% of those originating from Paris, i.e., 800 Parisian widows. In another example, Napoleon’s defeats against the united armies of Austria, England, Prussia, and Russia on 6 May 1814 and again in July 1815 brought 32,000 French casualties, unemployment, and starvation to about 17,000 imperial musicians, and an increase in request for widows pensions, which the Restoration refused to pay.

\textsuperscript{145} See Belhomme, \textit{Histoire de infanterie en France} (IV), 314.


\textsuperscript{147} George Nafziger, \textit{The End of Empire: Napoleon’s 1814 Campaign} (Solihull, UK: Helion & Company, 2015), 673.

\textsuperscript{148} See Charles Minard, graph of military lives lost during Napoleon’s Russian Campaign in 1812–1813, obtained from \textit{Carte figurative des pertes successives en hommes de l’armée française dans la Campagne de Russie 1812–13} / Minard. Régnier & Dourdet: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52504201x (accessed 1 Jan 2017).
After the Vienna Conference of 1814 had exiled Napoleon on the Island of Elba, the Restoration set out to destroy the remnants of his army by reorganising it into 86 Departments of Legions. It reduced eight foreign regiments to three to form légion royale étrangères on reduced salaries, meanwhile suspending conscription for citizens while retaining it as a test of citizenship.\textsuperscript{149} The reconstructed army reduced from 1,236 battalions (1,002,210 soldiers) down to 359 battalions (164,573 soldiers), which caused deep resentment from about 800,000 soldiers (including about 10,000 soldier-musicians) who supported Napoleon in his triumphant recapture of Paris the following year.\textsuperscript{150} They eagerly joined his reconstituted army and overthrew King Louis XVIII who had passed ordinances for his new council of war regarding the composition of officers and the état-major band of Garde Royale under the auspices of Académie Royale de Musique.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Lieut.-Gen Villèle’s letter affirms military officers for the Opéra’s Kings Army Concert, July 1815. The letter affirms reinstatements of officers attached to the état-major of Garde Royale de Paris under the auspices of Académie Royale de Musique, which replaced Académie Imperial de Musique.\textsuperscript{151}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{149} Belhomme, Histoire de l’infanterie en France (V), 8–16 and for details about the two conferences, see Charles K. Webster, The Congress of Vienna 1814–1815 (London: Oxford University Press, 1918).

\textsuperscript{150} Belhomme, Histoire de l’infanterie en France (IV), 684 and 621–623.

\textsuperscript{151} See A//13/77, 637, Administration de l’Opéra de l’an XII à 1815, ANF.
Upon coming into power, Napoleon reversed the King’s ordinances of 1814, which the monarchy promptly reinstated in July 1815 upon his demise. By decree on 13 March 1815, Napoleon had formed 1,040 battalions (including four Marines) of about 662,331 paid soldiers including the 393 battalions of National Guardsmen of 196,500 soldiers, thus approximately 13,000 soldier-musicians. Subsequently, band music, drum beating, and trumpet calls were used to chilling effect in the battles that followed and the Battle of Waterloo: ‘It is impossible to describe the effect of these sounds, heard in the silence of the night.’ Europe’s four most powerful monarchies defeated Napoleon on 18 June 1815, after which all former imperial soldiers and musicians became the casualties of the four Congress monarchies. Lieutenant General Villèle’s official letter in Figure 3.11 affirms the military appointments for the Opéra’s music spectacles.

After the second Vienna Conference in 1815 exiling Bonaparte to Saint Helena, the Restoration disbanded his army and downgraded the status and remunerations of all military musicians after which poverty permeated the relative peace that descended upon the military, the local militia, and up until monarchy until 1827. Upon hearing some bitter invectives from the local militia during his army inspections on 29 April 1827, the unpopular King Charles X responded mercilessly: ‘by six o’clock the next morning every post of the National Guard was relieved by troops of the line.’ Deep resentments arose from the hardships and the unemployment that followed and triggered the 1830 Revolution and secured the power of the July Monarchy when it promised to reinstate them. This event, similar to those of 1848, 1851, and 1871 that initiated revolutions brought ballooning requests for pensions from retired, wounded, and destitute military musicians to l’Association offering pensions of 300, 200, and 180 francs. Detailed lists are not available as l’Association rarely published pension requests, except for those few shown in Table 3.14. Crucially, more requests followed the damning laws of 1872 of the Third Republic.

**Salaries and the Status of Soldier-Musicians (1789–1875)**

Comparisons of French military salaries over more than one-hundred years reveal their ever-diminishing incomes in real terms and the diminution of the status of officers, soldiers, and soldier-musicians after revolutions primarily under Republics and Monarchies. Traditionally,

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152 John Parker, *A Concise Account of the Battle of Waterloo and Surrender of Paris*, Glasgow, Lochhead, 1822, 65, and also, see 52–53, 121, and 134 for other accounts of drums and trumpets during the battles. See Belhomme, *Histoire de l’infanterie en France* (IV), 698 and 649 to 700 passim.

153 For theatrical events leading to revolution when the ‘Government was slyly attempting to re-establish the Censorship that it had abolished’ by passing an Act dubbed the law of Vandalism, the persecution that followed, public outcry and withdrawal of the Act leading to the revolution, see Dumas, *My Memoires*, 195–197.

154 See l’Association, 1874, 37.
French Kings had rewarded his military with titles, properties, excellent incomes, and privileges. The 1789 Revolution shattered all arrangements. In the 1790s, an affluent family earned about 100,000 livres yearly. Comparatively, in 1869, the President of the National Assembly earned 100,000 francs, and the elected deputies received an extra 12,000 per parliamentary session of four.\textsuperscript{155} In 1764, Colonels of the King’s état-major earned 70,000 livres per annum, the musicians and chef de musique (1,500), tambour-majors (800), and caporaux sour tambour-majors (360), ordinary captains of gardes française (11,000–12,000), and tambours (198–216).\textsuperscript{156} On 18 August 1791, after abolishing the King’s guard, the Republic restructured the army. Professional musician’s salaries (annuelle) reduced by almost 75% to 335 livres, Colonels down 50% to 6,000, and Captains down 75% to 2,700, decreasing in 1815, 1821, 1868, and 1874. Tambour-majors earned 443 livres (a little more than sergeants did), musicians (353), corporal-tambours (335), and tambours (251–305).\textsuperscript{157} Compare the salaries in Table 3.10 with Table 3.11.

Matters improved with General Napoleon when the first class Imperial Guardsmen in Paris and the reinstated professional musicians of the état-major bands shared high-status rankings with non-commissioned professional musicians on 700 francs. Tambour salaries rose to just over 514 francs and to 750 for the Swiss Guards who usually earned double their French counterparts.\textsuperscript{158} By 23 October 1815, the formerly élite tambour-major salaries of Gardes Nationaux stationed in Paris served the state on reduced wages of 492.75 francs, corporal-tambours (365), tambours (328.50), musicians (355.88 on a daily rate of .975), i.e., 10 francs less than corporals and less than ordinary tambours (292).\textsuperscript{159} Compare the salaries in Table 3.9, Table 3.10, Table 3.11, and Table 3.12. The Restoration and July Monarchy maintained the low status of soldier-musicians: none permitted to reach the rank of officer, including the bandmasters (‘chefs de musique’) now demoted to the petit-état-major in January 1816 where they remained for almost forty years.

The comparisons of salaries of instrumentalists across genres and regimes reveal their status inconsistencies. In 1816, a Paris Conservatoire accompanist earned 300 francs, while organist, Cosyn, and others from Service du Chapel earned 200 to 400 francs. The Paris Opéra repetiteurs received between 300 and 500 francs in 1816 and in 1831.\textsuperscript{160} Only the officers and soldiers of

\textsuperscript{155} See Ténot, Coup d’État of Napoleon III, 264.

\textsuperscript{156} Belhomme, Histoire de infanterie en France (III), 272–273

\textsuperscript{157} Belhomme, Histoire de infanterie en France (III), 438–439.

\textsuperscript{158} Belhomme, Histoire de infanterie en France (IV), 211, 259, 333, and 527.

\textsuperscript{159} See Belhomme, Histoire de infanterie en France (V), 17: daily rates comprised ‘tambour-major, 1 fr. 35; caporal tambour, 1 fr.; musicien, 0 fr. 975.’

\textsuperscript{160} See AJ/37/12, Paris Conservatoire August Budget 1831, ANF.
the King’s état-major earned good incomes in 1821, one-third less than fifty years earlier. A ‘Capitaine colonel’ earned 25,000 francs (30.5 times greater than a tambour-major on 820), with tambours and fifes of the King’s ‘compagnies’ on 650 and 600 respectively. See Table 3.10.

Table 3.9 Extract of hierarchies of French and Swiss military salaries in 1816.

Restoration tariffs brought pay cuts for musicians left without indemnities: Tambour-majors earned 1.35 daily, musicians .975, tambours .5, and corporal tambour 1, and a Colonel 17.36. See Belhomme, Histoire de l’infanterie en France (V), 23.

161 A publication discussing the ‘quaint’ nineteenth-century 30:1 ratio of élite and basic salaries, advises that this has ballooned to 200:1 this century, so by today’s standards a salary of 70,000 implies a top salary of $14,000,000. See Joseph E Stiglitz, The Price of Inequality (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 2012), Chapter 1.

162 See Belhomme, Histoire de l’infanterie en France (V), 23.
The extract shows the salaries of the King's Guard per Royal Ordinance, 21 March 1821. Rivalries with Ultra-royalists in parliament after the assassination of Duc de Berry at the Opéra brought laws reducing the salaries and composition of the King's l'état-major band and companies down to 10 senior officers, 12 officers, 1 surgeon, and 1 tambour-major. The salaries ranged from 25,000 francs for a Captain-Colonel (marshal), 7,500 for a Colonel, 820 for a Tambour-major, to 600 for fifers.\textsuperscript{163}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ÉTAT-MAJOR</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>capitaine colonel (maréchal de camp)</td>
<td>25,000 francs per an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lieutenant-colonel (colonel)</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>major (lieutenant-colonel)</td>
<td>5,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjudant-major (chef du bataillon)</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porte-drapeau (capitaine)</td>
<td>2,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjudant (capitaine)</td>
<td>2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trésorier (lieutenant)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>officier d'habillement (lieutenant)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armérier</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chirurgien-major</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2,300, 2,600 or 3,600, suivant ses années de service.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPAGNIES</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 capitaines (lieutenants-colonels)</td>
<td>5,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 lieutenants ( chefs de bataillon)</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 sous-lieutenants ( chefs de bataillon)</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 sergents-majors (capitaines)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 sergents de 1er classe (capitaines)</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 sergents de 2e classe (lieutenants)</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 caporaux fourriers (sous-lieutenants)</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 caporaux en 1er (sous-lieutenants)</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 caporaux en 2e (adjudants)</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254 gardes (sergents)</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 tambours</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 fifres</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Restoration’s abolition of professional musicians for état-major bands deprived professional instrumentalists of income and France of excellent players for their military bands who had turned to theatres for employment. This expense-saving ploy led to an embarrassingly degenerated music genre compared to the rest of Europe and to a general disdain for France’s poor quality military music and their musicians. Concerns about France’s militia escalated when, on 27 April 1827, Charles X, and ultra-royalist Minister, Villèle, dismissed 14,500 Guardsmen leaving about 290 soldier-musicians unemployed. Public outcries of injustice were to no avail and led to the revolution of 1830 when ‘many guardsmen donned their uniforms, banned since the dissolution of the guard in 1827, with few exceptions they took no part in the fighting, being concerned chiefly with guarding their own property.’\textsuperscript{164} Upon their reinstatement in 1830, the next fifteen years remained stable, but not prosperous.

\textsuperscript{163} See Belhomme, Histoire de infanterie en France (V), 89.

Table 3.11 Salaries paid to ordinary military companies during the Second Empire from 1868 to 1871.

After 1865, the Chief of Music earned the same salary as the Sous-lieutenant of 1,700 francs. Just before the laws passed in 1854, a Colonel had earned 7,975 francs and a tambour player 328.50.165

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871 (sous-lieutenant)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonel</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td>5,857</td>
<td>6,233</td>
<td>6,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieut.-colonel</td>
<td>4,300</td>
<td>4,517</td>
<td>4,733</td>
<td>4,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commandant</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>4,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt. 1ère classe</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>2,767</td>
<td>2,833</td>
<td>2,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,467</td>
<td>2,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieut. 1ère classe</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,950</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,850</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porte-drapeau</td>
<td>1,750</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,850</td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sous-lieutenant</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>1,750</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.12 Salaries paid to soldier-musicians in 1874 under the Third Republic.

Annual salaries for soldier-musicians ranged from 938.05 francs (2.67 per day) for a sous-chef de musique, 511 (1.40 per day) for a tambour-major or chef de fanfare, 244.55 (0.67 per day) for a caporal tambour, down to 146 (0.4 per day) for tambours, clarions, and musicians.166

The long-term effect of the monarchical neglect of the military eroded France’s prestige and crushed its remaining musicians as their salaries plummeted, employment opportunities ceased, and veterans could not claim their imperial pensions. Albert Perrin first approached the monarchy in 1845 to remedy matters without results. After the revolutions in 1848, Kastner, Perrin, Klosé, and l’Association committee approached President Napoleon constrained by the National Assembly. It took until 1854 when Napoleon as Emperor increased their remunerations, having sustained army loyalties for the Crimean War (England and France at war with Russia) and the Franco-Prussian War. He restructured the music corps, reinstated


bandmasters to l’état-major under Marshal Vaillant, retained the ‘sous-chef de musique’ and three grades of musicians with the petit état-major band, as discussed in the following section.\(^{167}\)

Salaries did not improve significantly at that point although there were opportunities for employment at a higher status. Upon Napoleon’s capture and France’s defeat, the army of the Third Republic returned to Paris to crush the Commune in May 1871. President Thiers—tinged with malice after the Communards set fire to the imperial musical landmarks, the Tuileries Palace, Théâtre-Lyrique, and his property—murdered and discharged the National Guard and then reversed all of Napoleon’s laws favouring military musicians. In 1874, the new president restructured the army, awarded bandmasters higher salaries, but demoted all the other military musicians as shown in Table 3.12. The following section focuses on the events that involved soldier-musicians during the three 1848 revolutions and the 1851 coup d’état.

**Military Musicians and their Improved Status during the Second Empire**

In 1845, the l’Association committee overseeing fifteen-hundred society members—many of whom were military musicians—declared that, compared with the rest of Europe, French military bands were inferior and used poor quality instruments. The committee comprised of high-status performers and composers in Paris such as Zimmermann, Laty, Thalberg, Tolbecque, Berlioz, Herz, and Kreutzer. They tabled and submitted a list of recommendations for the Minister of War to consider, which he promptly dismissed. Following this, at the behest of Lieutenant-General Comte de Rumigny, ‘Adolph Sax was engaged to re-organise the instrumentation of French bands’ and the Garde de Paris—the future Garde Républicaine—to introduce new instruments under ‘système Sax’ in August 1845.\(^{168}\) Sax moved from Brussels to Paris, with support from Berlioz and Halévy, and established his factory. Following the devastating effects of the insurrections in 1848, President Napoleon intervened to prevent Sax’s bankruptcy to ensure his factory continued to furnish his military with updated instruments.

On 1 January 1848, one month before the first revolution, the French infantry comprised 337 battalions of 9,162 officers overseeing 238,553 troops, i.e., approximately 4,777 musicians on salaries ranging from 532.17 francs for a tambour-major down to 182.50 for a ‘tambour du centre et sapeur.’\(^{169}\) The revolution erupted after Louis-Philippe suppressed local plans to hold a banquet for officers, non-commissioned soldiers, and thousands of oppressed unemployed workers gathered for dinners, drinking, music, and political debates about France’s economic woes. In mirroring the similar circumstances of the 1789 Revolution, a famine had created an

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economic crisis in France by 1848: it caused bread-prices to rise; the monarchy fell into debt; the bourgeoisie refused to cooperate to alleviate the debts; the Bank of France collapsed; and there arose a starving mass of unemployed people. Revolution erupted. On 24 February, Louis-Philippe abdicated to a provisional republican government, and then two insurrections followed. The first in May, protesting against the harsh laws and new tax measures the Second Republic enforced, at which point General Courtis of the National Guard refused to fire on the angry mobs and local militia. Napoleon came out of exile from England to Paris and then returned. A second rebellion ensued in June involving up to 60,000 citizens protesting against the abolition of the workshops and the severe wage-cuts proposed for workers. During June, the National Assembly ordered the military drummers and trumpeters to sound la Rappel and la Général to instruct 3,000 National Guardsmen to gather at the Paris barricades to fight the mobs. The skirmishes caused the deaths of 30 guardsmen and the ‘four days of fighting cost 1,460 lives’ and 15,000 arrests—some say 25,000.\(^{170}\) Napoleon returned to Paris to secure power as President and then restructured the army, the police, and the Mobile and National Guards with General Bedeau as the new Minister of War. He released most of those charged (see Table 4.2 and Table 4.4 in the following chapter). He waited until 3 December 1851 to stage his coup fundamentally reliant upon five military associates and a cooperative militia that silenced its drums to prevent the Assembly’s call to arms against him.

![Graph](image_url)

**Figure 3.12** The graph illustrates the 22 legions of military subscribers to *l’Association* in 1850. The analysis shows the domination of 1°, 2°, 13°, and 9° legions plus 15 chefs de music (bandmasters).

In 1850, complying with the Second Republic’s *public utility* laws passed in 1849, *l’Association* published the full details of its financial activities and the details of its 3,530 subscribers (976 not identified by profession): 257 (about 9%) comprised of the military, soldier-musicians, and 15 bandmasters listed by regiments (See Figure 3.12 displaying the divisions by legions). Other

\(^{170}\) See Robertson, *Revolutions of 1848*, 90–96. For statistical details from Charles Tilly, see chapter 4 of this thesis.
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*l’Association* members included 142 musicians from the Paris Opéra, 128 pianists, 121 from Opera-Comique, 86 composers, 45 from the Théâtre-Italien, and 23 Conservatoire Professors. See Appendix 7. Laws requiring transparency comply with Weber’s theory of state-suspicions of mobs, private organisations, and financial transactions. Due to the influence of Kastner, Perrin, and *l’Association*’s extensive military network the unknown bandmasters of the infantry (Gymn Militaire, cuirassiers, de ligne, du génie, lanciers, dragons, artillerie, and carabiniers, Garde République, hussars, and cavalry) co-joined bands to stage fund-raising concerts. These were *Du Festival Militaire du 24 July 1846* at the Hippodrome, the pre-coup concert of 17 August 1851, and post-coup concert of 10 April 1852. The latter concert staged in the presence of Emperor Napoleon, his wife, and state officials, involved 1,500 military musicians under the batons (maces) of 31 bandmasters including Sax and Georges Paulus as shown in Table 3.13.171

**Table 3.13** The extract lists the 31 regiments and bandmasters of the Paris Military Fete, 10 April 1852. The list summarises the leading bandmasters under the Second Empire as a base for further research. *L’Association* and *Review Gazette de Musicale* reports President Napoleon’s attendance at the Grand Fete comprising an orchestra of 1,500 military musicians from 30 companies and the former Garde de République under the baton of 31 chefs de musique (bandmasters).172


172 See *l’Association* minutes, 1852, 25 and 61–63, and see *Review Gazette de Musicale*, 1852, 170.
The significance of tambour players and buglers to the republican state during a revolutionary crisis emerges from the events that unfolded on the dawn of Napoleon’s *coup d’état*, 2 December 1851. As Chief of Staff of the National Guard Mr Vieyra’s first task that morning was to arrange ‘for the drums of the National Guard to be bursted [sic].’ This strategy was ‘an efficient but not very heroic means of preventing the beating of the call’ of the army of the Assembly against President Napoleon, who stood accused of high treason under Article 68 of the Constitution. He had earlier warned Colonel de Béville, General Lawoestine, and several key National Guard officers about ‘the terrible secret’ that day, and to be on location at the assigned spot at 6 am to await orders. On the morning of the coup, Napoleon forbade the National Guardsmen from wearing their uniforms. De Morny, as Minister of the Interior, warned General Magnan not to succumb to the same winning tactics of the past revolutionaries who secured National Guard support to overturn regimes. He wrote, ‘I repeat to you that the plan of the rioters is to tire out the troops so as to get them cheap on the third day. That is the way it was on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, 1830; and the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of February, 1848.’

Doctor Véron’s vivid account of the *coup d’état* in his *Mémoires* (Nouveaux Memoires d’un Bourgeois de Paris) advises that on the eve of the coup, Napoleon ensured that it was business as usual at the *Opéra Comique*. He ordered key army and administrative personnel to attend the opera so as not to draw attention to anything unusual and especially to his two rivals ‘General Cavaignac and General de Lamoriciere seated in an adjoining box.’ Music played an essential role in the conquest.

It is known that such measures had been taken that the call of the National Guard could not be beaten. These measures attained their object. The National Guard, which might have spontaneously assembled in the meantime, showed itself nowhere.

The barricades went up in Paris as 30,000 men, including musicians, prepared for revolutionary battles—republicans against imperialists. The Assembly collapsed, on 3 December, Colonel Rochefort ordered the ‘buglers and the advance-guard to enter the ranks’ of hostile republican crowds ‘with the intention of piercing with the lance all who should oppose his passage,’ leaving many dead. During the siege, ‘the dead body of a bugler of the dismounted chasseurs, killed in the attack upon the barricades of the Arts-et-Metiers, had been placed in a house.’ Meanwhile,

173 Ténot, *Coup d’État of Napoleon III*, 90.
174 Ténot, *Coup d’État of Napoleon III*, 90.
175 Ténot, *Coup d’État of Napoleon III*, 161.
177 Ténot, *Coup d’État of Napoleon III*, 113.
178 For a full account of the event, see Ténot, *Coup d’État of Napoleon III*, 182. He quotes from military historian, Captain Hippolyte de Mauduit (1794–1862), *Révolution Militaire du 2 Décembre*, 176–177.
179 Ténot, *Coup d’État of Napoleon III*, 211.
at the Boulevard Poissonniere, another drama unfolded when a clerk, firing shots at a pursuing bugler, ran into a building killed the bugler and then died at the scene.\textsuperscript{180} Representations concerning the number of dead and wounded remained a point of debate in Paris. After the Christmas and New Year celebrations passed, the new imperial government voted on 15 January 1852 to retain the republican 80,000-strong army—thus continuing employment for about 1,600 soldier-musicians.\textsuperscript{181} Emperor Napoleon revised the army structures, uniforms, \textit{batteries}, \textit{sonneries}, flags, and awarded medals of distinction (‘médaillé militaire’) to loyal members of his army on 22 Jan 1852.\textsuperscript{182} Some say that Napoleon ‘paid out’ the Generals, Minister of War (Saint-Arnaud), Commander in Chief of the Army of Paris (General Changarnier), Prefect of the Police (de Maupas), army officers, and the National Guard after withdrawing 20 million francs (£4,000,000) from the Bank of France. The effect of silencing the military drummers on the December dawn proved crucial in staging the coup, while an unnamed ‘drum-major’ of the fifth district legion revealed the location of a cellar containing ‘three-hundred hidden muskets and ammunition’ of the republican rioters—promptly sequestered.\textsuperscript{183} Napoleon seized victory on the Anniversary of Austerlitz as his uncle had fifty-two years earlier. The Second Republic National Assembly dissolved on 2 December 1851, as Napoleon secured charismatic power over the state.

During the 1840s, one outstanding military conductor, Georges Paulus, had led the Garde Républicaine music corps and staged concerts with church choirs, organists, military bands, Paris Opéra soloists, theatre musicians, and \textit{l’Orphéon} to raise funds in partnership with \textit{l’Association}. His relationship with state officials, high-status musicians, and Sax enabled his good friend, Albert Perrin, to champion their endeavours to improve the \textit{status quo} for military musicians during 1845. Dissatisfied with the tokenism of the Special Commission in 1845, that merely appeared to redress the subordinate position of the musicians, and troubled by the outcomes of the 1848 Revolution, twenty-two \textit{l’Association} committee members petitioned the Minister of War, Général Rullière, to address the issue by supplying a list of recommendations.\textsuperscript{184} Perrin followed with his publication, \textit{Réorganisation des musiques régimentaires en France},

\textsuperscript{180} Ténot, \textit{Coup d’État of Napoleon III}, 227. \textit{The Moniteur} reported the events; see chapter 4 of the thesis for statistics.

\textsuperscript{181} See Belhomme, \textit{Histoire de l’infanterie en France} (V), 314 and regarding 20 clarions for the chasseur battalion, 28 musicians and 3 corporal tambours for the \textit{petit état-major}, and see 332–333.

\textsuperscript{182} See Belhomme, \textit{Histoire de l’infanterie en France} (V), 287 and 313.

\textsuperscript{183} Ténot, \textit{Coup d’État of Napoleon III}, 188.

declaring that since 1815, musicians who joined the French army as privates the monarchies had treated abysmally. They had not received promotions, salary increases, or appropriate pensions: ‘after thirty years of good and blameless service, as simple privates they leave it.’ Resentments escalated as matters progressed slowly under the Republican Assembly that continually blocked their requests. Napoleon’s coup brought the army, the police, and the National Guard under his command who willingly served him. The defunct Garde Républicaine band (formerly Royale) that consisted of 120 hired professional musicians in 1848, mostly graduates from the Paris Conservatoire, formed the new Garde Impériale band on 21 October 1852, where they remained until 1870 governed by new laws extending their status, pay, and employment.

Napoleon, as Emperor, addressed the petitions from l’Association and Perrin, remedying matters in his decree on 16 August 1854, updated in March 1860. He reformed ‘musiques de la garde’ permitting up to thirty-one soldier-musicians (classified by three classes) plus bandmasters and twenty-five student-musicians to play for military spectacles and the Paris Opéra ball. For the first time in history, a bandmaster (chef de musique) as an appointee of the Emperor received officer status and a salary equivalent to a Second Lieutenant, and after serving ten years, to a Lieutenant. Furthermore, an assistant to a bandmaster appointed by the Minister of War became an Adjutant (Warrant Officer) directing 33 musicians divided into three classes: 5 first-class (Sergeant Majors), 10 second-class (Sergeants), and 18 third-class soldiers (Corporals). The twenty-five ‘student-musicians’ given soldier status comprised a special outfit of 2 flutes, 4 small and 8 large clarinets, 2 oboes, 8 saxophones, 2 horns with pistons, 4 trumpets, 4 trombones, 4 small saxhorns, 3 sax-trombones, 10 saxhorns basses and contrabasses, 1 bass-drum, 2 timpanidrums, and 2 pairs of cymbals. Rewarding talent in the charismatic tradition of his uncle, compensating in part for the abuses of the past he kept military support. L’Association published a list of pensions in 1861 and 1862 (see Table 3.14) showing the diverse categories of ancien militaire musicians from Garde Royale, Gardes du corps, and Garde Nationale who had not received indemnities from regimes following revolutions and wars.

The Second Empire brought financial relief to soldier-musicians and initiated a renaissance for military music through the influence of l’Association and Adolph Sax’s military music factory, purchasing improved instruments for l’état-major bands. France fared well in military parades with Italy, Prussia, Austria, and Germany. Concerts staged from 1854 until 1870 comprised of specially-trained military musicians playing popular opera arias and theatre songs; the Emperor

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185 See Perrin, *Military Bands and their Re-organisation*, 5 and see Chapter 1.


188 For compositions of army bands from these countries, see Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire*, 187–202.
requesting Offenbach's music from *Orphée* to be placed on programs 'desiring to hear for himself the work from which his military bands so frequently borrowed.'\(^{190}\) The Conservatoire's new 'Classes des élèves militaires' that formed in 1856, led by General Mellinet of the *Garde Impériale* and Kastner's, ceased when a body of professors submitted *Rapport de la Commission* on 1 February 1859.\(^{190}\) The army expanded to 140,000 in the 1850s, but reduced to 100,000 in the 1860s after the Crimean War: a fall in employment for about 800 soldier-musicians.

**Table 3.14 The summary lists military musician's requests to *l'Association* for pensions (1861–1862).**

The 18 pensioners (anciens musiciens militaires) listed below are over 60 years of age, and 13 served Monarchies, the Second Republic, or some the Second Empire in the Royal and National Guard.\(^{191}\)

| Pension requests (1861-1862) from military musicians allocated by number: *l'Association des artistes musiciens* (1843-1880) |
|---|---|---|
| N° 156, M. Chertier, ancien musicien militaire, âgé de 63 ans |
| N° 289, M. Baulier, ex-chef de musique de la garde nationale, âgé de 60 ans |
| N° 312, M. Buet, ancien musicien militaire, âgé de 74 ans |
| N° 377, M. Clément, de Lyon, ancien musicien militaire, âgé de 68 ans |
| N° 493, M. Schlottmann, de Versailles, ex-chef de musique de l'armée, âgé de 74 ans |
| N° 601, M. Heitsch, ancien musicien militaire, âgé de 66 ans |
| N° 708, M. Mauvaise, ancien musicien militaire de la garde royale |
| N° 748, M. Bougon, ancien musicien de la garde royale, gardes-du-corps, trompette-major de la garde nationale à cheval |
| N° 749, M. Blin père, ancien musicien de la troupe de ligne, de la garde royale et des gardes-du-corps. |
| N° 750, M. Gruober, ex-chef de musique de l'armée, âgé de 63 ans |
| N° 923, M. Schatte, ancien musicien militaire, entièrement paralysé |
| N° 1069, M. Yger, ancien musicien de la garde nationale, âgé de 63 ans |
| N° 1070, M. Marchand, ancien musicien de l'artillerie de la garde royale et ancien chef d'orchestre de bal, âgé de 71 ans |
| N° 1687, M. Daniel, ancien musicien du 88e de ligne, âgé de 71 ans |
| N° 1777, M. Lautier, ancien musicien militaire, âgé de 78 ans |
| N° 1944, M. Clery (Cléry), d'Epernay, ancien musicien militaire, âgé de 70 ans |
| N° 2442, M. Parès père, vingt-cinc ans de service comme musicien militaire, ne pouvant plus exercer son art |
| N° 2384, M. Marchand, ancien musicien de l'artillerie de la garde royale et ancien chef d'orchestre de bal (Duplicate) |
| N° 3531, M. Daniel, ancien musicien du 88e de ligne (Duplicate) |

**Table 3.15 Extract from Belhomme’s table of Napoleon’s Imperial Army in August 1870.**

At the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War, the army of 929,180 comprised 906,515 soldiers and 22,666 officers: a generic 2% represents about 18,000 military musicians.\(^{192}\)


\(^{191}\) See *l'Association*, 1861, 40–41 and 1862, 32.

\(^{192}\) Belhomme, *Histoire de infanterie en France* (V), 489.
Soldier-Musicians and the Communards

The published account of the augast stocktake of Napoleon’s army at the outbreak of the 1870 Franco-Prussian War accounted for 841 battalions comprising 22,666 officers and 906,515 soldiers (i.e., potentially 18,000 soldier-musicians) shown in Table 3.15. On 11 June 1870, the Minister of War, General de Cissey, who agreed to Sax’s appointment as the professor of military music at the Conservatoire, suspended all classes and shut the Conservatoire until late 1871. This left professors without income and tends to explain their participation in the music activities of the Paris Commune as discussed in chapter 4.193 When France capitulated to Prussia on 29 January 1871, relics of the Republican army of 5,350 officers and 205,488 soldiers (40,000 hospitalised) exited Paris for Versailles with President Thiers to settle France’s war debts. Thiers then passed a decree dismissing the local militia, terminating payments as of 1 April for about 200,000 National Guardsmen and Garde Mobile, including about 2,000 soldier-musicians from the Seine districts.194 In March, approximately 10,000 starving Parisian guardsmen—in ‘the days of the rat and cat menus’—instigated the Paris Commune uprising by seizing the city from the Montmartre hill. In May, there followed the horrific bloody week of reprisals in the streets from the returning army under Thiers.195 During the siege, his army lost about 800 men (including some soldier-musicians), whereas the street massacres yielded about 25,000 civilian deaths, about 4,000 escapees to England and Switzerland, and about 10,000 local militia shot, executed, or deported after courts-martial.196 The number of musicians punished was significant, as many had co-operated with the Communards. The Republic’s retaliatory decree of 29 May 1871 that abolished the National Guard in the Department of the Seine, led to the unemployment of about 120,000 remaining guardsmen; representing approximately 2,000 soldier-musicians.197

On 5 October 1872, escalating matters by reversing Napoleon’s decree of 1854, General Cissey and President Thiers then abolished the three-tiered class salary system for soldier-musicians and removed their officer status. Article 2 states: ‘The hierarchy of the musicians, determined by the Decree of 16 August 1854, is overturned.’198 The élite music-corps reduced from 54 down to 38 plus a bandmaster and an assistant bandmaster. Belhomme explains, ‘Un décret du 5 octobre suprima les classes des musiciens; La musique d’un régiment était composée du chef, du sous-
chef et de 38 soldats musiciens.'¹⁹⁹ Some pre-existing appointments remained until their extinction while the demoted soldier-musicians were allotted small pay increments after ten years as Corporals. Once again, concerned by the plight of military musicians, Perrin approached Général du Barail and the new President Mac-Mahon in 1873, producing signed petitions from l'Association in support while discussing Napoleon's progressive decree of August 1854 without success. Unfortunately, General Cissey had returned to power temporarily in 1874 and blocked the request. Meanwhile, l'Association issued new pensions easing the long-term deleterious effects of past revolutions, wars, lost pension entitlements, and the Third Republic's ruinous decrees.²⁰⁰ After eighty-two years of revolutions and more than fifteen regimes, the results confirm that empires brought substantial benefits to military musicians whereas constitutional monarchies and republics had not. The same applies to talented musicians of all genres.

Conclusion

French regimes treated Paris-based musicians according to Weber's authority-types stratified by genres and instruments according to ancient principles. Opera singers held the greatest status along with conductors and composers, although traditional and rational-legal authorities reduced the status of all musicians by retaining them on low remunerations and withholding pension entitlements from previous regimes. Musicians benefitted from the status of steady employment at the state music institutions of the Paris Opéra and Paris Conservatoire without regaining their upper-middle-class status of 1789. With the exception of empires, regimes suppressed church musicians and soldier-musicians of Weber's communist and warrior communities conforming to his observation of state-suspicion of large power-bases. The dismissals of the National Guard (and their musicians) triggered insurrections that sacked regimes in 1789, 1815, 1830, 1848, 1851, and 1871. Church participation in education led to the large socio-musical phenomenon of the choral movement throughout France. All regimes restructured the National Guard and French armies, changed uniforms, flags, and music war commands upon coming into power, diminishing salaries in real terms. As a Roman Catholic General confirming to Weber's charismatic authority, Napoleon Bonaparte personally intervened to restore the sacred music genre to France, elevate the status of soldier-musicians, and re-establish the Opera's monopoly over all theatres in Paris. The Restoration ceased hiring professional military musicians, rendered soldier-musicians poverty-stricken, and hired imperialist musicians performers at reduced prices. In 1830, support for church and soldier-musicians ended when the July Monarchy adopted capitalist economic measures in favour opera. The 1848 Revolution furthered bureaucratic control over music that devalued the professorial status of musicians. The charismatically endorsed Emperor Napoleon III advanced opera, choral,

¹⁹⁹ See Belhomme, Histoire de infanterie en France (V), 583.

²⁰⁰ Details of pensions issued after 1870 are absent. See 1872, 32; 1873, 36; and 1874, 37.
church, and military music genres throughout France, which the punitive Third Republic reversed as Weber predicts. Benchmark assessments of talent inducted one into the music profession of the state music institutions, but did not ensure sustaining a living under governments dispensing with music genres and musicians at liberty. Opportunity availed itself via social selection more than through open conflict for coveted appointments, as invisible forces of status alliances, social breeding, professional lineage, and political endorsement governed opportunity. During a revolutionary crisis, musicians generally adopted flight strategies and then, as peace ensued, calculatingly or necessarily decided whether to serve under a new regime milieu or not. Surviving one crisis event did not ensure surviving the events that followed as regimes presented challenges and, at times, moral and spiritual dilemmas.

The next chapter discusses Weber’s assertion that all regime states withhold information from the public and compromise the accuracy of statistics published as found with French regime administrations regarding deaths, arrests, and exiles due to revolutions. The chapter confirms that except for May 1871 when troops executed an estimated 25,000 civilians and 10,000 National Guardsmen, there were reduced deaths and improved outcomes for those arrested in revolutions and coups after 1799. It establishes that there were more musicians guillotined during the Terror, more émigrés, and more deaths of musicians from state music institutions, theatres, churches, professional military musicians, and soldier-musicians than declared. The 2% formula derived for this thesis offers realistic statistical guestimates for the military. Trends show that—in keeping with Weber’ authority-types—Republics and Monarchies were harsh towards musicians compared with Empires.
CHAPTER 4: State Monopoly over Violence and Musicians

Legal coercion by violence is the monopoly of the state. Nevertheless, citizens may turn against states in retaliatory revolutions to establish their own state-right to violence as was the often case in France. Having seized power, members of new regimes endeavour to establish the belief in the new state's legitimacy and legal right to use violence to maintain dominion over the pre-existing institutions via the layering of laws and successful repeated implementation of actions under the laws to sustain that belief. Power ensues 'when an efficient administration suppresses the expropriated former holders of legitimate power' via new laws, through subjugation, and by removing officials from power. The Paris Opéra serves as an excellent example of Weber’s principles: new regimes changed its names, directors, administrators, staff, and repertoire.

This chapter investigates Paris-based musicians’ experiences of state violence by referring to events, statistical evidence, and historical accounts, even though documentation from official sources regarding deaths, exiles, arrests, outcomes from trials, and executions of musicians in revolutionary Paris are meagre. The chapter obtains information by extrapolating data and findings from statisticians Donald Greer, Lewis Goldsmith, David Pinkney, Steven Huebner, Charles Tilly, Robert Tombs, and Jacques Rougerie related to occupational categories. It then applies Weber’s Verstehen approach to analysing the social actions and strategies of four ancien regime musicians traversing five regimes during the most violent upheavals in France after July 1789 until 1830 under three authority-types, revealing the contrary fates arising from instrumentally rational and value-rational actions. The four cases are three opera singers, Pierre Garat, Mademoiselle Maillard, and François Lays, plus the violinist, Rudolph Kreutzer.

Music's association with revolution and state violence in Paris arose in 1789 with the hostile gatherings at the front of the Paris Opéra on the eve of 12 July 1789 when chanting mobs threatened to ransack the building, which forced its closure. The following day as the citizen's army ransacked the abbey of St Lazare, the King's Committee of Safety instituted the National Guard to safeguard the Royal Family, all of Paris, and the Opéra. Revolution erupted fired by the new revolutionary song culture the following morning. The Opéra's caterer, Mangin, opened the back doors to give the sans-culottes access to the Opéra's props-room full of spears and swords, which they seized on their way to the Bastille chanting songs like la Carmagnole and Ça Ira. They pillaged the prison and hanged Governor De Launay in what became one of the great theatrical events at the time. From that point, music emerged the new symbol of revolution and came to

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embodie the investiture of the guillotine in Paris—the subject of departmental wranglings over prices with designer-manufacturer, Tobias Schmidt, an amateur musician and forte-piano maker by trade. The guillotine—named after Dr Guillotin who was an elected member of the National Assembly—debuted at the hands of an amateur musician descended from a dynasty of executioners who was Schmidt’s close friend, Charles-Henry Sanson de Longval (1739–1806)—alias Monsieur de Paris—with whom Schmidt played duets. By 1792, the old ritual stigmas removed from executioners, Sanson earned a lucrative salary of 18,000 livres (francs) as an official appointed to perpetuate legal violence on behalf of the state. He earned considerably more than the Opéra administrators, principal artists, and French Army Colonels. To date, historians and statisticians have attribute Sanson, his sons, and his assistants with up to 2,918 guillotinings in Paris during the Reign of Terror, a figure that includes Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, the nobility, clergy, musicians, and the Jacobin administrators of the Opéra.

Economist, Roger Price, claims that in France, ‘losses due to wars of the Revolution and the Empire have been estimated at 1.3 million’ and that during the two constitutional monarchies the death rate in Paris remained high. Statistics regarding musicians in revolutions are virtually non-existent, and yet, Greer lays the foundations for analysis by accounting for them as émigrés and terror victims. While 1795, 1799, 1804, 1814, 1815, 1851, and 1871 were not revolutions in the traditional meaning the statistics are valuable, and nearly all coups involved both Napoleons who secured power retrospectively by plebiscite. Weber observes, ‘The caesarist leader rises either in a military fashion, as a military dictator like Napoleon I, who had his position affirmed through a plebiscite; or he rises in the bourgeois fashion: through plebiscitary affirmation, acquiesced in by the army, of a claim to power on the part of a non-military politician such as Napoleon III.’ The official data concerning up to 80,000 republican exiles following the 1851 coup surfaced after 1881 when the Third Republic offered compensation to about 40,000 victims who had proved their French citizenship. Similarly, the full extent of deaths and arrests in 1871 that exceeded all revolutionary casualties remain a mystery. The results to date provide insight into the composition of the revolutionary crowds split by vocation while accounting for the shifting regime-classifications of occupations and generating information about the uniformities of behaviours and patterns of successful action. Weber declares, ‘Statistical uniformities constitute understandable types of action and constitute sociological generalisations’ providing meaningful sociological conclusions regarding the activities adopted

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3 For Sanson’s account of his family’s duties as executioners in Paris see, Henry Sanson, Mémoires of the Sansons: 1688–1847, Vol I (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876).


by professionals. During a revolutionary crisis, one fought, escaped, obeyed, or died—musicians usually escaped.

**Statistics: Occupations and Revolutions 1789 to 1875**

Scattered across disciplines and archives the, often illegible, documentation regarding Paris-based musicians in revolutions hampers a useful analysis in point, noting that newspapers and journalists of the times, prohibited under penalty of fines and jail terms, could not publish full accounts of judicial trials or political matters as Weber predicts. Reasons for official misinformation, delays in gathering data or concealing information often relate to state policies of secrecy. Weber asserts that ‘every domination established as a continuing one must in some decisive point be secret rule’ because ‘bureaucratic administration always tends to exclude the public, to hide its knowledge and action from criticism.’ Charles Tilly asserts that the reported deaths in a crisis usually ‘provide one of the more reliable indicators of violence’s general extent . . . [and are] less ambiguous’ and ‘more likely to be reported with care.’ Indeed, this was true of the meticulous records kept during the Terror in *Le Moniteur Universal* offering daily reports of trials and guillotinings rivalling the theatre spectacles. One difficulty of obtaining information concerning musicians often arises due to classification diversities of their vocation by instrument or professional titles, and because scholars tend to omit them from historical research as minority groups perhaps due to work required to source details. Despite its deficiencies, the statistical data gathered indicates that 1789, 1793–94, and 1871 brought the most severe outcomes for musicians.

Official sources from between 1789 and 1797 show that approximately 30,000 arrests took place in Paris. Greer reports that according to Hippolyte Taine, 400,000 arrests took place throughout France between March 1793 and August 1794, and by 16 June 1794, there were about 7,000 inmates in the Paris prisons awaiting execution such as opera singers Pierre Garat and Mlle Buret. The 1789 Revolution saw an exodus of professional musicians mainly from Paris Opéra and National Guard that this chapter argues supplemented Greer’s findings of fifty

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9 Musicians are classified by instruments played (violinist, singer, organist etc.), speciality (composer or conductor), or status (*maître de chapelle* (Kapellmeister) or chief of the orchestra).

émigré musicians of various status (class) criteria.\textsuperscript{11} Added to this are 45 military musicians, derived from using the 2% formula, documented musicians who fled Paris, and the 907 church musicians who requested pensions from Rome. Of the 97,545 registered émigrés, 6,851 did not identify their vocation, i.e., 7%, so that casualties are higher than reported (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1  The table show the fates of 23 Paris-based musicians from 1789 to 1795. 13 musicians guillotined, 2 suicided, 2 saved, 2 jailed, 1 stigmatised, 2 escaped (Italy and England), 1 died in Napoleon’s army, while 10 had served the Jacobins with one on the Opéra Committee.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAST NAME</th>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Instrument / Activity</th>
<th>Political Persuasion</th>
<th>Fate: 1789-1795</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BENAUT</td>
<td>Josse-Françoise-Joseph</td>
<td>1743-1794</td>
<td>(ancien regime) Organist/ Harpsichordist/ Composer</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Guillotined 1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURET</td>
<td>Mademoiselle</td>
<td>1760-1794</td>
<td>(ancien regime) Paris Opéra Soprano</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Guillotined 1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHENIER</td>
<td>André</td>
<td>1762-1794</td>
<td>Librettist/Poet</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Guillotined 1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COQUEAU</td>
<td>Claude-Philibert</td>
<td>1755-1794</td>
<td>Critic/ Musician/ Architect</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Guillotined 1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De MONTGEROULT</td>
<td>Héïène</td>
<td>1764-1836</td>
<td>Harpsit/ Pianist</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Imprisoned pending guillotine in 1793/ Sarrette rescued her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESPRÉAUX</td>
<td>Claude-Jean-François</td>
<td>1746-1793</td>
<td>Leader of 1st violins Paris Opéra orchestra</td>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>Suicided 1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUBUISSON</td>
<td>Pierre-Ulric (Paul)</td>
<td>1746-1794</td>
<td>Opera actor/ Librettist</td>
<td>Royalist/ Republican (Jacobin)</td>
<td>Guillotined 1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDELLENN</td>
<td>Gottfried Ludwig</td>
<td>1753-1794</td>
<td>Instrument maker</td>
<td>Royalist/ Republican (Jacobin)</td>
<td>Guillotined 1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDELLENN</td>
<td>Jean-Frédéric</td>
<td>1749-1794</td>
<td>Organist/ Keyboard</td>
<td>Royalist/ Republican (Jacobin)</td>
<td>Guillotined 1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FABRE D’EGLANTINE</td>
<td>Philippe-François-Nazaire</td>
<td>1750-1794</td>
<td>Opera actor/ Librettist</td>
<td>Jacobin</td>
<td>Guillotined 1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FERARI</td>
<td>Giacomo-Gottfredo</td>
<td>1763-1842</td>
<td>Harpsichord/ Piano/ Voice/ Composer</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Fled Paris 1792/ Settled in London permanently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRANCOEUR</td>
<td>Louis-Joseph</td>
<td>1738-1804</td>
<td>Viols/ Master of King’s Chamber music/ orchestra director</td>
<td>Royalist/ Republican (Jacobin)</td>
<td>Imprisoned 1789-1794/ died in poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GARAT *</td>
<td>Pierre</td>
<td>1762-1823</td>
<td>(ancien regime) Tenor/ Freemason/ National Assembly family members</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Tenor Paris Opéra &amp; Salons/ Imprisoned/ Escaped 1793/ Imprisoned/ Released 1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEBAUER</td>
<td>Michel-Joseph</td>
<td>1763-1812</td>
<td>Military Musician/ National Guard/ Oboe/ Viola/ Composer</td>
<td>Royalist/ Republican/ Bonapartist</td>
<td>Royal Swiss Guard &amp; National Guard Musician 1794/ died in battle 1812 in Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LABORDE</td>
<td>Jean-Benjamin</td>
<td>1734-1794</td>
<td>Violin/ Opera Composer</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Guillotined 1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LALOU</td>
<td>Louis-Philibert</td>
<td>1750?-1792</td>
<td>No details/ Accused as a maker of fake Assignats</td>
<td>Royalist/ Republican (Jacobin)</td>
<td>Guillotined 1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAYS *</td>
<td>François</td>
<td>1758-1831</td>
<td>(ancien regime) Opera Bass/ Paris Opéra Jacobin Committee/Freemason</td>
<td>Royalist/ Jacobin/ Imperialist/ Royalist</td>
<td>Opéra Committee as Jacobin Republican/ Imprisoned 1795/ Conservatoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LESCUREY</td>
<td>Joseph-Guillaume</td>
<td>1751-1793</td>
<td>No details/ Accused as accomplice to conspiracy</td>
<td>Royalist/ Republican (Jacobin)</td>
<td>Guillotined 1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUMIERE</td>
<td>Jacques-Nicolas</td>
<td>1748-1793</td>
<td>Paris Opéra/ Accused as a traitor</td>
<td>Republican (Jacobin)</td>
<td>Guillotined 1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAILLARD</td>
<td>Marie-Therese Davoux</td>
<td>1750-1818</td>
<td>(ancien regime) Paris Opéra Soprano</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Rejected Republic/ Forced to perform at Festivals/ Stigmatised/ died in poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PELTIER (Pelletier?)</td>
<td>Michel (Laurent-Place)</td>
<td>1750-1793</td>
<td>Composer/ Accused as maker of fake Assignats</td>
<td>Royalist/ Republican (Jacobin)</td>
<td>Guillotined 1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PICCINI</td>
<td>Niccolò</td>
<td>1728-1800</td>
<td>Italian composer of opera, opera buffa &amp; symphonies</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Fled Paris 1789/ House arrest Italy/ Return to Paris 1798/ Died in poverty 1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIAL</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>1737-1795</td>
<td>Tenor/ Opera-Comique</td>
<td>Republican (Jacobin)</td>
<td>Suicided by poison 1795 terrified of retributions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{11} Greer, The Incidence of the Terror, Table VII, 164 and see Donald Greer, The Incidence of Emigration during the French Revolution, reprinted with permission by Peter Smith (Gloucester, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1966), 127.
The laws establishing The Codes of Terror in Paris began on 10 March 1793 defined the legal processes after an arrest and imprisonment specifying that a trial by jury required that one appear before a panel of five judges. After October 1793, for the sake of expediency, new laws limited trials to 3-days’ duration without rights of representation or appeal for the defendant that inevitably led to certain death under Section 7 of the Law of 22 Prairial. This law suppressed legal counsel for the accused and denied defence witnesses applied to sixteen indictable offences, while proof necessary to convict the ‘enemies of the people’ comprised of ‘every kind of evidence, whether material or moral, oral, or written.’ None escaped scrutiny, especially those at the Paris Opéra as the new hub of Jacobin officials, police surveillance, and the haunt of state executioner, Sanson, condemning musicians to perpetual terror. Complete details of musicians guillotined or those who remained in Paris after 1792 are sketchy, opening options for further research on point as discussed in this chapter.

Greer states that of the estimated 16,594 citizens executed on sixteen indictable offences during the Reign of Terror, 2,639 (approximately 16%) took place in Paris. Greer identifies seventeen ‘artists’ out of the 902 high-ranking upper-middle-class professionals guillotined. Castil-Blaze confirms ten Opéra musicians guillotined, whereas the research for this thesis identifies more. Scholars have not examined chorus members or orchestral players from all the theatres in Paris, tending to concentrate on high-status performers instead. What is amazing about the Terror was that the theatres and concert halls remained crowded as ‘the next day's batch (fournee) of trials was awaited as eagerly as the weather bulletin.’ Survival issues for élite musicians exacerbated with the flourishing capitalist theatre enterprises in the new markets that brought increased pressures with the escalating numbers of low-quality music theatres hiring cheap labour and as amateur street musicians burst forth onto the streets under the watchful eyes of the Jacobins.

‘The guillotine took its first human life on the 25th of April, 1792,’ Paris-based musician, Louis-Philibert Lalou (1752–1792), followed on 17 December 1792 among the early forgers, accused

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12 Greer, The Incidence of the Terror, Chapter 1.
13 Greer, The Incidence of the Terror, 20 and see The Law of Prairial, 10 June 1794, Section 8.
14 Edwards claims the figure to be 2,625 until 28 July 1794 in his publication Old and New Paris, 329.
15 James, History of the French Revolution, 277.
as a ‘Maker of Assignats’ the Republic executed him at the Paris Carrousel. Those associated with the Paris Opéra like Pierre-Ulric Dubuisson, Philippe-François-Nazaire d’Eglantine, and Louis-Philibert Laborde who walked the scaffold among the twelve of the twenty-three musicians listed in Table 4.1, along with military musician, Michael-Joseph Gebauer, and others originating from outside Paris such as C. Horion, Edelmann brothers, and Saint Léger sisters. Returning émigrés still faced guillotining up until August 1795 when General Napoleon extended an amnesty after his army shot 748 émigrés after defeating the invading forces at Quiberon in July. After 6 April 1802, about 52,000 émigrés returned to France without penalty.

The most perilous time for French citizens lay between November 1793 and February 1794 when guillotinings escalated from about 2,000 to over 3,500 in a four-month period. Nobles and upper classes comprised almost 54% of those guillotined. Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 summarise Greer’s statistical analyses of the Paris guillotinings by class status and the charges brought against them. The most common charge related to espousing counter-revolutionary opinions (37.4%) and perceived conspiracies against the Jacobin state (25.62%). Castil-Blaze reports the number of guillotinings from the Paris Opéra until 1794 amounted to sixteen [‘Seize personnes, appartenant à l’Opéra de diverses manières, périssent de mort violente en 1792, 93, 94,’], which includes the Jacobin sans-culotte opera administrators Danton, Hébert, Chaumette, Henriot, [and] Maximilien Robespierre. In January of 1794, Paris saw 82 people sent to the guillotine, in February 75, March 123, April 263, and May 324, escalating to approximately 481 in June and 580 in July—assessed by correlating data from Greer’s Table VIII and applying a derived 42% ratio from the May figures. This thesis accounts for five Opéra musicians, shown in Table 4.1, amongst eighty musicians of a staff of 415 reported in the Théâtre de la République et des Arts

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Places (London: Cassell and Company Ltd, 1893), 329, and for discussions about executioner Sanson, dubbed ‘Monsieur de Paris,’ see Chapters XXIX and XXX.

17 Musicians guillotined, mainly domiciled in Lyons, accused as counter-revolutionaries, conspirators or makers of Assignats were Pierre Aignes, Louis Clement, Félix Demaki, Claude Gadois, Louis-Charles Horion, Hubert Javet, Jean Leibrecht, Jean-Baptist Leroy, Michel Peltier, Alexandre Romainville, Jean-Baptiste Quesnel, and Joseph Villeret.


Budget of 1798, which leaves six unidentified. These figures are small compared with the state murders and executions in May 1871 when an ‘estimate of the murdered runs from 17,000 to 35,000.’ The figure includes National Guard musicians, soldier-musicians, several from music theatres, and Paris Conservatoire Director, Salvador Daniel, executed and left dead on the street.

For opera performers, the Terror remained perilous up until the last of the malevolent Jacobin officials met with death in late July 1794, when uttering, singing, or perhaps thinking a wrong word, or a royalist tune carried a penalty of death, as Garat discovered. On 14 November 1793, Chaumette addressed his concerns about the suspected counter-revolutionaries lurking within the Opéra and leading theatres in Paris, demanded Mademoiselle Montansier’s arrest for illegally building a theatre in the Paris Commune, and then placed all artists in Paris under

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22 Greer, *Incidence of the Terror*, Table IV, 154. Assignats were paper currency from between 100 to 1,000 francs.

23 Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror*, 118.
Jacobin surveillance. This action marked the date when the Opéra artists and its repertoire became a state-concern in having to tailor performances to reinforce the Jacobin milieu facilitated by politicised compositions from compliant republican composers Cherubini, Méhul, Grétry, Lesueur, and Gossec. Of these, only Lesueur effectually negotiated the transitions from the Jacobins through to the Restoration while Cherubini triumphed after Napoleon’s demise.

![Figure 4.2](image-url)  
*Data extrapolated from Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution: A Statistical Interpretation*, Table VII, page 164.

**Figure 4.2** The graph depicts deaths by class extrapolated from Greer’s analysis of 2,639 executed in Paris. Most were from Upper Middle Class (28.27%), then Nobles (25.24%), Working Class (18.68%), Lower Middle Class (13.53%), and Clergy (9.32%). Opera singers and professional musicians belonged to the Upper Middle Class until 1797.

The Thermidorean Reaction to the Terror caused the cessation of the Revolutionary Tribunal and brought Robespierre’s execution among the 136 guillotinings in four days: 22 on 27 July 1794; 70 the following day; and 44 two days later. Musicians were not among them. The number of arrests and deaths related to the revolutions and regime changes after 1794 seem negligible. Deaths due to wars escalated in 1813 under Napoleon, and notably in 1814 when the four leading monarchies of Europe—The Quadruple Alliance—conspired to overthrow him and restore the French monarchy. Information concerning escapees, deaths, arrests, appointments, and reappointments of musicians during the regime reversals between 1814 and 1815 from Napoleon’s 100–day return to power to its aftermath is minimal. Sarrette’s dismissal, reappointment, and dismissal from the Conservatoire perhaps best exemplify those most affected.

24 Henry-Sutherland Edwards, *History of the Opera from its Origin in Italy to the present time with Anecdotes of the Most Celebrated Composers and Vocalists of Europe* (London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1862), 73.

25 Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror*, Table VII, 164.
The power play between Napoleon and the leading monarchs of Europe in 1814–1815 brought instability to Paris, the Paris Conservatoire, and the Opéra. There ensued name changes to institutions; letterheads scratched out, as shown in Figure 4.3; budgets issued and reissued; ordinances and decrees reversed (Royal Ordinance 28 May 1814 vs Imperial Decree 28 March 1815); pensions voided and reinstated; ancien regime royalists returned and fled; and imperialists escaped, returned, and fled. Meanwhile, the Conservatoire and the Opéra functioned under alternating administrators and directors at the top level under toppling regimes as Weber advises. Those most affected involved military officers and musicians appointed, dismissed, and reappointed to l'état-major bands of the Garde Royale, Garde Impériale, Académie Royale de Musique, and Académie Impériale de Musique as explained in chapter 3 of this thesis.

Figure 4.3 Extract from an edited letterhead from the revised Paris Opéra budget from 1815. Administrators under both Restorations edited the imperial stationery until late 1815, furnishing cost assessments divided by Article criteria under Royal Decrees.27

Peace ensued after 1815 under the restored monarchy led by King Louis XVIII until Charles X ascended the throne upon Louis’s death, and dissension arose in Paris that escalated in April 1827 when Charles and Minister Villèle dismissed 14,500 National Guardsmen, leaving about 290 soldier-musicians unemployed (i.e., 2%). Revolution erupted. The promised reinstatement


27 See AJ/13/78 (Comptabilité, Appointements du personnel et budgets 1), XII–XIII, National Archives, Paris, for samples of letterheads changed for 1814 and 1815. Also, see Appendix 4.
of the National Guard (Garde Royale) secured Louis-Philippe ascent to the throne in 1830, and ironically, deposed him in 1848.\(^{28}\) After the three-day uprising, the 'Prefect of Police estimated the insurgent dead at 80, the wounded at 200. Government forces lost 70 dead and more than 290 wounded.'\(^{29}\) However, according to the official reports and Table 53 of from *Recherches Statistiques sur la Ville de Paris et le Département de la Seine* the number of deaths from the July Revolution was well above 150: 'Morts par suite des événements de juillet' were 688 (350 in July; 251 August; 59 September; 15 October; and 13 November).\(^{30}\) The number of the reported dead increased after 1840, which complies with Weber’s observations about state secrecy, state security, and the state’s uncontested monopoly over violence and need for favourable press, as seen from the data available for Pinkney and Tilly:

> The sheer number of fatalities in contention occasionally approaches the level of disaster. The 950 people killed in the Three Glorious Days of 1830, the 1,400 or more who died in the June Days of 1848, and the likely 20,000 Communards of 1871 who perished, stain popular contention with blood.\(^{31}\)

No official occupational census exists in France for 1830, which makes assessing the occupational categories of those affected by revolution complex. By combining the incomplete records from the three-day revolution of 1830 with the dead listed by occupation and those who subsequently died from wounds, and by retrospectively applying occupational criteria from the industrial census of the *Chamber of Commerce* in 1846, Pinkney verified that the composition of the revolutionary crowd was ‘strikingly similar’ to that in 1789.\(^{32}\) Drawing upon Ernest Labrousse and Louis Chevalier’s work, Pinkney’s first analysis of the 1830 revolutionary crowd, asserts there were 950 deaths of primarily unskilled workers. This number is significantly larger than the 211 deaths reported from the surviving records of the *Commission des Recompenses nationales*: the figure—updated in 1840—lists 504 names on the ‘Column of July’ at the *Place de la Bastille* memorial.\(^{33}\) Tilly affirms Pinkney’s claims by saying that ‘about 1,000 French people died in popular contention—950 of them in the Parisian uprising of 27–29 July’ or ‘163 military

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33 Pinkney, “The Crowd in the French Revolution of 1830,” 3 and also, see Footnote 4.
and 788 civilians reported killed.\textsuperscript{34} Of the 163 non-commissioned soldiers, at least three would have been soldier-musicians as royal (national) guardsmen had fought in previous insurrections. Of the 1,327 listed as wounded, most were uninvolved bystanders who received compensation from the state; 85 were from the professions with none listed as musicians.\textsuperscript{35} Berlioz testifies that on the third night he carried his gun into the night wandering through the crowds singing the \textit{Marseillaise} as National Guardsmen collected donations for the dead and wounded.\textsuperscript{36} The incomplete records on this event relate to the state’s lack of compelling need to keep full details, although personalised lists of dead and wounded indicate that musicians did not engage in fighting, but suffered later due to harsh laws and economic aftermaths.

![Graph](image_url)

\textbf{Figure 4.4} Graph represents David Pinkney’s occupational analysis of 189 listed deaths in Paris in 1830.

Pinkney states the table ‘presents the several groups of insurgents classified by occupation. As in the crowds of the Revolutions of 1789 in 1830 the proportion of skilled workers was high,’ acknowledging 1,000 deaths in 1830: musicians belong to the ‘other various’ category comprising 16\% of deaths.\textsuperscript{37}

Pinkney’s Table 3 (Table III) regarding the deaths and groups of insurgents in 1830, classified by occupations, shows the dominance of low-class metal and cabinet-makers, labourers, clerks, men of various crafts, plus three students without providing professional delineations for musicians. Figure 4.4 is a graphed representation of Tilly’s analysis of 189 deaths identified out


\textsuperscript{37} David H. Pinkney, “The Revolutionary Crowd in Paris in the 1830s,” 516–518: Table 3 (Table III).
of the 950 listed by occupation, indicating that musicians potentially hid in the ‘Other’ section. Most involved were 15–34 years old (see Pinkney’s Table I) of which about 24% were from the Paris district by birth (see Pinkney’s Table II). Pinkney agrees with other statisticians that the data for 1830 is biased and incomplete. Although worthy, the data is not helpful for understanding musicians—including the army and National Guard—affect by the revolution and needs re-examination in light of Berlioz’s account of the ‘three glorious days of revolution’ full of singing and music as the former royal guardsmen collected funds for charity.  

The aftermath of the 1830 Revolution brought significant benefits to the Paris Opéra artists and aspiring opera singers but brought adverse effects for Church and Conservatoire musicians made redundant when the July Monarchy imposed stringent interventionist economic measures. It overturned the Anti-Sacrilege Act of 1825 that saved the lives of those who had ransacked the churches including the King’s Chapel. Military musicians benefitted after Louis-Philippe overturned King Charles’ law of 27 April 1827. The royal statistician, Goldsmith, expressed his profound disappointment in the results of the 1830 Revolution after reviewing fifty years of the history of France, its budgets, laws regarding theatres, censorship, repertoire, compositions, composers, and librettists.  

![Graph](image.png)

**Figure 4.5** The graph from a USA department links emigration from France to America by revolutions

Extract from the *Department of Homeland Security, 2008 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics (US).*

The incidence of migration to America from 1820 until 1879 correlates with the uprisings in France in 1830, 1848, 1851, and 1870, shown by stars. Walter Willcox observes a discrepancy of about 80,000 between USA immigrant figures with emigrations recorded by France from 1857 to 1890.  


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revolution and ambitious musicians who echoed Goldsmith’s sentiments. Figure 4.5 below shows a graph from the US Department of Homeland Security linking the increased incidence of immigration to America with revolutions and coups in Paris.

Focused on Paris-based pianists visiting America during the nineteenth century, R. Alan Lott links migration to America with the fate of musicians due to revolutions, supplying statistics and press evidence in support.41 Lott claims that during the 1820s when Paris was the piano capital of the world, pianists visiting America, such as Henry Hertz, were of high standards and not victims of revolutions. He affirms that during the 1830s, desperate Parisian musicians flocked into the major capital cities of Boston, New York, and New Orléans (the Théâtre Orléans opera company thrived due to French émigré artists) in anticipation of making a profitable living, having escaped political upheavals. After 1843, ‘a consistent flow of first-rate musicians’ entered the country of primarily violinists, pianists, and opera singers. Numbers peaked in 1848 when three revolutions erupted in Paris that ‘prompted many musicians to flee the city’ while ‘sometimes desperate musicians arrived in the new world because of political and economic necessity.’42 The New York Times also reports in December 1848 that ‘during the last few weeks we have had nearly two hundred musicians of all ranks arrive from Europe.’43 More than 20,000 French republican sympathiser refugees arrived during 1851.

Dramatically, 1848 marked the year of class revolutions as republicanism and socialism swept throughout Europe and Paris when up to 50,000 men and 3,000 National Guardsmen rebelled against the July Monarchy in February and then against the Second Republic in May and June. On 20 April 1848, the first of the provisional republican states expanded and split the military and soldier-musicians into five groups: National Guard, Mobile Guard, Republican Guard, Civic Guard, and the Army.44 Concerns expressed by the Prefect of Police and officers of the National Guard regarding the loyalties of the newly formed 15,000–strong young Mobile Guards in Paris recruited from a variety of professions of itinerant peddlers, rag-pickers, street musicians, and Marxian lumpenproletarians proved unfounded. Out of this body arose about thirty musicians of primarily drummers, gagnistes, trumpeters, buglers, and fifes players, some of whom trained in-

42 Lott, From Paris to Peoria, Prelude 6, 95, and 107.
44 See Belhomme, Histoire de l’infanterie en France (V), 293. ‘La garde nationale de Paris, à la garde mobile, à la garde républicaine, à la garde civique et aux régiments de l’armée stationnés dans les environs de Paris.’
house with the military academy and others attended the Conservatoire currently under review by a special Commission as of 14 March 1848. The May uprising in 1848 erupted during attempts to petition the provisional Republican Assembly against its policy on Poland when thousands of workers and working-class radicals invaded the premises and Huber declared the Assembly dissolved. Military drummers beat the alarm, and the National Guard arrested prominent revolutionaries and quashed the uprising. The third insurrection in June was ‘far bloodier and traumatic than the revolutions of either July 1830 or February 1848.’ Napoleon's charismatic appeal as the new president in July, ratified by the retrospective plebiscite on 10 December 1848 winning 5,554,520 votes compared with his nearest rival, General Jacques Marie Cavaignac on 1,448,302, propelled him to an uncontested dictatorship as Emperor in 1851.

A statistical survey of arrests by occupation from the 1848 revolutions shows that most revolutionaries who remained in Paris faced imprisonment or deportation, but not execution. Statistician, Rémi Gossez, and historian, Thomas C. Jones, state that the February Revolution of 1848 was not as severe as the 1851 December coup. They claim that only a small group of monarchists, including King Louis-Philippe, sought refuge in Britain and after his death in 1850, his ministers like many others ‘not officially expelled’ returned to France. Historian, Priscilla Robertson, claims that the four days fighting in June of 1848 ‘cost 1,460 lives, counting 150 as the number of prisoners shot or bayonetted’ and to this are added four generals and four Assembly members with up to 50,000 taking part in the insurrections. Miles Taylor’s comparative analysis of statistics for 1848–49 across Europe and colonies including Australia, shows that, based on Cavaignac’s estimations, France killed 1,400 in the uprisings, executed 150, and imprisoned or deported 15,000, which is considerably more than Tilly’s 11,616. Such discrepancies conform to Weber’s expectations. It seems that ‘thousands of pardons and commutations were quickly issued’ when Napoleon came to power and the number deported


47 Thomas C. Jones, French republican exiles in Britain, 1848–1870, 69.

48 Robertson, Revolutions of 1848, 94.

was closer to 6,000 and not 10,000 as originally estimated by Victor Hugo.\textsuperscript{50} Robertson states that ‘of 15,000 prisoners, 6,000 were released after a few days’ and by 1850, only ‘468 were still held and nearly all sent off to Algeria.’\textsuperscript{51} During the 1880s, 40,000 republican émigrés resulting from the 1851 coup secured compensation from the Third Republic.

Reactions to the 1848 revolutions show that local and foreign republican freelance performer-composers Berlioz, Chopin, Liszt, Viardot, and Offenbach temporarily escaped Paris for England and many others to America. Berlioz and Viardot returned to Paris; Chopin died in 1849; and Liszt settled permanently in Weimar. One London exile, Alfred Talandier, noted that many who fled to England were professeurs, musicians, restaurateurs, florists and small traders and most struggled to survive due to language issues.\textsuperscript{53} Some church musicians who feared religious persecution similar to those of the First Republic resigned their posts (see chapter 5). Most reaped the benefits of Napoleon’s religious convictions when he restored the relationship between the Papacy and France in 1849.

\textsuperscript{50} See Jones, \textit{French Republican exiles in Britain, 1848–1870}, 26.


\textsuperscript{53} ‘As Talandier noted ‘pour gagner le pain de l’exil, nous sommes improvisés professeurs, musiciens, dessinateurs, restaurateurs, fleuristes.’ See Jones, \textit{French Republican exiles in Britain, 1848–1870}, 68.

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\textbf{Table 4.2: Extract summary of Charles Tilly’s table of arrests by profession in June 1848.}

The results yield the probability of thirty-three musicians arrested.\textsuperscript{52}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis of Arrests in Paris by Profession in June 1848</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batiment (Construction)</td>
<td>2,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travail des metaux ordinaires (Working of base metals)</td>
<td>1,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autres (Others)</td>
<td>1,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vetements (Clothing)</td>
<td>1,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce (Trade)</td>
<td>791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ameublement (Furniture)</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport et manutention (Transport and supportive services)</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Military</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2% Musicians = 10)</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alimentation (Food)</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Services</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Musicians = 21)</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprimerie, gravure, papeterie (Printing, engraving, paper)</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None listed</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fils et tissus (Thread and textiles)</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liberal professions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Professors = 32)</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travail des metaux precieux, bijouterie (Working of precious metal, jewelry)</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles de Paris (Fancy goods)</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrosserie, sellerie et equipment militaire (Coach building, saddlery, military equipment)</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaux et suiis (peels and hides)</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries chimiques et ceramiques (Chemical and ceramic industries)</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boisellerie, vannerie (Cooperage, basket weaving)</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No information given</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannot read film</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,616</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Tilly claims that charges brought against the 11,616 Parisian revolutionaries arrested in 1848 generally brought positive outcomes under Napoleon's soft rule: 353 charges dropped, 6,700 freed, 3,504 pardoned, 742 sent to Algeria, 27 court-martialled, 68 imprisoned for one year, 54 jailed indefinitely, and 49 deaths in prison. See Figure 4.6. Tilly's findings in Table 4.2 show up to 21 identified musicians arrested in 1848 out of a total of 458 categorised in the 'Services' professions. Professors (not listed by discipline) numbered 32 out of the 311 from the 'liberal' professions. Tilly's table also shows that of 497 soldiers (presumably from the National Guard, Mobile Guard, and the army) arrested, feasibly up to 10 of these (i.e., 2%) would be military musicians, and of the 32 professors listed, feasibly two were musicians, which brings the total musicians arrested to a possible 33 out of 11,616. The lack of consensus regarding the events, delays in data detection, and the rounding of figures explain why calculations of deaths and arrests of musicians are problematic, demanding further research by occupation, state pensions offered, and requests for passports for those who sought passage out of France. Most professional musicians tended to remain politically inactive in 1848, except perhaps for Madame Viardot, as discussed in chapter 6.

Figure 4.6 The graph represents Tilly's analysis by profession of 11,616 arrests in Paris during 1848. Tilley lists musicians among 'Service' providers (hairdressers, concierge, cooks, and domestic workers), although possibly ten military musicians and about two professors also appear.

On the auspicious 2 December 1851, when President Napoleon sought to regenerate the legitimate charismatic rule of his uncle by sacking the Republican National Assembly, he utilised army drummers and buglers to great effect combined with the might of about 55,000 troops ('bribed or compelled to fight' according to Ténot) to establish power. On 3 December, in one reported incident under Colonel Rochefort who led his army near the Chateau d'Eau, one officer,


'ordering the buglers and the advance-guard to enter the ranks' of protesting republicans, launched himself into the crowd 'cutting, thrusting, and lancing' leaving several dead.\textsuperscript{56} Moniteur Universel also reports that 'a pistol-shot fired by a clerk in the vicinity at a bugler of the line . . . left a free passage for the insurgent to enter his store. The latter was closely followed by the bugler, who succeeded in stretching him dead behind a counter, but who himself fell upon the dead body.'\textsuperscript{57} In another incident involving the 51\textsuperscript{st} regiment near Meslay Street, 'the dead body of a bugler of the dismounted chasseurs, killed in the attack upon the barricades of the Arts-et-Metiers, had been placed in a house' next to two other bodies, the captain of the light-horsemen chastising the insurgent for killing him.\textsuperscript{58}

Of the twenty-seven military killed, including those who died from wounds, only one was an officer.\textsuperscript{59} On 28 August 1852, challenging the state press releases, The Times (London) reporting on military crimes against Parisians, declared that the number of deaths was significantly higher than official French sources: 'twelve hundred inoffensive and unarmed persons were murdered by drunken soldiers, in the streets of Paris.'\textsuperscript{60} The Official statistics released re the first week of December 1851, prepared by M. Trebuchet as Chief of the Bureau of Health at the Prefecture of Police omits references to soldier-musicians and shows 159 civilians—classified by occupation (except for six)—killed: 150 men and boys plus nine women.\textsuperscript{61} They comprised two lawyers, some skilled labourers, clerk of court, sheriff’s clerk, a professor, an architect, and a count (Prince Poninski). Unofficially, the number of reported deaths stood at 380, which may have included thirty-three musicians at the Boulevard des Italiens theatre district should have included buglers and soldier-musicians.\textsuperscript{62} The first-hand accounts differ from the official reports.

The published lists of those deported plus sixty exiled republicans in 1851 published in The Moniteur during 1851, included Victor Hugo, but overlooked his composer-singer friend, Charles Bénézit, who fled to the island of Jersey. It took until the 1880s to discover the numbers affected by the coup when ‘twenty thousand French men and women were awarded state pensions as victims.’\textsuperscript{63} This number represents about half of those who applied; i.e., it seems that more than

\textsuperscript{56} Ténot, The Coup d’État of Napoleon III, 182.
\textsuperscript{57} Ténot, The Coup d’État of Napoleon III, 227.
\textsuperscript{58} Ténot, The Coup d’État of Napoleon III, 211.
\textsuperscript{60} Ténot, The Coup d’État of Napoleon III, 214–220. RGM’s ‘necrologie’ section is silent on this matter.
\textsuperscript{61} For an occupational breakdown, see Ténot, The Coup d’État of Napoleon III, Appendix, and 209–215.
\textsuperscript{63} Renee Stacey Davis, “Citizenship, the Limits of French Identity, and Pensions for the 1851 Insurgents,” 177–179.
40,000 had fled France in 1851–1852. After 1882, many republicans living abroad applied for compensatory state pensions via the General Pensioning Commission under La Troisième République et la mémoire du Coup d’État de Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte. Successful applicants met stringent criteria based on the principles of citizenship under the 1804 Civil Code, the law of national repatriation of 30 July 1881, definitions of patriotism, and the generic definition of Frenchness that excluded those who had avoided lotteries for military conscription—deemed to have failed to prove citizenship. Conservatoire staff lists show that republican sympathisers, Professors Manuel Garcia and Gilbert-Louis Duprez, did not or could not renew their contracts.

Table 4.3 Extract from Tilly’s comparative analysis of arrests in 1851 and 1871 by profession.

Tilly derives data from Jacques Rougerie showing a dramatic increase in revolutionary militant workers from the Metals, Day Labour, and Construction occupations. Based on the 1848 analysis, musicians comprise part of ‘Domestic help, janitors etc.’ category of figures 3.9% (1851) and 5.4% (1871) while Rougerie places them in the ‘Professions’ category of 15.9% (1851) and 3.7% (1871).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial category</th>
<th>Percentage of 2,390 persons arrested in 1851</th>
<th>Percentage of 31,717 persons arrested in 1871</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles, clothing</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaking</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leathers and hides</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxury crafts</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing and publication</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metals</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day labor</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office workers</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic help, janitors, etc.</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail trade</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professions, finance</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Extract from table published by Jacques Rougerie (1.109, p. 127), adapted for easier reading and corrected for a few computational errors.

64 For further information about victims residing abroad, see Archives Nationales F/15 à F/16 (F15 3964 à 4223): F15 3972, F15 3976, and F15 4084: La Troisième République et la mémoire du coup d’État de Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte. La loi de réparation nationale du 30 juillet 1881 en faveur des victimes du 2 décembre 1851 et des victimes de la loi de sûreté générale du 27 février 1858.


For his analyses of the 1851 and 1871 revolutions, Tilly utilises Rougerie's study of the 1871 Commune revolt, which he compares with the official statistics of arrests from 2 December 1851 and March-May 1871. He claims that 2,390 arrests took place in 1851 of primarily skilled workers: a small number compared with the 31,717 officially acknowledged Communards arrests in 1871 shown in the header of Table 4.3. Tilly's comparative analysis by occupations shows a reduction in the percentage of professionals arrested, falling from 15.9% (mainly republicans who objected to the coup) down to 3.5% in 1871 (primarily men allegedly involved with the Communards). The figure is small compared with the increased involvement of unskilled day-labour and construction-workers totalling 32%. State occupational classifications for each year are misleading because the professional musicians who participated in the Commune's music activities—some of whom the army executed—are classified with the 'Domestic help, janitors' in low socio-economic categories along with unskilled labour; their involvement increasing from 3.9% (93) in 1851 to 5.4% (1,713) in 1871.

Delphine Mordey and Jess Tyre's reviews of the music activities of the Commune Council in 1871 suggest that the state's official figures, as well as Tilly and Rougerie's occupational categories, are inaccurate because many unnamed professional musicians and National Guardsmen who staged concerts at the Tuileries were among those shot dead.67 The 'bloody week of May' (semaine sanglante) proved to be Paris's bloodiest week in history such that the deaths from combat and spontaneous summary executions by the army under the command of President Thiers and Marshal Patrice de MacMahon amounted to more than 10,000. The names of those executed without a trial are not on the official listings, but does include the Commune's music leader, Raoul Adolphe Georges Rigault (1846–1871), killed on 24 May 1871.68 Prosper-Olivier Lissagaray, who fought at the barricades, almost doubles this figure. Details regarding the Communard's retaliatory executions of 480 republicans by profession are not forthcoming. Thiers 'coldly justified this policy of murder by reference to legal procedures' in his vendetta that left the dead on the streets for days.69 Worse than the Terror, the number of arrests and imprisonments in 1871 rose to about 40,000, with about 12,500 lengthy trials, about 1,000 state executions, and hundreds of sentences of hard labour and various other indiscriminate executions not officially recognised.70 The diverse fates of many talented musicians seem lost to history, although it seems most escaped the turbulence of revolutions.

Assessing the numbers of musicians involved in revolutions is complicated due to the inconsistent professional criteria adopted by states and statisticians: Tilly places them with janitors and domestics, Rougerie categorises them with the ‘liberal professions,’ while Tombs and others like Lissagaray, Georges Jeanneret, Pierre Vésinier, and Benoît Malon simply ignore them. The overall occupational comparisons of those arrested from 1830, 1848, 1851, and 1871, displayed in Figure 4.7, show fluctuations in each state’s recognition of professional categories. Rougerie’s figures for 1871 change from 38,578 (tabulated in January 1874), to 36,309, 34,722, and then down to 33,155 with 2,963 deported: ‘La repression de l’insurrection communaliste de 1871 été sans aucun doute l’une des plus féroces de notre histoire’ supporting speculations of up to 100,000 deaths and arrests.71 The music activities under the Commune were as complicated as they were under the Jacobins, but this time, the Opéra artists did not cooperate.

**Musicians Surviving the 1870 Franco-Prussian War and the 1871 Paris Commune**

In a period of ten months from August 1870 to May 1871, France experienced war, the loss of their Emperor, rebellion, reprisals, and four regime changes. It transitioned from the Second Empire in August 1870, to the provisional Third Republic in September 1870, to a Commune in March 1871, and returning to the Third Republic in May 1871. Generally, the ‘outbreak of hostilities with Prussia had no great initial impact’ on music with ‘over 300 performances in the salons of Pleyel, Herz, and Érard in addition to those given by the Conservatoire, the Concerts

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Populaires, the Opéra, and the Théâtre-Italien. Student recruits for the army were ‘rapidly inducted into the musique militaire of the National Guard’ in state-controlled education programs. The music selections played during this time ‘underscores the cohabitation of art music and nationalist fervour of patriotic songs’ of carefully selected operas and propagandist concerts ‘designed to rouse and unify a nation.’ September brought disaster to Paris upon the news of Napoleon’s capture that incited the dissolution of the Empire as thousands fled France.

The year 1871 saw the defeat of France to Prussia and the Siege of Paris. The French army exited Paris for Versailles as Thiers settled France’s war debts of 200,000,000 francs with Prussia, after having abandoned about 260 army battalions consisting of 1,500 National Guardsmen. Mass unemployment and starvation resulted after Thiers refused to pay their salaries that instigated a retaliatory insurrection when more than 40,000 Communards took control of Paris. An exodus of citizens from Paris of thousands took place that included 74 Opéra artists and professional musicians from the state theatres (see Figure 4.8) while l’Association liquidated 21 pensions to destitute musicians in July 1870 and January 1871. It ceased its concert activities after staging its customary Sainte-Cécile Mass on 22 November 1870 at Saint-Eustache, which featured the Garde Républicaine conducted by Paulus, and Mozart’s Requiem with the remaining choristers in Paris and opera soloists Madams Ugalde and Arnault, and Misters Belval, Grisy, and Marie.

The Opéra closed its doors in September so that the premises served as a munitions storehouse and military headquarters while its artists temporarily relocated to the Théâtre-Italien having formed a pseudo-freelance enterprise, Société des Artistes de l’Opéra headed by Emile Perrin on 10 October 1870. The opera society operated until 19 March 1871 when the Communards seized Paris and resumed performing in July.

The hand-written minutes of Société des Artistes de l’Opéra from early 1871 log the revenue earned from their operatic enterprises: 7,960 francs for January; 9,739 for February; 1,433 for half of March; nothing for April, May, and June; and then 49,900 in July. Another hand shows that as of 22 March 1871, a concert series organised by the

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72 Tyre, "Music in Paris during the Franco-Prussian War and Commune,” 188–189.
73 Tyre, "Music in Paris during the Franco-Prussian War and Commune,” 175.
75 See AJ/13/1185 (Opéra: administration, personnel, matériel et comptabilité, Théâtre des Variétés). See AJ/13/445 (Administration provisoire pendant la Commune), and AJ/13/446 (Administration provisoire de la Société des artistes de l’Opéra 1 sous la direction d’Halanzier, de juillet à octobre 1871) at ANF.
Communards featured in Paris up until the bloody week of May (21–28 May 1871) when Thiers’
troops quashed the so-named ‘criminal’ regime. The upsurge of patriotic music—mirroring the
ideals of the 1789 Revolution—arose in hybrid blends of genres played by the leftover musicians
from the National Guard, the Conservatoire, and five Parisian theatres. The several spectacles
and four grand concerts staged at the Tuileries Salon attracted up to 8,000 spectators raising
funds to feed the starving masses and musicians.

Despite resistance, the Commune artists staged their ‘own’ music specifically excluding
Offenbach’s operettas, which to them symbolised the decadence and corruption of the Empire.
The orchestra that formed for the Tuileries concert series comprised sixty-four Paris-based
musicians and professors from Théâtre-Italien, Opéra-Comique, Athenian, the defunct Théâtre-

77 Journal de la Régie 1871, March 1871.
78 Journal de la Régie 1871, 1 May 1871.
Lyrique, Conservatoire, and soldier-musicians from the National (formerly Imperial) Guard shown in Figure 4.9. Soloists included Belgian soprano, Marie Constance Sasse, tenors Louis Gueymard, Charles Garnier (who later fled Paris), and the director-composer-soprano, Delphine Ugalde, who organised the Communard music activities. She failed to stage Weber’s Der Freischütz on 22 May 1871 with coerced Paris Opéra singers, thwarted by Thiers’s troops who intercepted and executed Communards on the streets. Church musicians continued to earn some income even though the anti-clerical Communards, led by Rigault, ransacked churches, burned buildings (including Thiers’ residence), and then murdered the Archbishop of Paris in their efforts to suppress church-power. Meanwhile, they attempted to free artists from the state domination of l’Académie des beaux-arts in revisiting and enforcing republican philosophies of 1792. The Communards pressured the uncooperative Émile Perrin to persuade the reluctant Opéra artists to perform with them, but they continually excused themselves from the concerts arranged by the Commune’s Commission Musicale. At the decisive meeting on 1 May 1871, held to discuss the future of the Opéra artists with the Commune, Perrin resigned. The former secretary, Leroy, listed the names of the Opéra artists present in the 1871 Journal de la Régie noting those absent (more than half of the company)—13 vocal soloists (4 female and 9 male), 40 orchestral players, and 21 choristers (9 females) shown in Figure 4.8.

For the meeting on 3 July 1871 of the reunited Société des Artistes de l’Opéra temporarily headed by Perrin, Leroy listed names of the full company present comprising 188 singing and orchestral artists. The list includes Hainl, as the chief conductor (l’Association pension recipient), 8 female and 14 male vocal soloists, 38 female and 47 male choristers, and more than 80 orchestral players. The principal artists appear as ‘Sujets des Chants’ and the ensemble musicians as ‘Personnel’ unlike under the Empire whose officials referred to them as ‘Artistes.’ By comparing recapitulations of the budget expenses from July 1870 to September 1870 for the renamed Théâtre Impérial de l’Opéra, the overheads show that the average monthly expenses were 35,500 with salary expenses for the principal artists totalling 6,100 francs, the chorus of 6,000, and orchestra of 7,200. As the artist’s numbers reduced to almost a half during 1871, and with fewer soloists, the average monthly revenue of 7,000 met all the necessary expenses. This indicates that the society had secured reasonable revenue from January 1791 until March 1871, despite the war.

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80 No mention is made of Bouffes-Parisiens orchestral players or artists, although lists exist for the Théâtre-Lyrique in Walsh, Second Empire Opera, in the Appendix.

81 l’Association, 1870, 38: At 62, George Hainl received l’Association pension (number 372, issued on 1 July 1869).

82 See AI/13/446 and AI/13/1185.
were financially secure enough to reject performing for the Commune, standing in contrast to several opera singers and the sixty-three instrumentalists who formed the Commune orchestra.

Figure 4.9 *The Journal de la Régie* diary entry, 8 May 1871, lists the Commune orchestral players. There were 14 violinists, 3 violas plus Daniel), 8 cellos, 7 contre-basses, 3 oboes, 4 flutes, 2 clarinets, 2 horns, 2 bassoons, 1 ophicleide, 5 trumpets, 8 trombones, 2 large drums inclusive of 11 National Guardsmen, formerly Imperial Guard, plus the conductor. Salvador Daniel appears as a violinist.83

The backlash of the returning republicans against Commune artists brought severe results for a select few who bore the same type of stigma as the Jacobin artists had in 1794, many of whom felt obliged to retire from the stage. One soprano from *Comédie-Française*, Marie Leonide Charvin (alias Agar), who performed in three of the four Tuileries concerts, unsuccessfully argued that she was performing a ‘charitable act’ but after much public haranguing, retired from the stage. Surprisingly, the highly paid Opéra principal tenor, Villaret, who performed for the

83 *Journal de la Régie* 1871, 8 May 1871.
Commune escaped punishment: the Opéra lists him as staff for the 1873 *Almanach*. Madame Ugalde, forced to retire from performing, remained immune from prosecution. Meanwhile, Delibes exited Paris. The National Guard musicians of the orchestra and bands did not fare well—many killed, executed, or courts martialled. The painting by Alfred Roll, *Execution of a Trumpeter during the Commune*, 'invites us to imagine what it meant to be a Communard musician.'\(^{84}\) The analyses from Weber’s perspectives show that musicians traversing from the Commune to the Third Republic faced similar survival issues as those eighty years earlier transitioning from the Jacobins to the First Republic as politics determined their fates.

**Royalists, Republicans, Jacobins, and Imperialists: Four Ancien Regime Artists**

Regardless of the types of revolutions, political alliances often determined the unpredictable fates of Paris-based musicians faced with choices to escape, resist, comply, obey, or serve regimes. Weber advises that inaction fulfill the definitions of taking action, particularly when there are identifiable motives for passive behaviours such as not divulging an alliance. Artists became stigmatised by the politics of the Terror in some form. They knew each other, associated with the Paris Opéra and Paris Conservatoire, shared familiar friends and enemies, and most escaped Paris or served jail sentences.\(^{85}\) The summary of their fates in Table 4.4 demonstrates the overwhelming poverty issues they faced requiring that they work beyond their retirement age due to the Restoration's punitive measures. To understand the conclusions drawn from implementing Weber’s *Verstehen* (*Massenkulturgut, erklärendes and aktuelles*) in analysing the social actions of these *ancien régime* musicians from diverse political persuasions is conditional upon comprehending the *understandings* gained from the observations discussed.

### Table 4.4 The chart summarises the fates of Garat, Kreutzer, Lays, and Maillard from 1795 to 1830.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAST NAME</th>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>INSTRUMENT / Activity</th>
<th>Political Persuasion</th>
<th>1795 and 1799</th>
<th>1804</th>
<th>1814 / 1815</th>
<th>1830</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GARAT</td>
<td>Pierre</td>
<td>1762-1822</td>
<td>(ancien regime)</td>
<td>Tenor/ Freemason/ Famous/ Performer of voice</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>Escape to Rouen 1793/ Imprisoned 1794/ Professor voice Paris Conservatoire 1795-1822</td>
<td>Napoleon's favourite/ Performs at Tuileries/ Pioneered vocal technique for opera</td>
<td>Embrace Restoration/ Professor voice Paris Conservatoire 1816-1822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KREUTZER</td>
<td>Rudolph</td>
<td>1766-1833</td>
<td>(ancien regime)</td>
<td>Violinist &amp; Opera Composer/ Maître de la chapelle du Roi 1789</td>
<td>Royalist/ Republican/ Bonapartist/ Royalist</td>
<td>Escape to Rouen 1793/ Italian Campaign in library manuscripts/ Professor violin Paris Conservatoire 1795-1826</td>
<td>Embrace Empire/ Violin la chapelle du premier Consul 1802/ Violin Musique de l'Empereur 1806</td>
<td>Embrace Restoration/ Maître de la chapelle du Roi 1815/ Chief of orchestra Paris Opéra 1817-24/ Retired 1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAYS</td>
<td>François</td>
<td>1750-1833</td>
<td>(ancien regime)</td>
<td>Bassoon/ Freemason/ Paris Opéra/ Jacobin Committee Member</td>
<td>Jacobin/ Jacobin/ Imperialist/ Royalist</td>
<td>Jacobin propagandist/ Imprisoned 1794/ Professor voice Paris Conservatoire 1795-99 and after 1815</td>
<td>Embrace Napoleon &amp; Empire but not trusted/ Return to Paris Opéra 1796 until 1818</td>
<td>Embrace Restoration/ Paris Opéra/ Professor voice Paris Conservatoire 1819-1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAILLARD</td>
<td>Marie-Therese Davoux</td>
<td>1750-1818</td>
<td>(ancien regime)</td>
<td>Dancer/ Soprano/ Paris Opéra principal</td>
<td>Royalist</td>
<td>In exile/ Married to soldier-composer/ 5 children/ Listed 1798 with Paris Opéra</td>
<td>Return to Paris Opéra until 1812/ unfairly stigmatised</td>
<td>Empire grants pension 1813-1814/ Restoration denies pension/ Poverty ridden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{84}\) See Tyre, "Music in Paris during the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune," 174.

Pierre-Jean Garat: A Royalist Posing as an Imperialist

Revered as a renowned tenor, professor, and composer of romances, Pierre-Jean Garat was born on 27 April 1762 at Rue Désirade in Bordeaux, descended from a mild-republican bourgeoisie Girondist family. His biographer, Miall, claims that like many Basques, Garat 'began to sing before he began to speak' and was 'almost inevitably predestined a singer by the accidents of life.' The consequences of the 1789 Revolution became 'the crisis of his life; it involved his friends and reduced him to the status of a public artist' even though he 'did his utmost to ignore the Revolution, as the safest and the pleasantest course for an artist to pursue.' As the son of an Advocate, Garat was an impressive autodidact who abandoned his law studies in Paris to pursue singing. 'Garat was of all men the right man in the right place; his whole life had been devoted to perfecting his own talent' as a 'prince of singers' and 'shaper of a generation of singers.' It was to him that nineteenth-century French opera singers owe their elevated status in the 1830s as pioneers of a new verismo singing technique for the Grand Opera genre. He epitomises Weber's charismatic value-rational dilettante whose survival was dependent upon almost supernatural intervention, and supports his principle of individual power to transform society.

No mémoires exist for Garat, although Castil-Blaze, Fétis, and Antoine-Vincent Arnault defer to him, and there is minimal mention of him in the mémoires of his brother, Dominique-Joseph Garat, whom the Girondists appointed as the Minister of Justice to replace Danton. His brother testifies to the complexities of survival in Paris after 1789, who, along with Robespierre, Lays, Grétry, and Violti, and Pierre Garat appear on the lists of Freemasons in Paris and the Olympic Society in 1786. Accused as a reactionary and royalist, Garat, served a ten-month jail sentence at the priory of Saint-Lo at Rouen until August 1794 pending execution and then with 500 prisoners at Saint-Yon: prisoner number 107, listed as an ‘artist’ and ‘musicien.’ After the Thermidorean reaction, the Directory set him at liberty on the eighth of Fructidor [August] 1794, two weeks after the Jacobin cull in Paris. Garat’s path crossed those of Kreutzer, Maillard, and Lays, although not as a salaried artist with the Opéra, but through exposure as a celebrity in the French Courts and the Paris salons. He performed with Kreutzer in 1793 at Rouen, he knew of Mlle Maillard, and replaced Lays as the professor of voice at the Paris Conservatoire in 1799.

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87 Miall, Pierre Garat, 163 and 140.
88 Miall, Pierre Garat, 261.
89 For lists of Freemasons in the 1780–90s, see Maurice Talmeyr, La Franc-Maçonnerie et la Révolution Français (Librairie Académique Didier, 1901), 50–52. Also, see Dominique-Joseph Garat, Mémoires de Garat, Pollet-Malassis Éditeur (Paris: 97 Rue De Richelieu, 1862), II and Miall, Pierre Garat, 28–29.
90 Miall, Pierre Garat, 204–214.
Until then, he had avoided lowering his family status by refusing to become staff of any state music institution.

The years between 1783 and 1789 were Garat's happiest in Paris when he frequented the Paris Opéra, Théâtre-Italien, and popular music theatres. News travelled fast in Paris, and upon hearing about Garat's phenomenal voice, Queen Marie-Antoinette summoned Princess de Lamballe and M. De Vaudreuil, Director of the Queen's Household, to ask him to sing for her at Versailles on any day of his choosing. On 12 January 1783, Garat became 'the Queen's singing master and dandy protégé of the King's brother,' the darling of the French Court, and welcome guest of all the élite Paris salons. The Queen often paid his expenses and gambling debts in keeping with old protocols. He joined the prestigious Nine Sisters Lodge, sang at the finest Parisian venues, and befriended Mme. Dugazon who rescued him from anonymity as Dr Mesmer and Cagliostro wooed the French Court with their magic until the Diamond Necklace Affair erupted while battles between Gluckists and Piccinnists raged at the Opéra.

The charismatic Garat, depicted in the caricature in Figure 4.10, pre-empted Liszt's celebrity as a virtuoso star and romancer without having to join the Paris Opéra as a paid performer. He had come from a socially and politically influential family, and well liked for his gaiety and impertinent wit often received 'sixty pounds [300 francs] for singing a couple of airs.' Royalist sentiments ran deep in the Garat family whose political sympathies and connections both hampered and assisted his survival, when celebrity displaced old status criteria in the new social milieu as the Jacobins seized power. During the 1790s, Bordeaux came to symbolise Girondist republicanism, and thus, anti-Jacobinism, which accounts for Garat's natural disposition as a royalist-Girondist in refusing to take the Civil Oath to the Republic. Moreover, his repetitious and almost reckless value-rational royalist actions brought him close to death many times. For example, while Louis XVI remained confined in The Temple awaiting trial in late 1792, Garat stood in the Paris Opéra foyer singing a royalist aria, O Richard, ô mon roi!, from Grétry's early opera, Richard Coeur de Lion, when Danton came to his rescue. Alas, no one saved Danton.

The Terror began early in the provinces gutting the traditional economic societies, which meant that soon 'Garat became a paid singer' while his brother served on The Convention in Paris negotiating for the union of the Three Estates, and his uncle served as Minister of Justice for the Republic from 1792 to 1793. Garat's opinions, royalist loyalties, and vanities were sufficient for

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91 Miall, Pierre Garat, 16 and 36.


him to deserve imprisonment as a perceived servant of the ci-devant Court.\textsuperscript{94} He ignored the early warnings that Paris had become dangerous for dandy royalists like himself in the company of Jean-Baptiste-Henri or Madame Dugazon, frequenting the élite salon of actor-singer, François-Joseph Talma as ostensibly, ‘the baser Jacobins lived upon the immoral earnings of women.’\textsuperscript{95} On one occasion, one of Talma’s famed guests, Citizen Jean-Paul Marat, leader of the Montagnards and Robespierre’s off-sider, suddenly accused the ‘house of Talma’ of holding assemblies of Girondists and counter-revolutionaries, threatening them with a death from which only Danton could save them.\textsuperscript{96} In the face of another arrest, this time for not carrying his citizenship card in Paris, detained by a National Guardsman, Garat sang his way to freedom escaping to the relative safety of Rouen in company with violinist friend from Théâtre Feydeau, Pierre-Rode.

Forming a support survival group during the early stages of the Terror while Rouen was a safe political haven, Garat, Rode, and Giovanni Punto (Jan Václav Stich, a Czech horn-player and conductor of Variétés Amusements) staged concerts from April 1793 to August 1793 with the invited artist, Kreutzer. The concert on 20 June 1793 was for the benefit of the local organist, Broche. As soon as conscription became compulsory, Rode (who later became a first-class professor of violin at Paris Conservatoire over Kreutzer) enrolled as an army bandsman of the état-major, and Punto enrolled in the National Guard, whereas Garat escaped military service due to his crippled hand. Legend has it that on 13 August 1793, Garat and pianist-composer friend—the local organist at Rouen’s Saint-André church—François-Adrien Boieldieu (Adrien Boieldieu), refused to perform the revolutionary song, Carmagnole, upon request when an arrest warrant quickly ensued. Boieldieu escaped. Apparently, after four months of staging concerts in Rouen, Garat had become a menace to the local society (‘La complainte de Garât à la société populaire’) who hatched plots to rid Rouen of him.\textsuperscript{97} A document relating to the imprisonment of suspects at Rouen regarding Garat contains a note to the effect that Garat’s arrest was due ‘to Citizen Gre . . . then on a mission in Rouen’ (this would be Grenier) who tracked him down and had him jailed pending execution for ‘illegally remaining within the Commune’ in Paris.\textsuperscript{98} The simultaneous arrests of Garat as an ‘étranger et suspect’ and his collaborator, Laugeux, the expelled secretary of société populaire du Rouen, resulted from complaints lodged with the Rouen society in co-operation with the Jacobins and the Committee of Rouen.

\textsuperscript{94} Miall, Pierre Garat, 212.

\textsuperscript{95} Miall, Pierre Garat, 164–165. Also, see M. Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire impérial de musique et de déclaration (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, Libraires Éditeurs, 1860), 236.

\textsuperscript{96} See Edwards, History of the Opera, Vol II, 64.

\textsuperscript{97} Félix Clérembray, La Terreur a Rouen, 1793, 1794, 1795 (Rouen: Lestringant Libraire, 1901), 441.

\textsuperscript{98} Miall, Pierre Garat, 212.
At a meeting, a member of the Committee of Surveillance interrupted a discussion of the Society to announce two anticipated arrests, very much desired, those of Laugeux and Garat. The news was received with great applause.99

Until 1792, camaraderie had been strong among musicians, officials, soloists, singers, and instrumentalists from the Opéra and local music theatres staging benefit concerts for widows, orphans, and acceptable charities. In keeping with this tradition while Garat was in prison, Rode appealed to the Rouen Commune as a soldier-musician, to stage concerts at the Rouen Cathedral (Temple of Reason at the time) for charity purposes, secretly handing the raised funds to Garat to pay for his prison meals.100 This benevolence continued for more than ten months beyond his release after the impoverished Garat failed to have his confinement fees quashed. He formed a new partnership with Boieldieu (later a professor of piano and composition at the Paris Conservatoire and a Member of the Institute) to stage concerts to raise funds to pay his mandatory fines and then apparently escaped to Hamburg and England, returning to Paris in late 1794. Some claim he took refuge in Rouen awaiting his new citizenship papers.

Returning to Paris, Garat re-entered the hub of power to reacquaint himself with his former royalist friends and salon patrons. News of Garat’s return travelled fast. Napoleon even refused to forego seeing his spectacular performance at the Opéra as Gabriel in Haydn’s oratorio, The Creation, on the night of the assassination attempt against him and later awarded Garat the Legion d’honneur, much to his embarrassment. Befriending Napoleon and Josephine, Garat sang at their Tuileries and Malmaison salons where Grétry and Talleyrand frequented. However, despite securing imperial favour and Sarrette’s support, he did not successfully conceal his royalist sentiments, which unleashed Napoleon’s petty revenge and the ‘imperial resentment betraying itself in a shabby enough fashion by the withholding of Garat’s salary as a professor at the Conservatoire, during the fourteen concluding months of the Empire.’101 At that time, Garat as a ‘professor of the first class, received a salary of £100 per annum’ or a beggarly 2,000 francs plus a 500-franc bonus until 1816, retiring on half pay in 1823. Before the Revolution, he had earned as much or more in one night.102 To put this in perspective, during 1810 salaries of the central bureaucracy in Paris ‘ranged from 12,000 francs for a departmental head down to 2,000

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99 A la même séance, un membre du Comité de surveillance interrompt une discussion de la Société pour y publier deux arrestations attendues, désirées, celles de Laugeux et de Garat. La nouvelle est reçue avec applaudissements. See Clérembray, La Terreur a Rouen, 1793, 1794, 1795, 265. See footnote 2 claiming that Garat’s arrest was due to Grenier, the Commissioner of General Security.

100 Miall, Pierre Garat, Chapter IX. Those jailed were required to pay the bills of their upkeep or die.


102 See Miall, Pierre Garat, 263 and Table 3.2 in chapter 3 of the thesis for salary scales.
for a third-class clerk.'\textsuperscript{103} Conservatoire professors earned even less than the Conservatoire librarians did, as state bureaucracies and markets destroyed the status monopolies of the past.

![Figure 4.10 The caricature depicts Pierre ‘Garat at the Zenith of his career’ in 1801. Réunion à la Mode (1801), Garat (centre) is singing with Mme d’Angely, Mlle Duchamp, Monsieurs Baillot, Habeneck, and Lèfevre (Léfevre?).\textsuperscript{104}]

Revolution, Napoleon, and Sarrette brought about a remarkable vocal revolution for French singers through Garat. Voice classes in 1795 consisted of vocalisation taught by Nicolas Roland, the French Déclamation lyrique taught by Jean-Baptiste Dugazon and Simon Lasuze, and Chant taught by François-Marie Langlé, François Lays, and Louis-Auguste Richer. Garat took over in 1799 as the principal professor of voice at the Conservatoire where he met Kreutzer, Lays, and Maillard’s husband, Devienne.\textsuperscript{105} The new developments at the Conservatoire linked to the Paris Opéra were attributable to Napoleon’s love of Italian opera and support for Sarrette’s choice of teachers. Garat trained and polished voices who then became celebrated singers of the Opéra. He shaped the emerging tenor voice for the new Grand Opera genre and championed beauty over diction by dispensing with faulty declamation traditions of the past.\textsuperscript{106} Conflicts between French


\textsuperscript{104} Image derived from Miall, \textit{Pierre Garat}, 2.


and Italian principles over the use of head and chest voice and diction took years to resolve with déclamation appearing and disappearing from the Conservatoire vocal schools. The techniques of singing settled with the Conservatoire publications supporting Garat’s Italianate principles and teaching methods in Chant perfectionné during the Empire. After 1815, demoted under the Restoration as the old royalists re-established their power at the Conservatoire, Garat lost his imperial pension entitlements and professorial monopoly of classe de perfectionnement in 1819 when former royalist-republican-Jacobin-imperialists, Lainez and Lays, returned to teach at the new l’École de Chant et de Déclamation school after retiring from the Opéra. The talented Garat took a demotion to teach Chant under Lays who flaunted his status and political alliances. Garat retired in 1822 lamenting at his failure, his lost status, and lost celebrity. Miall writes, ‘There died in Paris, in the spring of 1823, an old man at the age of sixty-one, a professor of singing.’

Almost forgotten to history, Garat was a charismatic ancien régime survivor of the Revolution, the Terror, and First Empire whose royalist sentiments like Maillard had saved and imperilled his charmed life that proved powerless against the political strategists, Lainez and Lays.

Mademoiselle Maillard: A Royalist Tainted by Jacobin Stigma

The formerly young Opéra-Comique dancer turned opera diva of l’Académie Royale de Musique, Marie-Thérèse Davoux, alias Mademoiselle Maillard, initially benefitted from the Revolution, and despite her royalist convictions, undertook instrumentally rational action to ensure her survival. Fortune had it that as soon as the Revolution erupted, Maillard became the prima donna of the Paris Opéra when former diva, Antoinette Saint-Huberti, became an émigré (perhaps one of Greer’s) and returned in 1790, only to flee a second time. Maillard is not to be mistaken for Sophie Momoro, Paris Conservatoire composer-singers, Nélia, Agathe, Hortense, or Christine Maillard or associated with the infamous Stanislas Maillard. During the early stages of the Republic, Mlle Maillard married the National Guard flautist, bassoonist, composer, and Freemason, François Devienne, and then exited the stage in 1794. Her husband’s biographers, E. Humblot and W. Montgomery, clarify some aspects of her life by claiming that she bore Devienne’s five children, which explains her long absence from the Opéra after 1794 up until 1803 following her husband’s death in the Charenton mental asylum. She seems to have

107 Miall, Pierre Garat, 15.
108 There is considerable misinformation about Maillard as no mémoires or biographies exist about her, although the Paris Opéra archives at the ANF and the BNF contain dossiers and images of her long career.
109 Devienne died on 5 September 1803 in the Charenton Asylum where Marquis de Sade resided from 1801 to 1814. Al. Choron et F. Fayolle, Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, A-L, Tome I, (Paris: Valade and Lenormant 1810), 183. For information on Devienne, see Émile Humblot, Un musicien joinvillois de l'époque de la Révolution François Devienne (St Dizier, impr. De A. Bruilliard, 1909) or see W. Montgomery, The Life and Works of François Devienne, 1759–1803
aligned herself with the Consul and Empire possibly due to economic necessity, which left her stigmatised and penalised with Restoration officials who refused to honour her pension in 1815, contributing to her impoverished state and early death in 1818.

Her professional relationship with the militant Paris Opéra singer, Lays—Freemason, passionate Republican, and ‘furious democrat’ on the Committee of the Commune—dates from 1784 when she performed in Grétry’s comic opera, *La Caravane du Caire*. Maillard played a slave woman, Zélime; Mlle Buret (guillotined in 1794) an Italian slave; Chéron played the Pasha; and Lays played the role of Husca. After the 1789 Revolution erupted, Maillard remained at the Paris Opéra after swearing the Oath to the Republic as the cabals, conspiracies, and treachery ensued during the Terror initiated through factions, socio-political salons, and artists from about sixty theatres operating in Paris that led to the deaths and imprisonments of several musicians. The Opéra had changed its name and administration when Mlle Buret had left to sing at Comédie-Italien while Chéron and Lays joined the Jacobin-controlled Opéra Committee, after which Lays bullied Maillard into performing for the Jacobin cause. Her fame spread as a performer of the lead roles of operas composed by Gluck, Piccini, Grétry, Méhul, Sacchini, and Spontini.

While Chéron distanced himself from politics and performed until pensioned off early under the Empire in 1806, Lay’s influence over the opera artists and Maillard escalated. Her erroneous infamy as the *Goddess of Reason* is in part way due to Lays and the confusion concerning her role as the *Goddess of Liberty* for the First Republic’s propagandist opera, *L’Offrande à la Liberté* by Gossec staged at the Paris Opéra in October 1792. The final chorus scene required the opera actors to gather onstage and fall onto their knees (compulsorily emulated by the on-looking audience in the auditorium) ‘as the figure of Liberty, played by Mademoiselle Maillard (a known royalist) was lifted high onto the altar’ while they gazed in awe at the representation of Liberty.110 Conflicting information about whether it was an opera singer, dancer, prostitute or an actor from Comédie-Français who then played the *Goddess of Reason* in the gaudy altar scene at Notre-Dame the following month, left a stigma no woman would wish to own.

Maillard had performed lead roles at the Opéra for about six years when the Terror escalated to a fever pitch and her defiance of Lays placed her in danger of imprisonment and guillotining

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after refusing to perform as the Goddess of Reason for the Festival of Reason at the desecrated Notre-Dame Cathedral on 10 November 1793. Lays insisted she perform. When she refused, he referred the matter to the maleficient founder of the festival and solicitor to the Commune of Paris, Pierre-Gaspard Chaumette, plus his fellow Jacobins, Hébert, and Antoine-Francois Mormoro, whose wife then accepted the role. According to one first-hand account from Sergeant Marceau (municipal officer, police administrator, and National Guardsman), Sophie Momoro, a keen member of the Commune of Paris and wife to Jacobin printer demagogue, personified the Goddess at the Temple of Reason after parading through the streets of Paris in sub-zero temperatures depicted in Figure 5.2; a point Castil-Blaze affirms. Revue de Paris reiterates claiming that ‘La femme de Momoro et des figurantes de l’Opéra’ appeared with ‘Mlle Maillard de l’Opéra et Mlle Candeille y avaient figuré aussi en déesses de la Liberté et de la Raison.’ It is important to stress that the contemporaries of the time, Castil-Blaze, Carlyle and Sergeant Marceau, confirm her refusal to perform the role, which dispels the myth of today.

Moreover, to avoid death, ‘Mademoiselle Maillard, much as she detested the republicans, was forced, on one occasion, to sing a republican hymn’ in company with Danton, Marat, and Robespierre who menaced the Opéra and took a special interest in theatrical matters. In 1794 (20 prairial an II), Maillard reluctantly performed with her colleagues Chéron, Adrien, Rousseau, Lainez, Rousselois, and Gavaudan, as the lead soprano for Gossec’s rendition of Theodore Désorgues’s opera-song, Hymne à l’Étre supreme, composed for Robespierre’s Festival of the Supreme Being. Adding to derogatory speculations about her, some asserted that not only was Maillard the Goddess of Reason, but that she was an immoral woman, and Momoro’s mistress.

111 Revue de Paris, 1843, 86.


113 Carlyle refers to ‘Demoiselle Candeille, of the opera’ and says ‘Mrs. Momoro, it is admitted, made one of the best Goddesses of Reason, though her teeth were a little defective.’ See Thomas Carlyle, French Revolution III (London: Chapman & Hall Limited, 1898, first printed 1837), Book V, 4, Chapter 3, 5, IV. Mlle. (Julie) Candeille was Momoro’s wife. See Revue de Paris, XXI, 1843, 86 and 75–98.Edwards, History of the Opera, 69.

This is where the confusion began. After the Jacobin defeat, vile rumours spread about Maillard. However, in light of Castil-Blaze’s testimony, Sergeant Marceau’s account, and her marriage to Devienne, speculations and publications about her are undoubtedly untrue.

Maillard virtually disappeared from the stage after 1794 following her marriage in about 1791, occasionally performing after 1799. Her husband’s opera, *Le mariage clandestine*, staged in November 1791 at Theatre Montansier (renamed Theatre Feydeau after Madame Montansier’s arrest), alludes to his secret marriage to her. Formerly of the élite Swiss Guards Band in Versailles and then the Paris National Guard band while teaching at the Free School of the National Guard, Devienne became a Paris Conservatoire Professor in 1795, having suffered the oppression of the Terror as a composer for the Republic. On one occasion the *Committee of Public Safety* ordered twelve composers—Kreutzer, Grétry, Méhul, Cherubini, Berton, Blasius, Dalayrac, Devienne, Deshayes, Jadon, Solie, and Trial (fils)—to compose, in two days, a satirical opera about the monarchies of Europe. They staged *Le Congrès des rois* at *Comédie-Française* on 26 February 1794, ridiculing Cagliostro (Balsamo), the Pope, the French Monarchy, Catherine the Great, and monarchs of Europe—somewhat pre-empting the gathering of monarchs for the Congress of Vienna in 1814.

During the guillotinings of the Sainte-Amaranthe’s salon patrons, one Opera-Comique actor-tenor, Antoine Trial (père), engineered Mlle Buret’s execution in 1794. Following Robespierre’s execution, Trial committed suicide by poison, terrified by reprisals from vengeful audiences when they forced him, and many like him, to kneel on stage and repeatedly sing the anti-Jacobin hymn, *Le Réveil du Peuple*, as they performed the ritual humiliation of artists by booing and hissing for an hour.¹¹⁵ Lays and Lainez met with the same vitriolic hostilities from royalist audiences. Maillard, marginalised and tarred with the same brush, disappeared from the stage and then returned under the Consul to perform Méhul’s, *Adrien*, in 1799, the performance delayed due to political issues.

On the day that Bailly [Mayor of Paris] died, the first Feast of Reason was celebrated. The goddess (Madame Momoro, once an actress) was borne aloft in a palanquin surrounded by a tribe of rioters of both sexes into the Convention, embraced by the President and other dignitaries, and seated in ‘state’ by their side. Great was the enthusiasm. The carmagnole was danced in triumph; many of the deputies came down from their seats to join in the revelry. The procession went on to Notre Dame and deposited the Goddess on the high altar. The service of worship consisting of hymns and harangues was then performed.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Edwards, *History of the Opera*, 76 and 66. He repeats Castil-Blaze’s claim that two young ‘ladies’ called de Saint Léger, living in Arras, were executed for playing the piano on the day Valenciennes fell to the enemy, 27 July 1793.

¹¹⁶ Sergeant Marceau, *Reminiscences of a Regicide*, 302. These points of history require further investigation as Jean-François Garneray and Henri Renaud painted images of the Goddess attributing them to Maillard (should these be the
Sergeant Marceau states; ‘He [Mister Momoro] perished in 1794 with Hébert and other writers of the same stamp. His wife performed the part of the Goddess of Reason.’ There were several Goddesses and nymphets that day. Allegations of Maillard’s purported treachery and anti-Royalist anti-Christian activities remained problematic for her, but the Opéra administrators knowing the truth, re-instated her as a part-time principal artist in 1798. After her husband’s death and as a single mother of teenage children in 1803, Maillard returned to the stage to perform in Jadin’s Mahomet II in 1803, after which she often appeared at the Odéon and Théâtre Français. She played the mezzo role of ‘la grande vestale’ in Spontini’s heroic opera, La Vestale, at the Opéra on 13 December 1807, the old woman, Mathurine, in Grétry’s Colinette à la cour ou la Double Épreuve and Eve in Kreutzer’s La Mort d’Abel in 1810. Her last recorded performances at the Opéra (Académie Impériale de Musique) were on 10 January 1813 in Iphigénie en Autide and 20 June 1813 in Colinette à la Cour with Garat’s former pupils, Nourrit and Branchu.

Retiring early at the age of 47, she requested her pension entitlements that potentially amounted to 60,000 francs. This, ironically, is where politics, misinformation, the overthrows of Napoleon, and inopportunity determined her dismal fate and her early death. After writing a letter to the director of the Paris Opéra (Théâtre des Arts in 1812), she secured her pension. Napoleon saw her perform in La Vestale, preferring the young Branchu who became his mistress, nevertheless, awarded the vocally tired Maillard her entitlements. Records indicate that as of 1813 under the Empire, she received 12,000 francs in instalments of 3,000, 2,000, and 1,000 francs with small adjustments continuing into early 1814 as shown in Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12. After Napoleon on 11 April 1814, Maillard, who had not yet received a pension payment under the Restoration, wrote to Comte de Blacas, the new Minister of the King’s Household, on 1 September 1814 requesting that he represent her to renew her entitlements. Unfortunately, for Maillard when Napoleon seized Paris on 20 March 1815, Blacas forfeited his post and escaped to Italy. The monarchies of Europe then forced Napoleon to abdicate for the second time on 8 July 1815. The returning Restoration ignored her second request in her letter dated 31 July 1815, having rescinded all imperial pensions.


117 Marceau, Reminiscences of a Regicide, footnote 1, 150.


119 Journal de l’Empire, 1813, 10 January and see 20 June 1813.

120 For details about her pension AJ/13/63 (II), AJ/13/77 (III and V), and AJ/13/106 (IX), ANF.

121 For Maillard’s letters dated 14 September 1814 and 31 July 1815, see BNF, Lettre autographe signée de Marie Thérèse Davoux Maillard, cantatrice, Paris, Auteur de lettres Voir les notices liées en tant qu’auteur, FRBNF41731589.
The example shows one pension payment to Mlle Maillard of 3,000 francs, 19 July 1813. Honouring her pension request up to 12,000 francs by 1814, Theatre des Arts (Académie impérial de Musique) paid Maillard lumps sums of 1,000, 2,000, and 3,000 per semester beginning July 1813.¹²²

Summary Report No. 833 confirms Maillard’s indemnities to 8 February 1814 at 8,000 francs. Bundled payments No. 2, 122, 128, and 974 show no payments made for Semester 3 after Napoleon abdicated the first time. There are no records of payments under the first or second Restoration.¹²³

¹²² See AJ/13/77 (Personnel) and AJ/13/106 (Dossiers personnels des demandes de pensions), ANF.

¹²³ and ‘Maillard, Marie Thérèse Davoux (cantatrice). Auteur de lettres: A propos de sa représentation à benefice,’ reference FRBNF41731590 or FRBNF39817123.
The consequence of the regime change and vindictive administration meant that, despite being a royalist, Maillard died in poverty in 1818: her letter to the monarchy unanswered and her pension withheld. Her obituary (article nécrologique) in *Journal des Débats* on 20 October 1818 by an author signed C. states it is a ‘just article’ written with ‘recognition and regrets’ of her fate, acknowledging her premature death at 52. The author praises her as a dancer who performed for Catherine the Great at the Court of St. Petersburg, her fame as the cover for counter-revolutionary diva, Madame de Saint-Huberti, and her performances of operas by Gluck, Piccini, Sacchini, Hoffmann, and Kreutzer. No mention is made of activities related to the Jacobins, the *Festival of Reason*, or the Goddess.\(^{124}\) Maillard’s royalist sentiments had damaged her prospects with the Republic while her co-operation with the Jacobins sullied her credibility with the monarchy. Her old-style vocal talent, celebrity, imperial alignments, and marriage to a military musician-composer sustained her during the Empire. Conclusively, her adaptable instrumentally rational actions left no clear delineation about where her loyalties lay, so that all authorities suspected her and none more than the Restoration in withholding 45,000 francs in pension entitlements, the result of which brought her early death and left her stigmatised until today.

**Rudolph Kreutzer: Royalist, Republican, and Imperialist**

A composer of forty operas for the Paris Opéra (often in partnership with Méhul, Berton, and Isouard), comic operas, ballets, violin concerti, 42 studies, and as author of *Méthode de Violon* and *l’Art au Violon*, Rudolph Kreutzer (1766–1831) had ‘contempt for anything that originated beyond the Rhine.’\(^{125}\) Born at Versailles, the son of the violinist, Jean-Jacob Kreutzer, a military musician of the King’s Swiss Guard état-major, Rudolph descended from the Anton Stamitz violin lineage to become a ‘musicien ordinaire’ for the King’s Chapel having made his public début at the age of thirteen at *Concert Spirituel de Paris*. The 1789 Revolution and the coups that followed secured Kreutzer’s fortuitous fate and family dynasty having arrived in Paris to take up the post of ‘musicien du Roi l’appelait à la Cour.’\(^{126}\) After 14 July 1789 and much to the King’s repugnance, Kreutzer—like all court and military musicians—was ‘obliged’ to wear the Republic’s ‘costume militaire’ until his post ceased on the King’s demise on the day of the insurrection, 10 August 1792, after which he sought employment in the theatres of Paris.\(^{127}\) Some of Kreutzer’s movements between 1792 and 1795 remain a mystery because Kreutzer did not write his *mémoires*, Harding’s biography covers the years 1766 to 1789, and my attempts to access

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\(^{123}\) See AJ/13/77 and AJ/13/106 at ANF.

\(^{124}\) See *Journal des Débats*, 20 October 1818.

\(^{125}\) Lassabathie, *Histoire du Conservatoire*, 436 and see Berlioz, *Mémoires*, XX.


Kreutzer's documents at the ANF proved fruitless. Historian, Arnault, only mentions him in passing in his twenty-volume publication about the period.\textsuperscript{128}

After losing his post, Kreutzer sought employment as a first violinist with the Théâtre-Italien where he then débuted several of his operas, including his famous comic opera, \textit{Lodoïska ou les Tartares}. He had already participated in \textit{Concert Spirituel de Paris} in 1792 and premiered \textit{Werther et Charlotte} in February 1792 before leaving Paris to re-stage \textit{Lodoïska} at \textit{Nel Theatro di Monza} in Milan on 29 April 1793. According to \textit{Journal de Rouen} (13 February 1793), Kreutzer travelled to Rouen to perform for some benefit concerts: 'Kreutzer and Rethaller, both refugees from Paris.'\textsuperscript{129} He performed as one of the two extra musicians who joined Garat, Roe, Punto, Rethaller, and Boieldieu for a 23 August 1793 concert two months before his nomination to the new \textit{l’Institut national de Musique}. Kreutzer seems not to have taken part in the Jacobin festivals, and this fact, coupled with Garat’s escape to Rouen and their subsequent association, would seem to indicate Kreutzer’s royalist sympathies in having fled Paris during the Terror. Although by February 1794, Kreutzer had returned to Paris, secured a professorial post at the Conservatoire, and then took orders from the Jacobin \textit{Committee of Public Safety}. Meanwhile, Garat and Rethaller became prisoners of the state.

Further, the versatile adaptable Kreutzer prospered during the Consul, First Empire, as well as the Restoration possibly due to his family’s military background, old-world etiquettes, earlier post at the King’s Chapel, and as Professor of violin at the Conservatoire—second to Boieldieu and Rode. Finding favour with Napoleon, he secured a position as a first violinist at the Opéra in 1801 and \textit{la chapelle du premier Consul} in 1802, violin soloist for \textit{de la Musique de l’Empereur} in 1806, and then returned to the sacred music genre as \textit{Maître de la chapelle du Roi} in 1815 upon Napoleon’s demise.\textsuperscript{130} The breaking of his arm in a carriage accident in 1810 virtually ended his career as a performer although not as a professor soon promoted to the second chief post of the Paris Opéra orchestra in 1816 and as chief conductor in 1817. He remained at the Opéra until 1824 under Directors Choron from 1815, Viotti from 1819, and Habeneck from 1821.\textsuperscript{131} He secured an excellent career-path compared with his rival, the Spanish violinist, Alexander Boucher, praised for his beautiful playing. As Josephine’s favourite, he attracted Napoleon’s


\textsuperscript{129} Miall, \textit{Pierre Garat}, 196. Rethaller was a military clarinettist who had played for the Body Guard of Louis XVI, worked at the Rouen theatre, and served a prison sentence with his wife and children.

\textsuperscript{130} Regarding his tenure with the Opéra, see \textit{AJ/13/63} (Administration de l'An XI et de l'An XII Personnels), \textit{AJ/13/110} (Administration générale de l’Opéra pour les années 1817 et 1818), \textit{AJ/13/176} (Caisse des pensions de l’Opéra) ANF.

\textsuperscript{131} See Table 2.1, Chapter 2. The monarchy reinstated the unpopular Viotti in 1819, forced to leave in 1791.
jealous resentment who forced him into exile. As Weber notes, charismatic leaders often exert personal, and at times petty, influences over others, and this was true of Napoleon Bonaparte.

The Conservatoire’s library collection of original and copies of rare Italian music manuscripts is directly attributable to Kreutzer’s activities during Napoleon’s Italian Campaign. Kreutzer travelled to Italy with Napoleon’s 600,000–strong army where he worked tirelessly to stock the library with copies and originals of ancient manuscripts seized from Italy's archives.132 He stayed in Italy from 1797 until 1800, and like Jean-Pierre Tinet, who plundered the Italian art treasures for Napoleon, he ‘is similarly active, musically, from year V to year VIII (1800)’ commandeering music treasures.133 Unlike professors, Boieldieu and Rode (who held the senior professorial violin post until 1811), Kreutzer is not listed as ‘en voyage’ from the Conservatoire during that time. He toured Europe, stopping in Vienna in 1798 to perform rare selections of music (Italian?) where he befriended Beethoven, returning to Paris in about 1803. Napoleon did not award Kreutzer the Legion d’honneur. Instead, this came from the monarchy in 1824.

For nearly two years, Kreutzer remains in Italy, having copies made of numerous manuscripts, and sending off these “trophies of the valour of the French arms” (as a memorial he addressed to the ministry in 1808 puts it) to the library of the Paris Conservatoire.134

His contribution to the Conservatoire library remains veiled in mystery. Originally, Napoleon’s Management Board in Italy had arranged for a committee comprising of mathematicians (Gaspar, and Mr. Monge), three artists (Wiccar, Girli, and Gros), Professor Kreutzer, a sculptor (Marin), and a few savants to oversee the collection of items for France’s National Institute, Sciences et des Arts.135 It seems that seven volumes of music manuscripts, purportedly housed at the Bibliothèque Saint-Marc, ‘went missing’ while Kreutzer toured Italy—a fact revealed during the Vienna Conference in 1815 after Baron d’Ottenfels attempted to reclaim them. Kreutzer’s response to the Baron’s request for their return was indifferent. He simply announced that they ‘could not be found’ [“M. Kreutzer n’eut pas, dit-on, tous les soins désirables de ce dépôt.”].136

Until then, Eler, Langlé and Roze had held posts as Conservatoire librarians followed by Perne, who joined as a librarian-adjunct under both Restorations after 1814, temporarily sacked upon Napoleon’s return to power, and appointed as Director in 1816 in the same year ‘Kreutzer jeune,

survivancier' joined. The invaluable legacy to the Conservatoire is attributable to Kreutzer and Napoleon’s insatiable appetite for the spoils of war and music. The mystery concerning the lost manuscripts remains.

Conjecture continues about whether Kreutzer’s talent or his political astuteness secured his lucrative long-term career regardless of regimes or revolution. Some claim he ensured political and social advantage through title-page dedications of his compositions to influential people in Paris to avoid stigmas of political alliances. It seems that music appointments were not full-time or burdensome. Miall advises that the Conservatoire regulations obliged Garat to provide a minimum of fifteen lessons a month. The same applies to violinist, Gaviniès, ‘who may be regarded as the head and founder of the French school of violin-playing; Baillot, the best player of his time; Rode, with his graceful technique; and Kreutzer, who many believed lacked Rode’s grace and Baillot’s mechanical precision.’ They all shared a royalist past, escaped the Terror, and, except for Kreutzer, subsisted on low incomes. After 1799, the fates of musicians became dependent upon Napoleon’s moods and tastes, as comparisons of two violinists below show.

Ancien regime violinist and essentially a royalist, Marie-Alexandre Guénin (1744–1835) benefitted from embracing the First Republic, but lost income and status under the Empire. In 1777, as a music intendant for the Prince of Conti, Guénin earned 1,500 livres plus an indemnification of 450 for not lodging at the Palais-Bourbon. As an adjunct of the first violins for the Opéra in 1780, he earned 1,200 livres, which increased to 2,000 by 1790, receiving a further 1,000 from l’École royale de musique—a sum guaranteed by the King until his death in 1793. His multiple appointments, like Kreutzer’s, had secured his wealth, status, and a monopoly over employment in Paris. While the republican regime had advanced Guénin’s livelihood, Kreutzer, who it appears did not swear the Republican Oath and fled Paris, reaped the greater rewards. In 1795, as professors at the Conservatoire (Ecole de musique) Guénin (no instrument listed) and Kreutzer (first-class professor of violin) drew salaries of 1,500 francs. However, unlike Kreutzer who had befriended Napoleon, Guénin who remained a royalist suffered after the reorganisation of the institution in March 1800 (Germinal, An VIII) when the Consul terminated the three-class stratification of professors. Guénin, found himself invisibly demoted to teaching solfège, which left him earnings of no more than 600 francs coupled with the fact that none of his ancien regime pensions were honoured. He sought work at the Opéra in 1801 as Kreutzer had, but then left Paris to attach himself to King Charles IV of Spain for twelve years. He returned in 1814 when

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137 Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire, 125 and 368–369.

138 Miall, Pierre Garat, 262.


140 See Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire, 238–241 and note that his name does not reappear.
Louis XVIII ascended the throne and appointed him on a 1,500-franc salary. After Napoleon’s 100-day rule, Louis XVIII reappointed Guénin on a salary downgraded to 1,200 in 1816. In real terms, he was worse off after twenty years. Kreutzer, however, due to his multiple appointments and political anonymity maintained his wealth and influence, as did his brother, Auguste-Jean-Nicolas Kreutzer (1781–1832) and son, Léon-Charles-François Kreutzer (1817–1868).

As one of the most influential musicians of his time, although not necessarily the most talented, professor Kreutzer was not particularly helpful in advancing the careers of others. He was often surly, according to Berlioz who recounts his difficulties with Kreutzer in 1826, as the former Director General of music at the Opéra. Hoping to début his revolutionary opera, *Les francs-juges*, Berlioz followed the old protocols and arranged for a formal introduction to Kreutzer ‘prepared by a letter from the Arts Secretary M. de La Rochefoucauld’ with encouragement from Lesueur, his composition master and Director of the King’s *Royal Chapel* shared with Kreutzer. During their meeting, Kreutzer was curt and dismissive, and nothing developed. The following week Lesueur argued with Kreutzer about staging Berlioz’s opera, who protested at wasting his time and effort in teaching and supporting young musicians. Kreutzer’s snub set a precedent in a long series of snubs inflicted upon Berlioz, which he says left him ‘in a mood of despair and bitter resentment.’ The opera remained on the shelf.

Kreutzer who, because I admired him, I had imagined him to be as friendly and accessible as my Master – received me with the utmost incivility and contempt. He barely acknowledged me and addressed me over his shoulder without looking at me.

Kreutzer retired from the Conservatoire in 1826 to travel to Switzerland to improve his ailing health. He missed the 1830 Revolution and its aftermath, dying on 6 January 1831 in Geneva. Twenty years later, twelve *l’Association* committee members, including his son, Leon Kreutzer, who secured a teaching post at the Conservatoire through his father, and his former colleague, Professor Zimmermann, organised a *Requiem Mass* by M. Beaulieu staged at the Church of Saint-Roch on 29 April 1851 in memory of Kreutzer featuring *Société Philharmonique*. The event attracted dignitaries and co-joined artists from theatres, schools, and *Artistes du Gymnase dramatique*, in raising 1,200 francs for musicians. Secretly a royalist, Kreutzer had succeeded in overcoming revolutions, coups, and regimes primarily through adaptable action—neither value-rational nor overtly instrumentally rational—by being at the right place at the right time, teaching, publishing, deferring to power, and displaying loyalty only to his profession.

141 Berlioz, *Mémoires*, XI: Kreutzer had retired from the Opéra in 1824, remaining at the Conservatoire until 1826.

142 Berlioz, *Mémoires*, XIV.

143 Berlioz, *Mémoires*, XI.

144 See *l’Association*, 1851, 94–95 and *RGM*, 1851, 139.
Francois Lays: Opportunism and the Reign of Terror

Branded a ‘terrorist actor’ in 1794 along with Trial, Talma, and Lainez, the controversial operatic tenor and sometimes bass-baritone, Francois Lays (1758–1831), abandoned his church career as a cantor to join the Paris Opéra in 1780. He performed about seventy-two major roles in operas by Gossec, Grétry, Cherubini, Lesueur, Spontini, and Kreutzer, often in partnership with Mlle Maillard under Kreutzer’s baton. Gifted with a rare ‘bari-tenor’ voice, the quarrelsome Lays led a turbulent history with the Opéra administrators as an agitator until 1789; a skill polished during the Terror. In 1792, the Opéra functioned temporarily under the direction of a committee chosen from among the singers and dancers selected ‘solely with reference to their political principles’ and so Lays, a furious democrat and Jacobin, became one of its chief managers. He befriended the Montagnards, Jacobins, Robespierre, Bertrand Barère, and the notorious Paul Barras, and then became politically active throughout France. His blend of value-rational and instrumentally rational actions brought him wealth, status, opportunity, and exposure under the Republic, Consul, Empire, and Restoration although perceived as an argumentative anti-royalist.

Taking the Oath, Lays ensured his citizenship right to employment to perform for the major Jacobin festivals until 1794, partaking in the state’s new politicised music of the masses in what Weber describes as a Massenkulturgut phenomenon. As an anointed soloist, he sang republican songs, the Te Deum for the Fête de la Fédération on 14 July 1790 celebrating the first anniversary of the Revolution, thirteen propaganda operas, and Hymne à l’Être-suprême for Robespierre’s Festival of the Supreme Being in June 1794. See Figure 5.3. During this time, he amassed political power, fame, and fortune, meeting his first career obstacle (failure) by having to serve a jail sentence for his alliance to the deposed Barère. Then in 1793, the Girondist Bordeaux citizens rejected his Jacobin propaganda concerts and forced him to flee the city. His second obstacle manifested with the Jacobin demise when he compulsorily served four months in jail for proselytising the cause. The next, upon his release from prison and return to the Opéra in 1795 when confronted by vengeful audiences that humiliated him, by forcing him to sing Le Réveil du Peuple as they ceremoniously hissed and booed him. He retired from the stage and hid from Paris audiences, while he argued with the Opéra management after the Republic had voided all ancien régime pension entitlements. Faced with poverty, he accepted Sarrette’s offer to become a ‘Professeur de chant’ at Paris Conservatoire in 1795.

In September 1792, after the massacres, Lays had gone to protest at the General Council of the Commune of his burning zeal for freedom and equality. In 1793, he travelled, an impassioned missionary through the provinces of the South, to Bordeaux, Lays declared an enemy of the faction of the Girondins.146

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145 Edwards, History of the Opera, 66. Also, see AJ/37/66, 16 and the ANF for the Paris Opéra records for Lays.

146 Castil-Blaze, L’Académie impériale de musique, 21.
Despite his argumentative nature, Lays seemed to have negotiated regime transitions with alacrity, prospering through his alliances with the leaders of the First Republic, Jacobin atheists, and then, after Robespierre's execution, ingratiating himself with Josephine and Napoleon, later gaining favour with the Restoration administrators. Having paid his dues, the stigmas of the past erased, Lay's excellence as a performer impressed Consul Napoleon and the Tsar of Russia enough to endorse his return to the Paris Opéra stage in 1799. As political peace descended in Paris, Lays redeemed himself with the formerly hostile audiences and new Opéra directors, Devisme, Morel, and Piccard, although he may not have obtained Maillard's forgiveness. Conflicts soon arose between the Opéra and Conservatoire administrators regarding scheduling his engagements. Professor Lays who had taught voice from November 1795 until September 1799, stood accused of being 'an indifferent teacher' when he resigned and Garat took over.147 Subsequently, Lays performed at Napoleon's coronation, Josephine's salons, and as chief cantor at Napoleon's Tuileries Chapel under Paisiello's directorship, singing sacred texts he had vehemently rejected during the Terror. Like Garat and Kreutzer, but not Maillard, Lays appears in the 1815 Almanach, and subsequent Almanachs until his retirement from the Opéra, as 'acteur de l'Opéra (chant) r. Montesquieu 4' in the wealthy first district of Paris.148 Like most nineteenth-century publications, the Almanachs generally failed to acknowledge the women musicians.

After Napoleon's demise in 1814, hostilities resurfaced in Paris with revolutions, coups, and regime changes, and then the Tsar of Russia marched into Paris to restore the Bourbon crown. It had taken four monarchy armies to overthrow Napoleon. Similarly, the Second Empire collapsed due to a monarchical army. At the celebratory concert, hostile audiences attacked Lays, this time, for his allegiance to Napoleon and the Empire. Nevertheless, Lays had meanwhile aligned himself with the old and imperial aristocracy, negotiating his way back into royal favour to secure an appointment over Garat as a professor of voice at the Conservatoire in 1819, retiring at the age of seventy in 1826, and like his ancien régime colleagues, died in poverty.149 It seems he had been a casualty of the Restoration, which had refused to honour his imperial pension, which represents a substantial loss of about 90,000 francs accumulated over fifteen years at 6,000 francs yearly. Forced to continue employment as one of three voice professors with Garat and Lainez, Lays headed the new Classes des Études de l'Opéra created in 1819, where, according to some, he prepared students for Garat to polish. The former professor of Chant perfectionné found himself surrounded by several Jacobin Opéra performers whose loyalties remained capricious. Garat was not on good terms with Lays, Lainez, or the ambitious honorary professor of voice and piano, Charles-Henri Plantade: 'the latter in particular he regarded with absolute


148 Almanach des 25 000 adresses de Paris pour 1816, 353 and see 276 (Garat), 334 (Kreutzer).

149 Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire, 437.
hatred, a most unusual thing for Garat.\textsuperscript{150} Plantade, like Lays and Lainez, used calculated action to obtain favour with royal administrators to Garat’s disadvantage.\textsuperscript{151} While Lay’s talent had secured his fame and fortune, he negotiated his survival through opportunistic, decisive, and instrumentally rational action, showing loyalty only to those who served his requirements. While every man has his price, some, more than others sacrifice integrity for an opportunity.

**Conclusion**

Although regime officials created records of émigrés, deaths, arrests, and exiles by occupation relating to revolutions, wars, coups, and state violence that statisticians Greer, Pinkney, Tilly, Tombs, and Rougerie analysed, they often omitted musicians. Statistical inaccuracies resulting from regimes withholding information regarding revolutions or coups in Paris, and delayed publications from official sources conform to Weber’s observations about state security, secrecy, and rationalised indifference. This revelation explains the discrepancies between Russian and American immigration data compared with the French emigration records due to revolutions. Records verify the regime classifications of professional musicians consistent with Weber’s authorities and a significant lack of information regarding church and military musicians that challenge statisticians, historians, and musicologists. Affluent musicians had the means to flee a revolutionary crisis and survive in the interim while most others could not, with relatively few, except for soldier-musicians and National Guard musicians, killed, arrested, or executed.

Republics were harsh on musicians, monarchies cultivated nepotism, and empires rewarded talent. The unforeseen damage to musicians arose after 1815 from monarchies and republics voiding contracts and pension entitlements. While many expressed their disappointment in the 1830 Revolution, some positive results surfaced through liberalised laws governing education, charity, and utilité publique that brought benefits to musicians through philanthropy. Weber’s Massenkulturgut, erklärendes, and aktuelles Verstehen methods assist in analysing the fates of four interconnected ancien regime artists transitioning six regimes. A comprehensive analysis of their participation in large music gatherings and their political loyalties indicates that their responses to regimes brought inconsistent outcomes in adopting any of Weber’s four types of social action. They all suffered. Ultimately, due to luck and social connections the value-rational actions of royalists, Garat and Maillard, made them marginally worse off than Kreutzer and Lays, who had adopted instrumentally rational action and withheld personal loyalties to ensure professional prosperity.


\textsuperscript{151} Alex Emery, “Dictionnaire des girouettes, ou Nos contemporains peints d’après eux-mêmes...par une société de girouettes,” (Paris: Alexis Emery Library, 1815), 1–443 passim, and particularly 176.
The next chapter discusses Weber’s *Massenkulturgut Verstehen* in relation to *Hierocracy, Theocracy*, and *Caesaropapism* regarding state-control of mobs, large organisations, churches, money, and charities through the laws governing *utilité publique*. *Aktuelles Verstehen* and *erklärendes Verstehen* help explain the types of actions of musicians adopted to survive the 1848 revolution and 1851 coup, and why two talented (genius) musicians—fortified with high ideals—experienced contrary fates despite their common support for *l’Orphéon de Paris* and *l’Association des artistes musiciens*. The chapter shows that ‘traditional’ actions brought better results than ‘effectual’ emotional actions expressed in atheism and overtly commercial exploits in Paris dominated by the Roman Catholic culture of the Second Empire.
CHAPTER 5: Utilité Publique: Mobs, Charity, and Music

While revolutions in Paris served as catalysts for the developments in music, so too did the peace that followed when states, preoccupied with the clean-up after the street battles turned to social issues of mobs, cretinism, unemployment, education, and culture, focused on laws governing assemblies, music, and charity. Fear of ‘the mob’ arose following the devastating effects of 14 July 1789 when chanting sans-culottes burst into The Invalides (depicted in Figure 5.1), confiscated armouries of about twenty-four canons, 30,000 muskets, pistols, sabres, and bayonets, and then stormed the Bastille when mayhem ensued. Upon seizing power, the First Republic used the law and violence to control mobs, changed the currency from livres to francs, prevented the syphoning of funds for counter-revolutionary purposes, and enforced politicised music propaganda. It outlawed the gathering of crowds, unsanctioned music concerts, charities, and guilds, meanwhile policing theatres and enforcing politicised music repertoire in the public domain. This chapter discusses the relationships between law, music, crowds, charity, and revolutions under successive regimes approached through Weber’s Massenkulturgut Verstehen focused on l’Orphéon de Paris and l’Association des artistes musiciens. These organisations are analysed in light of Weber’s perspective of philanthropy in light of the state’s political and hierocratic domination of society as discussed in ‘Alms-Giving, Charity, and Protection of the Weak.’¹ Adopting Weber’s Verstehen principles, the chapter examines the Liszt and Berlioz as friends who shared the same philanthropic pursuits with l’Orphéon and l’Association explaining why they encountered paradoxical fates due to revolutions and regime milieus after 1848.

During the nineteenth century, ‘charitable associations were the key source of assistance for poverty-ridden individuals before the advent of the welfare state.’² From that point, secular activities fell within the jurisdiction of public utility regardless of the authority, and what ensued was an evolving state-consensus concerning laws governing crowds, organisations, churches, charity, philanthropy, and music gatherings. In France, acts of charity had customarily been associated with God, and hence the Roman Catholic Church, expelled from republican France in 1791, as well as other forms of secular relief from the Opéra and other organisations. Weber

¹ Max Weber, Economy and Society (Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, 1919), Vol I and II, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, trans. and eds. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 581–589, Chapter XV (Political and Hierocratic Domination), and 1159. See Anthony Black, State, Community, and Human Desire: A Group-centred Account of Political Values (New York/London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1988), Chapters 2 and 3 regarding groups, communities, and culture. Black explains that cultural groups are ‘associated with someone’s life-project’ rather than sustaining a livelihood activity, although there are exceptions, while supplementary cultural bodies ‘convey some sense of solidarity’ acting as a ‘social or political pressure group.’

² Adams, Poverty, Charity, and Motherhood, 3–4.
advises that the ‘lasting effects of the French Revolution destroyed not only every formation of corporation but also every type of voluntary association.’

Dating from Norman times to deter acts of ultra vires from those forming political or private organisations, Kings issued special grants ‘for a limited purpose and upon grounds of public utility’ that Weber says ensured they remained ‘under constant control and supervision.’

The First Republic extended these principles while ensuring tyrannical state-control over music, almsgiving, and public gatherings giving relief for a select few as secular concepts of utilité publique crystallised. Women addressed poverty and child-abandonment issues during the 1780s by establishing secular charities with feminine aristocratic support compromised by laws following the Revolution.

Customarily, artists from the Paris Opéra and other theatres often staged welfare concerts to provide relief for those in crisis, but this ceased in 1791. The failure of the state work-schemes and piecemeal offerings of temporary employment measures in Paris led to the workers creating the first mutual-aid society in 1803, and little else. The Paris Opéra and Paris Conservatoire, operating as institutions under the guise of utilité publique, provided employment for only the élite French musicians, otherwise who would have been forced into employment in speculative music markets. Poverty was rife in Paris and relief sparse until Napoleon passed the 1804 Civil

Figure 5.1 Crowds confiscate weapons from The Invalides on the Morning of July 14, 1789. The unpredictable nature of meaningfully angry crowds signifies the potential for violence.

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3 Weber, Economy and Society, 724, and see Chapter VIII passim.
4 Weber, Economy and Society, 723.
5 Christine Adams, Poverty, Charity, and Motherhood (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010).
Code (Code Civil des Français) on 6 February 1804. Article 649 redefined definitions of public utility in more liberal terms that expanded the platforms for new laws governing music, crowds, culture, and philanthropic endeavours under subsequent regimes.

**States, Churches, Crowds, and Charities**

Until the late 1780s, the conflicts between monarchical rule and the Church generally defined the speculative spheres of employment in the market for musicians, who primarily serviced ritualistic and political agendas of both. The strict functional and rational criteria that delineated the terms of employment and status for musicians dominated the irrational rebellious aesthetics of opera, theatre, street music, and public domain. Weber explains why states seek to dominate religious institutions, groups, and organisations, as domains for large public gatherings, music, and charity. He says the need to control groups relates to secular and ecclesiastic rival powers of ‘Hierocracy, Theocracy, and Caesaropapism’ that, if out of balance, generate profound effects for state administrations, philanthropic organisations, and music institutions.7 The ‘most important typifying power in existence’ and usually ‘anti-capitalist’ and ‘anti-economic’ is the hierocracy of the Church, whose mission many believe ‘must forestall the rise of secular powers capable of emancipating themselves.’8 State-suspicion of hierocracy arises because the Church opposes threats to its office-charisma, financial power, liturgy, music, and judicial independence supported by a clergy believing ‘the subordination of the state in all ecclesiastically regulated spheres of life remains the real will of God.’9

Traditional authority ‘legitimated by priests’ in fulfilling hierocracy criteria is based upon the belief that God blesses its rulers above secular powers and tends to cooperative with religious charities.10 Rational-legal authority, legitimised by lawyers in fulfilling theocracy criteria, destroys the ‘institutionalised charisma of the priesthood’ and seeks absolute dominion by enforcing the ‘complete control of the secular ruler over the church.’11 Through the law it ensures that the ‘state alone is the site of the formulation and the control of the public interest’ and money matters, separating private from public concerns.12 Charismatic authority, legitimised by a charismatic military leader in fulfilling caesaropapist criteria, ‘exercises supreme authority in ecclesiastic matters by virtue of autonomous legitimacy’ by blending state

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and religious powers under a single figurehead. These differentials are evident in the manner in which regimes treated crowds, charity, and music in Paris following each revolution. The First Republic destroyed traditional hierocracy by creating a constitutional monarchy answerable to the state and by outlawing church participation in state matters and then secured the ruthless extermination of both. Prohibiting congregational gatherings of churches, masses, meetings, concerts, and fund-raising activities deprived musicians of income and prevented groups from seizing power from the state. Meanwhile, it ensured the National Guard and Police controlled the politicised theatres and music festivals such as Fête de la Raison and Culte de l’Être Supreme (see Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3). Musicians did not have permission to stage concerts as the Minister of War controlled all public matters. Sections 8 and 12 of The Decree Establishing the Worship of the Supreme Being, 7 May 1794 (19 Floréal 11) appointed a Committee of Public Safety and a Committee of Public Instruction to organise music events in Paris and to ‘compensate their authors’ (i.e., composers). Section 9 ordered the National Convention to ‘summon all talents worthy of serving the cause of humanity’ (i.e., compliant musicians), according to the principles of public utility for the worship of a Supreme Being to perform ‘hymns and civic songs.’

Authorities are wary of public gatherings because, as Weber observes, individuals swayed by mob mentality often behave unpredictably and threaten the legitimacy of the status-quo. In Weber’s words: ‘Social action is not identical either with the similar actions of many persons or with every action influenced by other persons [when] actions of the individual are strongly influenced by the mere fact that he is a member of a crowd confined within a limited space.’ Actions or reactions are usually ‘causally determined by the action of others, but not meaningfully’ because ‘action conditioned by crowds’ often differs from an actor’s original purpose, especially when ‘large numbers, though dispersed, [are] influenced simultaneously or successively.’ The concept of public utility attempted to overcome suspicions by using a physical and psychological ‘coercive apparatus’ of ‘guaranteed law’ that upheld the state’s monopoly of ‘legal coercion by violence’ and to enforce the integrity of all social actors. This law applies whether crowds are malicious, excitable, amicable, passive, collegial, or meaningful. Tyrannical laws after 1793 prohibited large unsanctioned public gatherings deemed suspicious.

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13 Weber, Economy and Society, 1160–1161.
14 John H. Stewart, A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution (New York: Macmillan Co. (1951), 1969), 526. Sections 6 and 7 regarding The Decree Establishing the Worship of the Supreme Being plus four annual state festivals (14 July 1789; 10 August 1792 (insurrection celebration); 21 January 1792; and 31 May 1793).
15 Weber, Economy and Society, 23–24. He cites Le Bon and Tard’s studies on the psychology of crowds.
and treasonous and punishable by death via the *Law of Suspects (17 September 1793)* and *Constitution of the Terror (4 December 1793)*, culminating in the *Law of 22 Prairial (10 June 1794)* when a gathering of two constituted a treasonous act.\(^\text{10}\)

**Figure 5.2**  *The engraving shows the Fête de la Raison procession on 10 November 1793.*

The *Procession of the Goddess of Reason*, copied from ‘Histoire de la Revolution Française’ by Louis Blanc (1811–82) engraved by Meyer-Heine (litho) from Henri Renaud (1793).\(^\text{19}\)

**Figure 5.3**  *The painting by Pierre-Antoine Demachy (1723–1807) depicts Culte de l’Être Suprême in 1794.*

Robespierre devised a combined civil *Festival of the Supreme Being* at Champs de Mars on 8 June 1794 (20 Prairial, Year II). It replaced the *Festival of Reason*, to celebrate the Republic’s anti-Christian secular religion, with opera singers, musicians, chanting crowds accompanied by church organs, military bands, drums, and patriotic choirs, subject to strong police and military presence.\(^\text{20}\)


Festivals continued under Consul Napoleon, maintained by an agreeable military presence, featured a unified society of National Guard musicians, Paris Conservatoire professors and students, many Paris Opéra soloists, choruses, instrumentalists, plus the remaining professional and amateur musicians. Emperor Napoleon permitted sacred music for church gatherings for Sunday masses, replacing the Republic’s Marseillais anthem with his Veillons au salut de l’Empire, commissioning Lesueur to compose music for official occasions. His coronation was the most liberal gathering of celebratory crowds and musicians since 1789, after which, music consistently featured for state festivals, concerts, masses, banquets, celebrations, spectacles, military parades. Music under the Empire served dual purposes of glorifying God and Emperor: for the caesaropapist ‘Gods and saints are deities of the state, their worship is a state affair.’

He consolidated public utility criteria by installing the Penal Code of 1810, defining jurisdictions of criminal and civil matters of crimes against the state or persons and punitive measures. Reinforcing state control of crowds, he permitted only ‘legal’ gatherings of people proven to be of ‘public utility’ under the 1804 Civil Code while permitting churches their traditional role in providing charitable relief. Articles 291–94 of the Penal Code, consolidated by the decree of 25 July 1811, forbade gatherings of more than twenty persons, permitting small salons and music events. Napoleon achieved unchallenged hierocracy in 1812 when he forced Pope Pius VII to surrender all claims to temporal power.

Concerning charity in the absence of the Church, Comité de Mendicité’s estimations combined with the capitation rolls—abolished in 1792 along with the ancien régime tax system—show that between 10% and 14% of the French population lived in dire poverty after the revolution until 1799. Under the Jacobins, any ‘organised private charity had fallen from favour’ and ‘care for the poor was now a public, not a private, responsibility’ because Jacobins believed the state’s duty was ‘to destroy all individual initiates’ and accordingly, ‘the Convention abolished all educational, literary, scientific, and charitable societies.’ Their actions left citizens poverty-ridden—Jacobins staged spectacular festivals without delivering on charity. By the nineteenth century, charity itself became a rationalised enterprise, and its religious significance eliminated or transformed to an opposite meaning.

Under the First Empire, the Roman Catholic Church remained subordinate to the State, partly due to the ongoing institutional imprinting from

\[21\] Weber, Economy and Society, 1162.

\[22\] Christian Morrisson and Wayne Snyder, “The income inequality of France in historical perspective” in European Review of Economic History, 4 (2000): 59–83, 63, and 7. Also, see Table 7 on page 73. Noble and clergy land ownership fell from 42% in 1788 to 12% in 1802.

\[23\] Adams, Poverty, Charity, and Motherhood, 45–46.

\[24\] Weber, Economy and Society, 589.
previous authorities when Napoleon’s Caesaropapism rule required ‘the complete subordination of priestly to secular power’ because it ‘treats ecclesiastic affairs simply as a branch of political administration’ as ‘official priestly acts are supervised by the state.’

Nevertheless, inequalities initially decreased through laws benefitting the lower classes up until 1830 when the industrial revolution, economic developments, and then inflation exacerbated the divide between the rich and poor, peaking in 1866. After 1815, charity events involving meetings, fetes, and concerts remained a state concern as foreseen in Article 545 of Napoleon’s Civil Code when one was legally obliged to lodge a ‘Déclaration d’utilité publique’ (declaration of public utility) with the prefect of the state certifying that a proposed project brought public benefits. The Restoration amended articles 910 and 937 regarding donations for health, social, medico-social institutions, and charitable public utilities, updated after the revolution in 1830 to include religious charities. Few musicians or music organisations pursued these ends until the 1830s and in 1843.

The role of education in society arose with Europe’s fascination with theories of the progress of civilisation, degeneration, disease, insanity, cretinism, pathological reproduction, fear of mobs, and inevitable social death spawned from massive political vicissitudes of revolutions in a frenzied modernised society. These notions developed from philosophies espoused by Rousseau, Hegel, Balzac, Saint-Simon, Compte, Morel, Rémy, and Gaume. Haunted by evidence of a declining civilisation, public demand for better education arose along with state concerns about providing French citizens with a better future. During the 1820s, a secular philanthropic age developed in the absence of a strong church presence and due to the lack of state provisions for the poor and destitute. Many of those locked away in asylums and jails had resorted to crime to survive in coping with the onslaught of unemployment and despair from revolutions. The July Monarchy harnessed the Restoration’s amendments to Napoleon’s public utility laws, which it combined with the new laissez-faire ideologies concomitant with the rise of socialism and social Catholicism encouraging state intervention to improve conditions for the lower classes. Education in music served as an essential vehicle for reform. The state permitted ‘open’ communal social relationships (Vergesellschaftung) of individuals engaged in mutually beneficial charitable and educative actions through music. The musical literacy of the masses, no matter how basic, whetted their appetite for direct participation in choral singing . . . the impetus for the

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25 Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1161 and 1451–52. Note that both Napoleons followed the ‘specifically caesarist technique is [of] the plebiscite’ to obtain power after their coups.


formal creation of many choral societies and choruses affiliated with orchestral bodies in the capital through mid-century.’

From inception under the July Monarchy, secular organisations fulfilling state *utilité publique* requirements engaged professional musicians, orchestras, military bands, opera singers, and amateur choirs of thousands of schoolchildren, university students, and workers to stage large concerts. The amendments made possible the founding of music organisations in partnership with the church and military, traditionally the enemies of the state. Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.5 illustrate commonalities between revolutions, mobs, and concerts, swapping sabres for batons.

After three uprisings in 1848, preoccupations with mobs, poverty, criminals, hereditary degeneration, and education escalated with social fears of cretinism. Prime Minister Thiers declared in 1850 that he wished to exile riotous congregations of heterogeneous mobs of homeless vagabonds and nomads from Paris: a city, whose only defence, according to philosopher Bénédict Augustin Morel, was ‘the moralisation of the masses.’ Thiers supported

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29 Donna Marie Di Grazia, *Concert societies in Paris*, 9–10, and also, see Chapter III and IV. These were primarily *La Société des Orphéonistes de Sèvres, la Société des Tyroliens, la Société chorale de l’Odéon, les Enfants de Choisy-le-Roi, l’Orphéon de Meaux, la Société chorale du Conservatoire, la Société chorale des Enfants de Paris, la Société chorale des Enfants de Latèce, les Élèves de l’École communale de Bercy, and la Société des Céciliens*.

30 This thesis differentiates organisations from institutions: The latter represents state-owned and/or state-controlled organisations, the former, privately managed but state-controlled services of *public utility* criteria.


the re-Christianisation of France through the *Falloux Law* of 1850 and return of church power over education. In the interim, secular organisations compliant with *utilité publique* ameliorated state concerns about the degenerative mob mentalité by staging concerts providing working classes and students unprecedented access to élite music. The Second Republic and Second Empire combined secular rational-legal rule with 'caesarist leader' control on 12 April 1850 when President Napoleon reinstated the temporal power of Pope Pius IX, reintroduced church participation in education, charity, and music, championing choral and philanthropic organisations of *l’Orphéon* and *l’Association*. From that point, the imperial state openly shared philanthropic, educational, and cultural pursuits with the church, military, and public.

Figure 5.5  *The sketch from 1862 Almanach musicale depicts the Orphéonic Congress Concert in 1861.*

Eugène Delaporte conducts 8,000 singers for the French Orphéonic Congress Concert, October 1861, following the London Orphéonist Festival at Crystal Palace in 1860.34

Figure 5.6  *Extract from Journal Universal shows the Grand Festival des Orphéonistes de France.*

Eugene Delaporte conducts the first grand reunion concert at Palais de l’Industrie in Paris, on 19 March 1859, the same weekend Gounod premiered *Faust* at the Théâtre-Lyrique, having resigned as director.35

34 Extract from *l’Almanach musicale, Ephémérides musicales, biographies des célébrités de la musique*, for 1862, located at galicalahsbfn.fr (accessed 12 January 2015).

35 Engraving sourced from *L’Illustration*, 26 March 1859, 196.
**L’Orphéon and utilité publique: Crowds and Choruses**

*L’Orphéon*, founded by Wilhelm in 1834, in partnership with the virtually forgotten influential *l’Association*, founded and chaired by Baron Taylor in 1843, dominated the Paris music scene during the Second Empire due to Napoleon’s endorsement of cultural gatherings, music, and charity, building *Cirque des Champs-Elysées* for large-scale concerts.³⁶ Louis-Napoleon had strong sympathy with the working-classes, and was always seeking to benefit them’ and so assisted *l’Association* to raise pension funds for impoverished, destitute, retired, disabled, and aged musicians and *l’Orphéon* which offered weekly music classes to adults after 1836.³⁷ Few musicians acknowledged their involvement with either organisation, especially Gounod and Berlioz, who came to rely on them for status and success, which is perhaps why scholars view *l’Orphéon* with ‘puzzlement’ unable to connect it to the socio-musical phenomenon of *l’Association* that surged in the 1850s and 1860s.³⁸ Both organisations, which exist today, adapted to policies of regimes after revolutions, working independently and cooperatively with each other and other societies such as *Les Enfants de Paris* throughout Europe.

Article 545 of Napoleon’s *Civil Code* served as the corner-stone for laws governing public utility enterprises for music gatherings in Paris and formation of choral societies like des Sociétés Chorales and particularly *l’Orphéon* which served as ‘a symbolic amalgamation of politics, philosophy, and art, in an integral whole.’³⁹ This organisation was one of the most important musical institutions in France during this time [the 1850s], providing a degree of public education in the arts, opportunities for composers and performers, and an experiment in social action.⁴⁰

Society had changed under Napoleon who reintroduced religious music rich with large church choirs to Paris, mixed with military bands, and opera choruses featuring soloists for mammoth music events. Until the 1820s, secular festivals secured by a strong military presence and disciplined celebratory crowds united the nation, but the Restoration brought a kind of music

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³⁶ See Rousseau, *Du Contrat social* (1762), 3.12 and 3.13 (Comment se maintient l’autorité souveraine), regarding ‘how sovereign authorities are maintained.’

³⁷ See Latimer, *France in the Nineteenth Century*, 228. Choral organisations involved with *l’Association* were: Orphéonistes de Sèvres; Société des Tyrolien; Société des Enfants de Galin; Société orphéonique de Versailles; choral de l’Odéon; Société chorale des Enfants de Choisy-le-Roi; Société des Cécilien; Société des Enfants de Lutèce; Société des Enfants de Paris; Société chorale du Conservatoire and la Société la Parisienne.


³⁹ Fulcher, “The Orphéon Societies,” 11 and 56.

apathy to France, except perhaps for the Italian opera and virtuosic pianists as state support and funding in culture lapsed. While England ‘may have been the first to sustain formal public concerts’ it was Germany that successfully pioneered the Liedertafel in Berlin, which eventually led to the birth of popular concerts (‘concerts populaires’) in Paris during the July Monarchy when Pasdeloup, adhering to European models, established l’Association des Concerts. Eventually, large gatherings of singers and musicians represented, not a mad mob, but a cultural celebration of civilisation for Utopian theorists such as Fourier in the realisation of Comte’s positivist aesthetic philosophy.

The July Monarchy’s concern with decadence, cretinism, and education led to the formation of Société pour l’Instruction Elémentaire when Baron de Gérando successfully argued to incorporate music into primary school education, advocating Guillaume-Louis Bocquillon Wilhem (1781–1842) as the administrator who then ‘instituted and directed that program.’ As Director-Inspector General of Singing for schools in Paris, Wilhem fulfilled the state’s regulatory requirements, periodically organising musical assemblies of schoolchildren for concerts. Due to its popularity, he formed the l’Orphéon choral society from innocent communities combining school students with university students, women, and workers to create a large choir movement in Paris, which Conseil Royal de l’Instruction Publique approved as an educative venture in 1836. It grew in stature during the 1830s and 1840s supported by élite musicians in Paris, although ‘the revolution of 1848 and the ensuing years of political and social disruption brought a temporary halt to the movement’s rapid growth.’ Meanwhile, Perne, director of Paris Conservatoire (École Royale), failed to establish élite support for his choral concerts: ‘there were nineteen performances by Ecole Royale de Chant between 1815 and 1830, compared with 144 “Exercices” during the period 1800–15.’ The Restoration produced only 14% of the total number of Empire concerts. Matters progressed in 1828 when Habeneck founded the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire independent from direct state control, to become ‘the finest musical organisation in Europe’ introducing Beethoven to Parisians. Joseph Mainzer initially eclipsed Wilhem, staging choral concerts and attracting praises from Gazette Musicale until he fell out of ‘political’ favour, so Wilhem seized the moment with support from prolific popular songwriter, Pierre-Jean de Béranger, and ensured l’Orphéon’s success. Berlioz, not overly fond of public

41 Di Grazia, Concert societies in Paris, 94 and see 93–97.
42 Di Grazia, Concert societies in Paris, 126.
44 Di Grazia, Concert societies in Paris, Chapter II for background information.
genres, decimated Mainzer and his male choir in *Review et Gazette* on 6 July 1838, cautiously praising l’Orphéon, little realising he had secured a future with them.\(^{46}\)

According to Gounod, the 1848 Revolution almost destroyed l’Orphéon, primarily due to Director M. Joseph Hubert’s inaction. In his confidential unpublished letter, 3 January 1857, to Mr. A Simon, the manager of an *Orphéon* periodical, Gounod claims that since 1848 the society had not performed in public for four years, and ‘owing to the wretched condition of the Orphéons,’ its members were ‘deserting on every side.’\(^{47}\) He unequivocally reveals his role as the new Director of ‘Instruction in Singing’ in rescuing the society from extinction and his conflict with Hubert as Inspector of Singing. The issue of succession as l’Orphéon director was contentious because Hubert, as Wilhem’s assistant for thirty years, believed his permanent promotion to the Directorship was inevitable. Zimmermann, formerly Gounod’s piano teacher at the Conservatoire, saw this differently in arranging for his appointment. Since taking control, Gounod called regular meetings, increased the membership, appointed three assistants, and composed a new mass (*Messe No. 1 aux orphéonistes*) which the remaining 400 Orphéonistes performed.\(^{48}\) By 1854, its membership more than doubled to 1,060, and many involved joined *l’Association*. After the fire that destroyed its headquarters at Halle aux Draps in 1855, ‘a misfortune which threatened with extermination,’ Gounod says he successfully lobbied for a new hall and then staged a festival in December using status alliances through Napoleon, which brought the donations needed.\(^{49}\) After he resigned in 1859, l’Orphéon continued to perform his National Anthem, *Vive l’Empereur*, filling their *Almanachs* praising Napoleon (see Figure 5.7).

Ultimately, the phenomenal success of the choral movement lay with events following the coup of 1851 that established President Napoleon as Emperor, who took a personal interest in music and charity by forming relationships with performers, composers, and significant others, such as Professor Zimmermann, Baron von Taylor, and Charles Gounod. Events unfolding in May of 1852 proved pivotal for l’Orphéon’s survival, growth, and success, primarily through Gounod’s dual appointments to *l’Association* Committee and as Director of Instruction of l’Orphéon in the schools of the Ville de Paris; a post that Zimmerman arranged as a long-standing committee


\(^{48}\) Tiersot, “Gounod’s Letters” 47–48. The autograph is at Musée Royal de Mariemont, Belgium.

The appointments followed Gounod’s marriage to Anna Zimmerman, whose brother-in-law served as the Emperor’s doctor. The choral movement soon flourished, and l’Orphéon came to symbolise the Empire’s socio-political unity signifying the moral and ‘cultural amelioration for the masses’ such that during the ‘1850s, praise for the institution seemed unbounded;’ its membership growing from 12,000 in 1862 to 350,000 by the 1880s.\(^5^1\)

\[\text{Figure 5.7 The Frontispiece from l’Orphéon’s Almanach Chantant dated 1865.}\]

Devoid of political content, the Almanach contains lists of solar and lunar cycles, years and days, saints and religious festivals, seasons, publicity plus the words and music sung by the Orphéons.\(^5^2\)

L’Orphéon was not an economic or capitalist concern, but a cultural one with its unique cultural identity expressed in soft language and music activities without political ideology, akin to Weber’s idea of the cultural possession of the masses (Massenkulturgut). The Second Empire cultivated music culture throughout France under an extended peace as suspicions attached to crowds and charity dissipated. The milieu provided opportunities for professional performers, conductors, and composers to stage an exceptional number of public concerts featuring many

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\(^{50}\) See Chapter 6 for discussions about Gounod and revolutions.


genres and to earn extra income. Scholars, such as Jane Fulcher, claim this phenomenon was Napoleon’s political ruse to secure public support, but, surely, this is an exaggeration. After transcending the politics of war and revolution, the organisation flourished at local and international levels initially due to the public utility laws. It strengthened due to political support and collegial co-operation anchored primarily in the community desire to forge social, cultural, and musical relations within France and English ‘Orpheons’ across the channel. It became an international movement, and all who associated with it benefitted. By 1859, France and England transfixed with public singing organised public gatherings of thousands in new expressions of cultural exchange, as shown in Figure 5.6.

By the early 1860s, ‘there were 3,000 sociétés chorales scattered throughout France with 140,000 singers’ and approximately ‘19,240 musicians’ After approximately 3,423 choruses and various wind, and brass bands joined l’Orphéon-Sociétés Chorale movement, it raised participants to an estimated 247,000 during the 1860s. The Empire encouraged crowds to gather in the name of music and charity, locally and internationally. The Exposition Universelle of 1855 and 1867, ‘regarded by some as the noisome symbol of the Regime of December the Second’ involved the grand reunion des orphéonists de France in 1859 plus the joint English-French festival in London in 1860. These were l’Orphéon’s crowning glories involving up to 8,000 participants, with Gounod, Delaporte, and Pasdeloup as directors. Peaceful concerts uniting the communities of amateur and professional musicians of France demonstrated l’Orphéon’s substantial social, cultural, educational, and philanthropic power with the state arising under a charismatic, but somewhat indulgent, regime. Significant contributors were Gounod, Kücken, Adam, Halévy, de Rillé, Thomas, and Clapisson, and the phenomenon of the ‘large Orphéon gatherings, illustrates the political influence inherently part of the movement.’

The choral movement waned temporarily after the 1870 war, 1871 Commune and the harsh confusion under the Third Republic, recovering slightly by 1873 under Delaporte, François Bazin, and Adolphe Danhouser. Indeed, events in 1871 suggest its decline in light of the indiscriminate slaughter of Communards in Paris during May filled with curfews, trials, new laws, and suppressions of crowds in giving rise to fears of subjugation. As political trust returned to France, with Thiers no longer in power, l’Orphéon resumed concert-giving with verve, uniting and civilising the Parisian mobs through cultural exchange, as Weber predicts. Founded under traditional authority and metamorphosing under charismatic authority l’Orphéon declined under rational-legal authority.

53 Di Grazia, Concert societies in Paris, 159.
54 Teneo, “Jacques Offenbach,” 110.
55 Di Grazia, Concert societies in Paris, 414 and 418.
L’Association des artistes musiciens: Rescuing Musicians in Crisis

Authorities view almsgiving with suspicion aware that syphoned funds had the potential to finance hostile factions (churches included) and revolutionaries endeavouring to subvert power. L’Association thrived on altruism, petitioning donations and services from citizens and the institutions of the royal and imperial households, the Opéra, Théâtre-Italien, Opera-Comique, Theatre-Lyrique, Presidents, Emperor Napoleon, Empress Eugénie, ministers, professors, the military, composers, and performers at local and international levels, as well as thousands of subscribers. At one point, a director of the Théâtre-Lyrique, Edmond Seveste, inserted a clause into the orchestra and chorus contracts requiring they join l’Association as fee-paying members, like himself.56 From Weber’s perspective, several issues arose concerning music, charity (caritas), and social action as ‘rationally controlled action may use economic operations as a means for achieving different goals.’57

During the 1840s when the mandatory age of retirement was 60 years of age, l’Association des artistes musiciens, founded in Paris in January 1843 by Baron von Taylor, formed ‘a grand family of musicians’ that united citizens in benevolent activities of providing charitable support for musicians. As a ‘group with secondary economic interests (wirtschaftende Gemeinschaft)’ combining ‘economic with non-economic goals’ its ultimate purpose to provide charity, was subject to ‘regulatory groups’ of the state like ‘all kinds of political and many religious groups, and numerous others, among those associated specifically for the sake of economic regulation.’58 Registered as an utilité publique under Article 545 of Napoleon’s Civil Code and utilising the Déclaration d’utilité publique form, l’Association functioned as a secular charity under the Second Republic and the Second Empire. It formed part of a trinity of associations of drama, painters, and musicians: les trois Associations des Artistes Dramatiques, des Artistes Peintres et des Artistes Musiciens.59 While not formally affiliated with the Catholic Church, it nonetheless, staged concerts in churches throughout Paris, and especially Saint-Eustache for which it maintained an independent ledger.60 Comparisons of the finances of l’Association with its two sister organisations in 1848–50 show that its receipts were the lowest at 146,728 francs of the three, with combined revenues totalling 751,402 francs.

59 See l’Association, 1852, 67.
60 See l’Association, 1851, 101–102 and also, see1848, 18.
The turning point for the administration of l’Association arose immediately following the February Revolution in 1848 when the autocratic Second Republic, scrutinising all sources of revenue, initiated new laws for greater control and accountability governing charities, music, and public organisations. Non-compliance brought penalties or cessation of those registered under utilité publique laws. Chapter II of the Republic’s new Constitution amended the rights of citizens (Droits Des Citoyens Garantis Par La Constitution) and specifications of the Civil Code under Article 11. During l’Association’s annual general assembly on 24 May 1849, the committee discussed new statute requirements for transparency and increased Committee sizes from nine to twelve. New laws under the republic explain the publication of their first financial report detailing the membership 1843 to 1850, and revision of Article 8 of the statute (1848–1849) explaining the ‘necessary’ conversion from an ‘anonymous society’ to a public utility: ‘obtenir la conversion en Société anonyme, comme établissement d’utilité publique.’ Conjoined within the Grandes Associations d’Artistes et d’Ecrivains (five grand Associations of Artists and Writers in Paris), l’Association and the other groups were required to submit annual reports to the state.

The transition was slow from the less formal monarchist system onto a rigid republican one, fully realised by 1857 when Membres sortants and Membres élus appeared for the last time, replaced by a formalised voting system listing names and tallies of those nominated and elected. Table 5.1 displays the high-status committee members, musicians, officials, and dignitaries in 1851, whose united influence corrected the austerities of revolutions and preceding regimes of the past.

L’Association’s records from 1851 list the personal details of its 3,878 members throughout France [‘Au commencement de l’année 1851, l’Association comptait 3878 sociétaires, au 1 janvier 1852, elle en comptait 5172.’], which by January 1852 had increased to 5,172. The membership continued to rise to approximately 8,700 by 1858, as ‘the only organisation to use its influence to benefit Paris’s growing number of musicians.’ Its revenue came from membership fees, donations (royalty, clergy, and the state), door collections, concerts, and masses with the aim to ‘improve the social status of musicians’ throughout France and then

61 See l’Association, 1849, 49–51.


63 These organisations embraced musicians, painters, sculptors, architects, writers, designers, inventors, and industrial artists. See Annuaire de l’Association (1850), 25 or l’Association, 1850, 25.

64 Results appear in Gazette Musicale, 1857, 108: ‘MM. G. Kastner, 102 voix; Tilmant, 97; Lebel, 93; Artur, 79; Ermel, 79; Pasdeloup, 76; Gounod, 73; Badet, 63; Alard, 62; Musard, 60; Panseron, 59; Ch. Manry, 49.’

65 See l’Association, 1852, 33.

66 Di Grazia, Concert societies in Paris, 92.
Europe. Its mission reflected the early philanthropic concepts originating during the Age of Enlightenment, first realised in *ancien regime* organisations such as *Société Philanthropic* and *Société de Charité Maternelle*. Article 2 articulates that its triple mission is to provide pensions, defend the rights of its members, and maintain all networks to continue to develop the 'splendour of the art.' Article 3 describes the organisation's amateur and professional membership of current and retired French and foreign musicians while Articles 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 describe various aspects of its 'purely civil' nature.

The nine original *l'Association* committee members (*Membres élus*) elected at the first General Assembly in 1844 consisted of Berlioz, Zimmerman, Bechem, Spontini, Girard, Tolbecque, Carafa, E. Monnais, and Erard. The committee maintained its amicable long-term relationships with romantic composer-critics and proprietors of *La Revue et Gazette Musicale*. Schlesinger (Member No. 44) joined in 1843, and his name often appears in the minutes until 1871 while Brandus (Member No. 1779) appears in 1846 as the *Gazette*'s new proprietor until 1874 and a committee member in 1852. Schlesinger, preferring not to serve on committees, maintained an exclusive column in his *Gazette* dedicated to *l'Association* by advertising, discussing, and praising its concerts. This organisation sustained relationships with the aristocracy, international royalty, high-profile French politicians, Emperor Napoleon and Empress Eugénie, Ministers of War, and Ministers of the Interior. Its critics and musicians included Kreutzer, Adam, Auber, Meyerbeer, Zimmermann, Gounod, Delaporte, Liszt, Berlioz, Seghers (founder of *Sociétié des Concerts du Conservatoire* and *Société de Sainte-Cécile*), and Pasdeloup (founder of *Société des Jeunes Artistes* and *Concerts populaires*). During its 1849 annual meeting, *l'Association* committee members—President von Taylor, Meyerbeer, Tolbecque, Benoit, Halevy, Debez, Bureau, Triebert, Rodrigues, Jules Simon, Eugène Gautier, Labro aîné, and Meifred—declared that its apolitical charter stood above the politics of wars, revolutions, and regimes.


70 See *l'Association*, 1844, 19: *Fait a l’Assemblée Générale de 1844*.

71 See *l'Association*, 1853, 54.

Under all governments, in all times and all places, the high prerogatives granted to sovereign power were, are, and will be, forever balanced by the great duties that are imposed. Monarchy or republic, aristocracy or democracy, is of no import! Wherever you place sovereignty, you place rights and duties. However, one of the duties of sovereignty more sacred than other duties is to encourage science, the letters and the arts, the levers of civilization, are flames of the spirit that lead the people across the centuries to their ultimate goal and mystery.\footnote{Annuaire de l'Association des Artistes Musiciens (1850), reproduced in l'Association (1843–1880), 1850, 23.}

The total revenue raised during the eight-year period from 1843 to 1850 amounted to 381,933 francs with 43,071 (11.3\%) allocated to pensions and relief funds as shown in Table 5.2. The system sustained musicians’ pensions no longer honoured by monarchies. Some details of its 3,532 members in 1850 are missing, and there are errors, omissions, and duplications of membership numbers while only about one third had listed their occupation or profession. Regardless, there is enough data to assess the professional profiles and relationships with institutions or theatres in Paris, shown in Figure 5.8 and Figure 5.9. Of the 38.42\% identified by occupation and location, a large number worked for the French government or state music institutions. There were 29.4\% from the military, 15.32\% from the Paris Opéra, 13.51\% from Opéra-Comique, and only 2.3\% from the Paris Conservatoire.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{chart.png}
\caption{The graph shows the distributions by occupation of 3,532 l'Association subscribers in 1850. This analysis shows the dominant participation of the military, professors, pianists, and choristers.\footnote{My analysis of subscribers listed by occupation (where stated) comprised about 32\% military participants, followed by 13.75\% professors, 11.88\% pianists, 11.38\% choristers (primarily the Opéra), and 8.88\% composers.}}
\end{figure}
Figure 5.9  The graph shows the military, Opéra, Conservatoire, and theatre members of l’Association in 1850. This analysis shows the dominant participation of the military, the Paris Opéra, and Opéra-Comique.

Table 5.1  Extract from l’Association Annuaire shows Members and Committees from 1843 to 1850. The table shows the names of the Founder, the Committees Secretaries, Commissioners, Committee Members (A-Z), honorary members, celebrated composers, performers, and critics, Members of the Institute, Paris Conservatoire Professors, and recipients of the Legions d’honneur.75

75 The extract from a publication of Annuaire de l’Association (1850) complies with Second Republic regulations.
Table 5.2 Replicated Budget for 1850, reporting receipts and expenditures from 1843 to 1850. The budget report complies with new Second Republic regulations. Note two months of expenses omitted, the expenses and receipts for performing at Saint-Eustache Cathedral, and that 11.28% of expenditure covered pensions and assistance to musicians: i.e., 19,845 plus 23,227 francs.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L’Association des Artistes Musiciens 1850</th>
<th>Francs cent.</th>
<th>Francs cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>RECEIPTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions received in Paris</td>
<td>62,159 00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions received from the departments</td>
<td>20,031 90</td>
<td><strong>82,190 90</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of Concerts and festivals given in Paris</td>
<td>72,280 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of Concerts from the departments</td>
<td>21,424 08</td>
<td><strong>93,704 23</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount received from lottery organized for the benefit of musicians &amp; painters</td>
<td></td>
<td>133,504 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations to the Society</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,499 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowances granted by the Minister of the Interior</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,400 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fines paid in cash</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,049 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds of the lottery of a piano given by Mr. Erard</td>
<td></td>
<td>9,726 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds from the lottery organized with the instruments given to the organisation</td>
<td></td>
<td>14,205 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product from masses performed in Saint-Eustache</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,856 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semesters of annuities</td>
<td></td>
<td>27,797 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total general receipts as at 31 December 1850</strong></td>
<td><strong>381,933 75</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **EXPENDITURE**                          |              |              |
| Paid Pensions                            | 19,845 18    |              |
| Paid relief (Paid Assistance)             | 23,226 71    | **43,071 79**|
| **Purchase of 13,295 fr. of annuities**   | 262,791 60   |              |
| Costs of Concerts and masses given in Paris and for the departments | 43,112 07     |              |
| Costs of the lottery of the Piano        | 520 35       |              |
| Costs of the lottery of Instruments      | 2,711 40     | **3,231 75** |
| Expenses paid for the defence of the rights of performers |              | 617 65       |
| Costs of impressions of registers, circular, accessions, receipts, pamphlets, lottery tickets | 8,931 49      |              |
| Overheads                                | 2,217 25     |              |
| Medicine provided free to members        | 495 35       |              |
| Rights of receipt                        | 11,999 15    |              |
| Salary of the Office Boy                 | 2,615 00     |              |
| Expenses re committees of the departments | 461 45       |              |
| **Total expenditure to 31 September 1851** | **379,544 55** |              |
| Cash at 31 December 1850                 | 2,389 20     |              |
| **Total equal to the general receipts**  | **381,933 75** |              |

In 1853, committee members of l’Association signed a letter of appreciation to the great tenor, Alexis Dupont, for his excellent singing. He had been a militant anti-Bonapartist republican who had recently aligned to the Empire. Dupont, sentenced to seven year’s deportation in 1851, had become Gounod’s friend, who persuaded him to follow Napoleon and then perhaps arranged for his pardon. Gounod’s signature is missing from the letter, shown in Figure 5.10, probably because he had attended his father-in-law’s funeral that week. Dupont’s alliance to Napoleon cost him dearly during the 1870 Franco-Prussian War. Abandoned by his republican allies, and unable to secure work while Gounod was absent from Paris and while l’Association lay dormant, he died in poverty during the Third Republic.  

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76 This is my translation of the financial report shown in Appendix III, extracted from l’Association, 1851, 101–102.  
Dupont sang at l’église de Saint-Mandé on 30 October 1853 (actually 30 August) raising 794 fr. 95 c.

**Signatories:** Taylor, Auber, Halévy, Dauverné, Berlioz, Meyerbeer, Ambroise Thomas, Klosé, De Mol, Triébert, Prumier (fils and père), Ch. Proust, Ch. Réty, De Loffre, Wacquez, de Bez, M. Forestier aîné, Wacquez, and Édouard Batiste.

The Second Empire provided financial support for *l'Association* as it attracted subscriptions and donations from the highest socio-political echelons of Paris including the infamous ‘la baronne de Talleyrand.’ The committee refers to donations from the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of War, and President Napoleon, ‘alors Président de la République,’ who contributed 200 francs upon attending Berlioz’s *Requiem*, November 1852. The committee acknowledges donations from ‘l’Impératrice 300 fr., l’Empereur 100 fr., M. le Ministre de l’intérieur 50fr., M. le

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78 See *l’Association*, 1854, 42.

79 See *l’Association*, 1854, 48, and see 1855, 49. Others include ‘la baronne de Clozier, la comtesse de Rotalier, Ménéchet de Barival, de Césena, de Bez, d’Orsée, Couder, Collignon, Mlle de Vauvilliers et Mlle Pringle’ and ‘la vicomtesse Ordener.’

80 See *l’Association*, 1853, 32.
Curé de Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis 100fr. On 22 November 1853, the yearly Saint-Cecile concert at Saint-Eustache featuring choirs, l’Orphéon director, Gounod, military musicians, theatre performers, and Madame Marie Miolan-Carvalho raised 5,546 fr. 23c. On 24 August 1853, the mass at l’église Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis had raised 1,376 fr. 10 c. The translated extract from l’Association minutes below shows the distribution of donations at official and unofficial levels.

Among the offerings are: Empress, 200fr.; Prince Napoléon, 100fr.; Prince Jérôme, 50fr.; Princess Mathilde, 50fr.; Minister of the Interior, 300fr.; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 40fr.; Prefect of the Seine, 55fr.; Duchess of Narbonne, 100fr.; Duchess of Galiera, 20fr.; Duchess of Montebello, 20fr.; Mr. Pillet-Will, 100fr.; Madame de Bez, 25fr.; Mr. Ad. Adam, 5fr.; Madame Potard, 5fr.; Mr. Devaux, 5fr.; Madame Ménechet de Barival, 5fr.; finally our excellent colleague Mr Georges Kastner, from whom the Association has already received so many precious testimonies of zeal and liberality, 100fr.

Great rewards came in March 1856 when the Emperor, celebrating the birth of his son, sent a letter to l’Association from the Minister of the State, Achille Fould, advising of his donation of 10,000 francs as a testimony of his interest in the society. The success of l’Association as a philanthropic enterprise peaked during the 1850s under Gounod’s direction and in 1860s under Pasdeloup. Of 386 concerts staged from 1843 until 1879, the 1850s featured 145; the 1860s featured 129; the 1870s with 85; and the 1840s only 27. The 1848 and 1870–71 insurrections that established republics brought a sudden reduction in concert activity as seen in Figure 5.11.

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81 See l’Association, 1854, 42.
82 See l’Association, 1854, 45.
83 See l’Association, 1856, 26.
84 Data collated from Di Grazia, Concert societies in Paris, Vol I and II.
Table 5.3 Extract from *l'Association des artistes musiciens* shows 93 pensions issued due to the 1868 crises.

The years leading up to the 1870 war were severe with increased pension requests from musicians aged between 54 to 87 years old: many pensions discontinued in 1830 and 1848.85

Napoleon, as President and Emperor, supported *l'Association* by attending their concerts, donating money, and by law.86 The membership reads like a 'Who's Who' from the *ancien regime*, state, military, churches, musicians, and all of Europe. Pensions issued for the needy musicians from all genres consisted of three tiers of 300, 200, and 180 francs, with increased requests coinciding with revolutions and crises, although seldom published in detail. From 1868 to 1872,

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85 See *l'Association*, 1869, 35.

86 See *l'Association*, 1851, 52, and 1851, 70–71.
the Committee issued 170 pensions as France faced poverty and war—77 pensions relate to the 1870 war and 1871 Commune uprising. The summary of pension disbursements shown in Table 5.3 lists the largest number issued in its twenty-seven-year history arising due to the hardships following Francs’ involvement in foreign wars in 1868–69. On 30 May 1872, the l’Association committee convened. It repudiated the events of the past year when ‘Paris was surrounded on all sides, stifled in the circle of iron’ and there followed ‘the disastrous procession of crimes and horrors’ of the Commune when theatres closed, declaring that ‘1871 was a fatal year, a cursed year!’ It restated its mandates, ‘the arts are mainly friends of peace’ and claimed that the Committee, ‘paralyzed and reduced to impotence,’ was unable to assist anyone during the Commune, and promptly issued 21 pensions. According to Di Grazia’s Table 3.4, out of the 73 organisations involved with l’Association, only five sub-divisions of the Garde National were active in 1871, as seen from Table 5.4. This secular charity continued operating under various Republics after 1872 up until today under the same laws, but not with the same vigour.

Weber explains that some people and organisations succeed while others do not, primarily due to the public’s ‘tendency to favour the type of individual who is most spectacular, who promises the most, or who employs the most effective propaganda measures in the competition for leadership.’ Liszt sustained public and political favour epitomising the spectacular irrational virtuosity of romanticism while Berlioz, teeming with misunderstood tormented passion, did not. Liszt was a child prodigy of music from the old courts of Vienna while Berlioz was from a provincial city and a medical student turned musician. Liszt avoided music state-institutions able to sustain wealth based on old-world protocols while Berlioz relied on the Paris Conservatoire for income but became impoverished; Liszt was a man of faith while Berlioz was an atheist: Liszt pursued value-rational goals while Berlioz stood accused of manipulative self-interest. Differences in social graces as indicators of breeding and their social-emotional intelligence perhaps delineated opportunities for success. As critics, composers, and performers, they facilitated the moral panacea of music devoted to alleviating burdens of impoverished musicians. They behaved with what Weber describes as value-rational action ‘determined by a

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87 See l’Association, 1872, 30.
88 See l’Association, 1871, 29: ‘1871 est une année fatale, une année maudite.’
89 See l’Association, 1871, 29.
90 For a list see Di Grazia, Concert societies in Paris, 69–71, who notes the Annuaries (1843–9), 1856 and 1871 from which she draws are missing. Generally from 1870–1871, l’Association did not operate, and details may be derived from the minutes of its meetings. See l’Association, 1843–1850 and 1857.
91 Weber, Economy and Society, 270.
92 Cherubini threw Berlioz out of Paris Conservatoire Library in 1821, because he was not an enrolled student.
conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other behaviours, independently of prospects of success' with consequences yielding different outcomes for each.

Table 5.4  Extract from Di Grazia’s Table 3.4 of Délégues to l’Association (1853–1873).

Di Grazia utilises the “List of Délégues,” Annuaire 1853–1880 to show the theatres and organisations staging concerts with l’Association: only Garde Nationale (1st–5th) staged concerts in 1871.93

Assessing actors according to Weber’s verstehen approach leads to a deeper understanding of their disparate political philosophies, motives, and empathies with revolutions and their resultant survival actions. Weber’s broad definition of social action (Gemeinschaftshandeln), as being ‘either historically observable or theoretically possible or likely regarding actual or anticipated potential behaviour of other individuals’ encourages interrogating the protagonist’s actions from all perspectives.94 Perhaps Gounod’s appointments with l’Association and l’Orphéon and his relationship with Emperor Napoleon influenced Berlioz’s fate more than acknowledged: Berlioz’s Grande Société Philharmonique de Paris (January 1850–April 1851) ‘could not survive’ whereas Gounod resurrected l’Orphéon.95 Liszt and Berlioz joined l’Association at its inception in 1843 and while critics of Gazette Musicale: Berlioz (Member No. 11) and Liszt (member No. 45). Liszt’s long-term contributions to l’Association were fundamentally financial while Berlioz’s

93 Di Grazia, Concert societies in Paris, 70.
94 Weber, Economy and Society, 1376.
95 Di Grazia, Concert societies in Paris, 255.
were musical, as he instigated what later became a controversial relationship with l’Orphéon due to perceptions of self-interested instrumentally rational exploitations of them to promote concerts featuring his compositions: although Gounod could be accused of this too.\(^{96}\) It seems that where charity was concerned, philanthropic enterprise tainted by self-interested entrepreneurial actions brought status-group closures. Economic opportunism stigmatised old-status ‘honour’ protocols—something that Liszt avoided.

**Franz Liszt: Philanthropist and Critic**

Weber claims that virtuosic performers work against the rationalisation of music such that charismatic displays of talent eliciting erotic responses are irrational whereas functionally driven musical talent serving to states, the military, and church are rational. The handsome, Hungarian-born Liszt with a penchant for mysticism epitomised an irrational virtuosic icon. Fresh from the Viennese Courts and too young to remember Napoleon and the events of 1815, he entered Paris in 1823 with his father, Adam, clasping a ‘warm letter of recommendation from [Prince] Metternich,’ hoping to gain admission to the Paris Conservatoire.\(^{97}\) By the 1820s, Paris had attracted many of Europe’s finest artists and musicians encouraged by philosophies of juste-milieu, old allures of ancien regime grandeur, and ‘near-mythic aura of a political and cultural Mecca.’\(^{98}\) Cherubini’s rejection of young Liszt into the Conservatoire as a foreigner served as a catalyst to launch his virtuosic talents in Paris in claiming a charismatic endorsement from Mozart and Beethoven. The lack of formal education at the Paris Conservatoire or other music institution ultimately excluded him from the annals of peer recognition as a serious composer. His father secured a lucrative income through entrepreneurial endeavours and social exposure, in launching Liszt as one of the greatest pianistic virtuosos of all times, epitomising the new genius musician. Salon and concert activities increased during the 1820s unimpeded by state domination and ageing revolutionaries, launching a new culture of child prodigies, such as Liszt.

The 1830 Revolution erupted three years after his father’s death while Liszt still lived in Paris, and initially filled him, like Berlioz who he had just befriended, with deep excitement for a new future upon the *Proclamation of 1830*. A monarchist at heart tinged with republican aspirations


and a Catholic-socialist, Liszt joined the Masonic fraternity and hoped for a France liberated under new Orleanist principles. These aspirations he expressed in sketching his celebratory revolutionary military symphony celebrating the three glorious days, not unlike Berlioz’s *Grande symphonie funèbre et triomphale* (H.80) for military bands, orchestras, choirs, and 100 tambours composed in 1840. By 1848, he had befriended Hugo, Lamartine, Heine, Chopin, Sand, Berlioz, and Madame Viardot who espoused hopes for a new republican order when the revolution broke out in February. Having chosen not to become a French citizen, Liszt left Paris for Weimar, removing himself from republicanism and politics of France preferring the old courts of Germany and the Church. He saw their dreams shatter with the two uprisings that followed and Napoleon’s election as President. His *Revolutionary Symphony* (S.690) remained unfinished until 1856. He revised it with hope during the revolutions of 1848 and again in 1855, but ultimately it served as the foundation for his Symphonic Poem No. 8, *Héroïde Funèbre* (*Heldenklage* or *Heroic Elegy*), dedicated as a funereal military testimony to unrealised hopes of revolutions and wars.99

Reflecting upon the outcome of the 1830 Revolution, Liszt penned six articles about survival for musicians in Paris, published in 1835, defining his insight about what music meant to him and why he became involved with *l’Association* and other philanthropic organisations in Europe. After becoming a priest, Liszt often came out of retirement to raise funds for worthy causes such as for the repair of the damaged Cologne Cathedral, Dortmund Gymnasium, hospitals, schools, Leipzig’s Musician Pension Funds, and the like. Bedevilled with criticism for his virtuosic displays and womanising, or condemned as an inferior composer, Liszt survived critical onslaughs unlike many of his peers, because his fortune, ability to mix at all levels of society and his aristocratic connections protected him from poverty. In spite of fame and fortune, Liszt remained preoccupied with idealism, love, death, the devil, metaphysics, and God. Young and successful in 1835, he acknowledged the impoverished artist’s ‘essential influence on society,’ Liszt wished to ‘tear down the associations responsible for their ever bleeding wounds’ to ‘reclaim the artist’s rightful dignity’ in Paris and Europe.100 Quoting Mirabeau and Sieyès, he proclaims, ‘Is there any place in the world that does not consider a musician a third-class citizen

99 During 1830 he worked on S.153b, *Grand Solo caractèristique d’apropos une chansonette de Panseron* (1830–32) and S.701a, *Allegro di bravura* [orchestra, arrangement] (ca. 1830).

in society?'

Protesting against the ‘oppressive unfairness’ against musicians, he offers his dear friend, Berlioz, as a ‘warrior’ genius struggling to survive, like many others in the ‘dog trade’ in Paris ‘where the artist is held at a distance and excluded.’ Scathingly, he attacks Napoleon who halved the number of teachers at the Paris Conservatoire on reduced pay, and July Monarchy for sending artists packing from the Royal Chapel ‘like a group of worthless servants.’

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103 Liszt, “De La Situation des Artistes,” Article IV, 89.
Example 5.1 Extract shows the Symphonic Poem No. 8, *Héroïde Funèbre* (1848), by Franz Liszt.
Liszt’s unfinished tribute to the 1830 Revolution, S.690, *Revolutionary Symphony* [unfinished 1830: revised 1848: finished 1856], was to hope, grief, and glory of revolution and war.

Liszt’s unfinished tribute to the 1830 Revolution, S.690, *Revolutionary Symphony* [unfinished 1830: revised 1848: finished 1856], was to hope, grief, and glory of revolution and war.

Example 5.2 Extract of batteries by Pierre (Jean-Baptise) Melchior, *Chef de Musique*, composed in 1831. No. 14 depicts *Le Roulement* and No. 15 depicts *l’Ordre* for Sergeants majors, Sergeants, Fourriers, and Corporals. The July Monarchy’s ordinance, 4 March 1831, set 20 batteries and 25 sonneries, replacing tambours with clarions as the official instrument, Melchior composing another set of 20 sonneries in 1835.104

Liszt’s introduction to *Héroïde Funèbre* declares the inevitable changes to society when ‘Empires fall’ and war brings an everlasting ‘secret terror’ of ‘Grief’ to people, whose ‘tears are always the same bitter and burning water.’ Liszt alludes to the military throughout the angst-ridden funeral procession of slow drum-rolls and drum-coups seemingly derived from Melchior’s batteries, i.e., *Roulement* and *l’Ordres* for fourriers (3 coups), corporals (2 coups), sergeants (4 coups) [sergeant-majors (5 coups)] shown in Example 5.2.105 The opening bars of *Héroïde*, in Example 5.1, depicts two corporal batteries from a ‘Militärtrommel’ (military drum otherwise a French tambour) accompanied by a ‘Gross trommel’ (big-drum otherwise a French Timbalier), alluding to military trumpet sonneries of consonant arpeggios. Drum-rolls accompanied by winds playing tormented dissonances and chromaticism in minor keys testify to Liszt’s dismay.106 Based on F minor and Bb minor, *Héroïde* contains ascending and descending chromaticism (often in thirds), dotted quavers, orchestral staccatos, timpani trills and staccatos, augmented 4ths (diminished 5ths), parallel thirds and fifths, pauses, and orchestral parallels replicating a nineteenth-century military funeral march.

By the age of twenty-four in 1835, Liszt had given seventy-nine performances and countless salon appearances that established him as a ‘popular’ authority on music when he penned six forceful articles, *De La Situation des Artistes*, dedicated to the degradation of artists in Paris in

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105 The image is a reconstructed extract from Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire*, 24.

Gazette Musicale’s second-year-edition.\textsuperscript{107} Professor Fétis had earlier written a two-page article on this topic in his paper, Revue Musicale (No. 10) in April 1831 ‘on the necessity for associations to preserve music from decline (decadence) in France.’\textsuperscript{108} He advocates staging massive concerts and creating pension funds for musicians with little effect. Liszt was one of the few musicians in Paris to address socio-economic plights of musicians since 1789 and aftermath of the 1830 Revolution, linking issues pertaining to status, status-groups, regimes, institutions, salons, education, and reforms with poverty and survival. His evocative articles, full of outrage, demonstrated his supreme disappointment with the unrealised promises of the July Monarchy and attracted hostile attention from bureaucrats, critics, elect musicians, and salon patrons. Nevertheless, he initiated concerns over impoverished, neglected musicians without pension entitlements.

In Liszt’s first article, he laments with concern over the ‘misery and cruelty’ the artists suffer in Paris due to the ‘oppressive commercialism’ and ‘unethical anarchy that secludes and eventually kills [them].’\textsuperscript{109} AUTHENTICATING the importance of music to society and why musicians should be held in high esteem, his second article discusses music’s philosophical roots as ‘the language of the Gods’ and ‘science of all sciences’ as he traces its history from ancient Egypt, Persia, and Greece through the ancient philosophers Pythagoras, Hermes, Plato, Scriptures, and Rousseau. He, like others, stratifies musicians into four types: ‘performing, composing, and teaching artists’ adding critics, as he validates their status ranks, separating artists from artisans while asserting that musicians make ‘sacrifices’ for their craft while enduring the hardships of ‘ridicule’ and ‘envy.’\textsuperscript{110} His third article discusses the musician’s position in society, the ‘sanctuaries of music traditions,’ and the ‘aggressive diatribes’ of self-important people diminishing the statuts of true artists, and ignorant legislators appointed by the ‘new’ aristocracy perpetuating the degradation. He says that ‘none of them contributed to the musician’s political connections’ forced to take ‘the steps reserved for servants.’\textsuperscript{111} He scolds the musician who ‘contributed much to his own subordinate position’ due to ‘narrow-mindedness’ and ‘egotism’ when each should act as ‘priests of art.’\textsuperscript{112} Upholding ancien regime honour principles while alluding to Luther, he condemns

\textsuperscript{107} Franz Liszt, “De La Situation des Artistes,” RGM (1835), No’s. 2, 18, 19, 20, 30, and 41, 1835. For an English translation see Franz Liszt, The Collected Writings of Franz Liszt; Essays and Letters, 73–142.


\textsuperscript{109} Franz Liszt, The Collected Writings of Franz Liszt; Essays and Letters (1835–1840), 86.

\textsuperscript{110} Liszt, “De La Situation des Artistes,” Article II, 75–78. Also, see his letter to Schlesinger, November 1838.

\textsuperscript{111} Liszt, “De La Situation des Artistes,” Artide III, 78–80. Mozart complained often about his servant status.

opportunistic entrepreneurial behaviour as unbecoming the 'noble' music profession, as a calling from God. The irony of this is that his father had marketed him as a child genius.

His lengthy fourth article responds to the criticisms of his previous articles and disparages the 'terrible curse' spreading against him through the salons in Paris sustained by his enemy critics. It states that none 'can clearly exhibit what crime I have committed.'

Marginalised in Paris—criticised as a composer and excluded from opportunities at the Opéra—Liszt did not suffer the same poverty or social exile as that inflicted upon his peers and especially, Berlioz. Returning to Germany in 1848, he became a priest after realising the limitations of the music profession due to the contractual, seasonal, and pernicious nature of the occupation that brought uncertainty for long-term security, regardless of revolutions and regimes. In article five, exclaiming that in Paris 'musicians live only an effectual almost fictitious life on the surface of society,' Liszt appraises opportunities following the July Revolution, recommending necessary reforms for state institutions. He attacks Salons, Lyric Theatres, Philharmonic Societies, Concerts, Education, Criticism, and Church Music, calling the Paris Conservatoire a 'monstrous body' that closes its ranks against talent. His sixth article advocates founding 'a universal World Fellowship' of a 'holy group of like minds' united in an 'upward–striving' and 'unrestricted development of music' to 'elevate the position of artists' by 'abolishing the abuse' against them. He tables eight demands, concluding that 'Everyone suffers!'

At this point, l'Association did not exist, and l'Orphéon had just emerged from the school grounds. Offending Paris's potentially lethal status-groups, albeit by initiating hostile debates over musicians, by 1837, Liszt complains to Sand that the 'artist lives outside the social community' of a 'cold and sneering public' playing to profit-orientated theatres: 'The Golden Age is Gone.' The results of Liszt's actions and articles coupled with his mystical orientations and philanthropic activities fulfil Weber's concept of the ability of individual power to influence society. More that Fétis, Liszt lampooned discussions on poverty and music. Eight years later, Baron von Taylor founded l'Association with its first committee comprising mainly of pianists and composers—Liszt, Berlioz, Spontini, Meyerbeer, Thalberg, Zimmerman, and Herz—pledging donations and selfless service. L'Association committee refers to Liszt in 1844, 1848, and 1866 in acknowledging his annual donations of 1,000 francs since 1843 and his status as an honorary committee member: 'Ce sont d’abord M. Liszt, qui, avec une générosité digne de son talent, a fait

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113 Liszt, "De La Situation des Artistes," Article IV, 83.
116 See Liszt’s Letter to George Sand, 30 April 1837.
parvenir au Comité, pour sa cotisation annuelle, la somme de 1,000f.' From 1835 until 1847, Liszt was often absent from Paris, travelling to Italy, Vienna, Spain, Belgium, Russia, Weimar, Bonn, Prague and Kiev, and then accepted an appointment as the Grand Ducal Director of Music Extraordinary at Weimar in late 1842. He had envisioned a philanthropic organisation like l'Association and its relationship with the public through a phenomenal choral movement that thrived under the Second Empire.

Liszt's reaction to the February 1848 Revolution was to leave Paris and settle in Weimar with the objective of promoting Wagner's music throughout Europe. Throughout the years, Liszt provided moral assistance to his colleagues writing in support of Berlioz, Schlesinger, Heine, Adolphe Pictet, Sand, Schuman, and Chopin, meanwhile attacking those he saw as unnecessarily ferocious such as Fétis, who insulted Berlioz and incited the caustic Liszt-Thalberg affair.

Immediately following Napoleon's coup, he turned his attention to Berlioz, much to Wagner's chagrin, championing Benvenuto Cellini over Lohengrin in Weimar, eventually obtaining Wagner's co-operation to promote the outcast Berlioz. Despite their differences, Wagner, Berlioz, and Liszt (as their mediator) met several times in Paris during 1853 and in London in 1855, after which Berlioz refused to continue his acrimonious relationship with Wagner.

Prejudicial perceptions of Berlioz's Wagnerian styled influences gleaned through his association with Liszt, coupled with Wagner's antagonism towards Meyerbeer who Berlioz believed controlled the Opéra—which he dubbed the 'valley of tears'—temporarily united them in their common resentments as marginalised composer-conductors pitted against le Jockey-Club de Paris: a status-group closure from which neither recovered.

Liszt exited from Paris, occasionally performing at Napoleon’s salon on his rare visits to Paris. He explains why his Faust Symphonie (1857), Mephisto Waltze No. 1, Totentanz, Héroïde funèbre, and Après une Lecture de Dante: Fantasia quasi Sonata had remained obscure in the Parisian music circuits, which he attributes to in-house fights amongst critics concerning French and German schools of music. As one of the trinity of outsiders of Paris, father of modern revolutionary programmatic music coupled with his innovative use of harmony, Liszt continued to champion the compositions of his two charismatic friends, Wagner and Berlioz.

\[117\] See l'Association, 1844, 14; 1848, 18; and 1868, 31. The BNF files these documents under ‘Concerts.’ Also, see Di Grazia, Concert Societies in Paris, 66.

\[118\] See his response, 8 January 1837 Gazette Musicale to Fétis’s toxic article on Thalberg’s compositions.

\[119\] For more details, see Wagner’s autobiography, Mein Leben II, 618–630.

\[120\] Liszt’s daughter married Wagner.
piano for charity. Wearing ‘the priestly cassock’ long after 1851, Liszt continued to visit Paris as a close friend to Princess Pauline Metternich, politely accepting her invitations to play for Gounod’s musical evenings, sight-reading Faust extracts at her soirées at the Embassy (with Saint-Saëns). He regularly attended Napoleon’s and Empress Eugénie’s private salons at the Tuileries—the highest ranked status-group in Paris. On one occasion, according to Princess Metternich, he accompanied ‘Mlle. Viardot-Garcia, the famous singer and incomparable artist who sang [Liszt’s composition] Erlkönig,’ Napoleon forewarning him of his Legion d’honneur bestowed via Prince Metternich’s recommendation. During the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, which had strained Liszt’s relationship with Wagner—who aligned with the Prussians—rumours floated throughout Europe that Liszt had acted as a spy for Napoleon and the French.

After Napoleon’s release from captivity in March 1871 when he chose a self-imposed exile in England until his death 9 Jan 1873, Liszt visited him in London and continued his philanthropic work while travelling, performing, and teaching piano. He visited Paris in August 1871 upon his return journey from London where Napoleon’s loyal friends, Gounod and Viardot, resided. Learning of Napoleon’s death, he describes the charismatic Emperor in his letter to Princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein as a ‘thwarted Caesar’ with a ‘magnanimous heart.’ Seemingly, Liszt had abandoned his German and republican sympathies in favour of imperial friendships in Paris that caused the rift with his daughter and Wagner two years after Berlioz’s death. The complex relationships that arose between these three Paris-based outsiders sustained Berlioz more than Wagner through Liszt when Napoleon came to power and shattered their dreams of republicanism in a new world of music. Forming a charismatic survival community, they had also created a status-group especially in light of their profound influence over music.

**Hector Berlioz: ‘The Unloved’**

Berlioz’s contributions to philanthropy and specifically to l’Association des artistes musiciens, of which he was a passionate member from 1843 until 1852, are not well known or documented even though he utilised the network of contacts to promote his compositions. Like many musicians, he rarely refers to his membership, committee activities, or involvement with the organisation in staging concerts to raise funds for destitute musicians. His profound value-rational approach to music, somewhat complicated and ruined by his ‘emotional’ or, in Weber’s

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122 See Metternich, “Liszt at the Court of Napoleon III.” She refers to Madam Viardot, not yet married.


124 See LLB, Vol 7, 2.

words, affectual outbursts, tainted his meaningfully orientated action due to ‘an uncontrolled reaction to some exceptional stimulus.’ As a freelance musician, composer, critic, Paris Conservatoire librarian from 1838 to 1857, and ‘one of the most active concert organisers of the nineteenth century’ in producing over 240 concerts throughout Europe, Berlioz sustained ‘an unmatched career as a conductor’ of eighty-one concerts in Paris from 1825 until 1869. Of the many concerts he staged at his own expense, fifty-seven featured choral works many of which involved l’Orphéon. For Berlioz, challenges meant not only surviving the revolutions of 1830, 1848, and 1851, regime changes, melancholia, and a list of enemies. These comprised Cherubini, Halévy, Kreutzer, Habeneck, Fétis, the Paris Conservatoire Society, the Leipzig Conservatoire, and Covent Garden, an entourage of hostile peers, in-house conductors, and theatre managers. Often enraged at his fate, Berlioz filled his Mémoires with conspiratorial preoccupations about perceived enemies throughout France and Germany more than politics, music, philanthropy, or revolution. This chapter narrows focus by discussing Berlioz’s actions during revolutionary upheavals in Paris and his philanthropic enterprises. His commissioned tribute to the 1830 July Revolution, Grande Symphonie funèbre et triomphale, composed and performed for the 1840 Versailles concert is not immediately inspired by revolution. Feeling as if he was forever an outsider in Paris, Berlioz, as an innovative composer-critic and orchestrator allied to foreign republicans Liszt, Chopin, Viardot, and Schumann, twice served on l’Association committees and as l’Orphéon’s guest conductor of his own compositions. His perception of himself as a misunderstood genius carries considerable weight while the author, Peter Bloom, asserts he left a meaningful legacy to music, and music critic, Ernest Newman, acknowledges his unique status as an isolated artist without a musical ancestry or posterity.  

129 In letter number 44 describing his ‘proof-reading’ experience with publishers, Troupenas, before leaving for Italy, Berlioz criticised Fétis for altering Beethoven’s symphonic scores, which he says ‘were a crime . . . and an insult to Beethoven and common intelligence.’ Berlioz promised to ‘expose’ him. ‘And I did.’ This caused a public outcry to ‘restore the original text’ and Fétis then published a ‘barefaced denial’ in Revue Musicale, V, 1829, 136. In Revue Musicale, 15 December 1832, and 1835, Fétis viciously attacked Berlioz, prompting Liszt and Schumann to come to his defence. See Henry-Sutherland Edwards, History of the Opera from its Origin in Italy to the present time with Anecdotes of the Most Celebrated Composers and Vocalists of Europe (London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1862), 296.
Unfortunately, for Berlioz, his charismatic genius did not elevate his status under Napoleon's charismatic authority, as Weber envisages would be the case.\textsuperscript{133} Perhaps even Napoleon Bonaparte would have rejected him. The delayed recognition of his ability as a great conductor and genius-composer seem to lay in the unwillingness of his peers and the imperial bureaucracy to acknowledge or reward his talent. Resentments stirred deep against him due to his harsh criticisms of others while repulsed by his impassioned tormented personality, rumblings concerning plagiarisms, and a general reluctance of the musical élite to welcome a former medical student and autodidact into the fold. The son of a provincial doctor near the town of de l'Isère, Berlioz rebelled against his father and his studies of the 'monstrous' medical profession after arriving in Paris in 1822. Instead, he pursued his first love—music—having experienced the 'cruel passion' of rejection in romantic love at the age of twelve. His father, who had taught him music, would not permit him to learn the piano, so he became a proficient classical guitarist, which determined his destiny as a 'silent' composer.\textsuperscript{134} After his many years of private tutorage, while living in squalid conditions, the Conservatoire eventually accepted his enrolment in 1826. Berlioz studied with one of Napoleon's favourite composers, Lesueur, as well as Gerono at Chapel Royal, Reicha, Kreutzer, and Cherubini who disliked Berlioz and set the template for his turbulent survival in Paris. Berlioz turned to composing, conducting, journalism, and then, after several failed commercial pursuits when the state refused or delayed refunding his expenses, became a Conservatoire librarian on a salary of 2,000 francs per annum (later 2,500) after a lucrative post with Gymnase Musicale failed to manifest.

A somewhat negative charismatic, Berlioz fills his Mémoires with complaints and bitterness. He was used to unrequited passion, antagonism, and rejection, which began as a lovesick child and exacerbated by his angry father, notably after he rejected medicine. He explains that his traumas started from his unrequited 'love' for a young girl who later became 'Madame F_____' to whom he confessed 'for forty-nine years I have loved you. I have gone on loving you since I was a child through all the ravages of a tempestuous life.'\textsuperscript{135} Such emotionally ardent displays, full of self-doubt and torment—an image befitting the nineteenth-century romantic genius challenging authority—formed the leitmotif of his existence. Winning the Prix de Rome on his fifth attempt in the aftermath of the 1830 Revolution and leaving his turbulent academic pursuits at the Paris Conservatoire after having antagonised Cherubini, Kreutzer, Habeneck, and Castil-Blaze, Berlioz sealed his fractious fate with the most influential critic in Paris, Fétis. He writes, 'Thus, on my

\textsuperscript{133} Weber, Economy and Society, 244.

\textsuperscript{134} There are conflicting reports about Berlioz's skills on the guitar but evidently, he was at least proficient.

\textsuperscript{135} He opens his Mémoires reflecting about her and closes with a series of letters between them that leaves him unattached, finishing with 'I can die now without anger or bitterness.' Berlioz, Mémoires, Travels in Dauphine.
departure for Italy, I left behind me in Paris a dedicated opponent—the first personal enemy I had made.’

His acrimonious relationships with key players in the Parisian music scene proved to be obstacles that his friendships with Liszt and Viardot appeased.

Berlioz greeted the ‘famous days’ of the ‘harmonious’ July Revolution in 1830 that erupted as he ‘dashed off’ the final pages of the orchestral score to his cantata to premiere at the Conservatoire to secure the Prix de Rome while the ‘Palais de l’Institut’ swelled with families taking refuge. He finished the score on 29 July and was ‘free to go out and roam about Paris till morning, pistol in hand, with Barbier’s “holy rabble.”’ Caught up in the atmosphere, he joined the men on the streets ‘singing a battle hymn of my [his] composition’ choosing not to reveal his identity while the former National Guardsmen ‘handed round their shakos’ collecting money for the wounded. The crowds gathered, and then Berlioz and the men ‘struck up’ the Marseilles producing a ‘holy’ and ‘profound silence’ at each refrain until Berlioz yelled for them to sing the chorus. The great crowd of ‘four or five thousand voices crammed into the reverberant space . . . throbbling with the emotion of the recent struggle’ bellowed out ‘that stupendous refrain’ as Berlioz sank to his knees ‘awestruck by the explosion.’

That week, Berlioz won the Prix de Rome, securing an annuity of 1,000 crowns granting him financial independence for five years and an ‘official success’ that ensured his status. On 20 December, the famous military officer and composer of the Marseilles, Rouget de Lisle, wrote Berlioz a warm letter telling him he admired his ‘volcano’ mind of creativity and requested they meet so he could present him with his unpublished libretto of Othello for Berlioz to consider composing an opera.

Unfortunately, Berlioz delayed due to previous commitments, and Rouget soon died after he premiered Symphonie Fantastique (H 48) at the Paris Conservatoire in December 1830. One cannot attribute Symphonie Fantastique as having been directly inspired by the 1830 Revolution, but rather to his life as an artist, his opium-induced states of psychedelia, atheism, and infatuation with the Irish ‘actress,’ Harriet Smithson, whom he later married. Grande symphonie funèbre et triomphale (H 80A), commissioned for the 1840 celebrations, was his retrospective tribute to 1830. The combination of music, rebellion, cruel passion, and torment did not leave Berlioz; a force he first understood in 1830 when he acknowledges that he was ‘a young composer already notorious for his eccentricities . . . doomed to be different, forever at

136 Berlioz, Mémoires, 44.

137 Berlioz, Mémoires, 29. He offers vivid descriptions of ‘guttersnipes’, ‘wild men’, ‘whores’ and ‘young men bragging’ who stormed the rue de Babylon overcoming the Swiss and Royal Guards, while ‘stealing nothing.’

138 Berlioz, Mémoires, 29. He had just finished his arrangement of the Marseilles for double chorus and full orchestra.

139 Berlioz, Mémoires, 29 and see 25–29, passim.

140 Liszt made a piano transcription in 1833 (S.470).
odds with life and the Academy.’ His first encounter with revolution brought him hope, joy, and inspiration but soured in 1848 with three violent revolutionary upheavals.

By 1835, journalists-turned-music-critics, having established themselves as judges, juries, and executioners of music careers, enjoyed a new ‘untouchable’ status in Paris, forming collegial status-groups from which Castil-Blaze led the charge with Fétis, against fellow critics and targeting Berlioz and Liszt. ‘As for Castil-Blaze, he answered Berlioz not with caustic reaction, but with what became a manner of his criticism-silence.’ Judging Berlioz, along with Wagner, as self-styled ‘false geniuses,’ Fétis cemented Berlioz’s acrimonious relationships with him, members of the Paris Conservatoire, critics, peers, directors of the Opéra, a select group of influential musicians, authorities, and the French public. Bitter rivalries between status-group factions dissipated ten years later when collegial relationships formed through the influences of l’Orphéon and l’Association. While mediocrity fights to protect itself against talent, especially talent challenging the status quo, ‘Berlioz’s caustic pen helped to stimulate “inherent” opposition’ against him, especially those opposing Gluck from the German School. These were primarily Castil-Blaze, Habeneck, Fétis, Meyerbeer, and even Felix Mendelssohn who, despite his outwardly amicable friendship with Berlioz, maintained a low opinion of him as a musician. Giuseppe Verdi referred to him as ‘an artistic madman; a person to be left alone’ and as one who ‘showed no respect for those who had helped him.’ Liszt refers to his dear colleague in his fourth article in Gazette Musicale (1835) as a ‘man of genius, a new artist par excellence,’ and a ‘French July Revolutionist’ who found the doors of opportunity in Paris locked against him. He writes, ‘all theatres remain closed to Berlioz’ and ‘robbed [him] of any prospect of a European reputation and fame.’ Liszt attributes these deprivations to a ‘decree made by a “Mr So-and-So”’ and to the Paris cabals, including directors of theatres and correspondents (Mr Véron, Mr Robert, and Mr Crosnier) from whom ‘he is always banished or rejected.’ Hence, his survival as a freelance musician was painfully precarious regardless of revolution or regime.

141 Berlioz, Mémoires, 30.
143 Berlioz and Wagner wrote their own librettos. See Ellis, Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France, 16.
144 Berlioz, Mémoires, Introduction, xiii.
146 See Liszt, “De La Situation des Artistes,” Article IV.
147 Liszt, “De La Situation des Artistes,” Article IV. Berlioz referred to Cronier as ‘vaudeville vermin’ after he prohibited premiering his works. Meanwhile, Véron also refused to stage his opera.
Recalling his déjà vu experience of incurring financial losses during 1830 due to bureaucracy and broken promises, Berlioz states that for the tenth-anniversary celebrations of the 1830 Revolution the Minister of the Interior, de Gasparin, offered him a fee of 10,000 francs to ‘write a symphony for the occasion.’ Rumours circulated about the state cancelling the 1840 July ceremonies, and so, wary of the forces against him and not wishing to repeat similar losses when he staged his Requiem in 1830, and he stopped composing the Symphonie funèbre et triomphale until the minister had reassured him that the event was to proceed. Once finished, he gleefully denied his old enemy, Habeneck, the chance of conducting the two-hundred-strong military band whose volume proved ineffectual in the Place de Bastille but perfect for the Apotheosis and Salle Vivienne, in perhaps reliving the glorious night of the 1830 Revolution. For this concert, he reaped a profit of just over 2,000 francs—the equivalent of his annual salary at the time.

The 1848 February Revolution suddenly erupted, Berlioz having already left Paris for London in January, decided to escape the ramifications of this and the March revolution by extending his stay in London until 14 July. Two weeks later, a third revolution erupted placing Napoleon III in power. Berlioz commences his Mémoires on 21 March 1848 with historically informative, vibrant, and toxic stories of triumph and despair. He opens the preface with: ‘As I write, the judgement of Republicanism rolls across Europe . . . the art of music, long since dying is now dead’ and ‘they’ are about ‘to throw it on the dung-heap’ while ‘flocks of frightened artists . . . seek refuge in Britain.’ His first thoughts are about his induction into music as a child through the ‘Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome’ where he encountered his first musical-mystic experience while taking his first holy communion to the chorus of Dalayrac’s Nina, ‘filled with a mystic yet passionate unrest.’ He thought he saw the heavens open saying, ‘It was my first musical experience’ when ‘I became a saint.’ Initially receptive to Saint-Simonian ideas of Catholic Socialism and its music during 1830—Berlioz left mysticism and the Church to pursue atheism and republicanism. He espouses puritan music principles, chastising men who, he says, had ‘assassinated’ the great composers: Castil-Blaze for mutilating Gluck, Mozart, Grétry, and Beethoven; and Fétis, Cherubini, Habeneck, and Kreutzer for daring to ‘correct’ Beethoven with their compositional scribblings. Upholding value-rational ideals of not meddling with the compositions of the great men of music, Berlioz incited enemies but then impaled himself on this
principle in 1841 by agreeing to set to music the spoken dialogue of Weber’s *Der Freischütz* at the Paris Opéra’s behest, to find himself the subject of a lawsuit for tampering with the score.

**Figure 5.12** *The Chronique Musicale* depicts Berlioz conducting at Cirque-Olympique in 1845.
Concert donné par M. Berlioz dans la salle du Cirque-Olympique, aux Champs-Elysées, 1845.154

**Figure 5.13** Caricatures show Berlioz conducting ‘Un concert à la mitraille au Théâtre de Vienne 1846.’
A caricature of Berlioz (left) by J. J. Grandville based Jérôme Paturot’s cartoon from *Jérôme Paturot à la recherché d’une position sociale* first published in a Paris newspaper in 1846. Drawing by Cajetan (right), copper engraving and colour print by Andreas Geiger from *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, 1846.155

154 For the image, see http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415762d.r=berlioz%20image (accessed May 2016) an engraving sourced from *l’Illustration*, 25 January 1845, 325.

155 Note the allusion to *le Jockey-Club de Paris* in image on the right depicted by the man holding the signifying binoculars with the *La Maine* honey bee logo. Published in 1846, Louis Reybaud’s novel was yet another ridiculing of Berlioz. For BNF images see http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b54001225m.r=Grandville (accessed 16 March
Concerning pioneering l’Orphéon during 1838, ‘Berlioz, ever the captious critic of obfuscating intellectualism, came to see the Orphéon as no more than a crass political tool.’ Nevertheless, he soon found them critical to his survival—an organisation championed under Gounod’s directorship by the Emperor, Empress, aristocracy, state, élite, and wealthy imperialists aligned to France’s formidable l’Association. Of his eighty-one concerts staged in Paris from 1825 to 1868 (two per year), more than 90% featured his compositions plus Gounod’s requisite national anthem, Vive l’Empereur, and arrangement of God Save the Queen for the English guests. Fifty-seven or 70% of his compositions required choral singing frequently involving l’Orphéon. Undoubtedly, Gounod’s influential relationships with Napoleon and Empress Eugénie seemed to have sealed Berlioz’s fate in Paris who remained hostile to the ‘philistine tastes’ under imperialism that ‘preferred the titillating froth of Offenbach.’

On 1 March 1848, in his letter written from London after accepting an invitation from the director of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, Louis-Antoine Jullien, Berlioz confessed to his French critic friend, Joseph-Louis d’Ortigue, he looked only to England and Russia for his future in light of the rise of ambitious and aggressive republicans. Comradery amongst l’Association members broke the cycle of toxic diatribes between status-group factions of composers and critics debating over French and German schools of music. This change somewhat alleviated Berlioz’s agony, but he was never without anxiety, especially after Liszt, Chopin, Viardot, and other foreigners, fled Paris during the February 1848 Revolution. The Illustrated London News (12 February 1848 and 8 July 1848), reports on the success of Berlioz’s concerts in which Mesdames Viardot, Sabatier, Dulcken, and Bouché sang having delayed his return to Paris until late July. Returning to ‘unhappy’ France, 16 July 1848, as Paris buried her dead, Berlioz states he wishes to see ‘whether an artist can live there or how long it takes him to die among the ruins.’

Theatres shut, artists ruined, teachers unemployed, pupils scattered: pianists performing sonatas on street corners … inadequate relief above all to musicians.

Already disappointed by the 1830 revolution, he affirmed that it had left scars in the social fabric of France, making the situation almost unbearable for musicians. Chopin died impoverished in 1849 upon his return to Paris while Liszt settled in Weimar and visited St Petersburg. As


156 Fulcher, “The Orphéon Societies,” 55.


158 Berlioz, Mémoires, 4.

159 Berlioz, Mémoires, 5.
Berlioz’s friend and advocate, he arranged for a letter of introduction from the King of Prussia to the Tsarina to open channels to the Tsar and the Russian concert circuit. Berlioz’s phenomenal success that ensued in Russia, and mainly his Damnation of Faust, aligned him with influential Russian and German diplomats and musicians, plus Madame Viardot. However, after returning to Paris publication delays of his opera, the 1851 coup, and the 1853 Crimean War, dashed his hopes of capitalising on this visit. The consequences of the 1848 Revolution for Berlioz were catastrophic. His father passed away, his friend and royalist Opéra director, Pillet, had been sacked, and the newly appointed Second Republic Opéra directors, Roqueplan and Duponchel, snubbed and then denied him professional opportunities—arranging to meet with him and then ‘fail to turn up.’160 Regarding what was later to become Gounod’s opera, La nonne sanglante, Berlioz realised that, despite securing the contract with the Opéra through Pillet to compose the opera while working with Meyerbeer’s ‘hangman’ librettist Scribe, the new republican administrators ‘were bent on getting rid of me. . . determined they would never perform a work of mine at the Opéra.’161 Roqueplan stated loudly to Berlioz (Duponchel quietly supportive) that such a ‘preposterous’ and ‘dangerous’ man as ‘you’ would imperil any theatre that attempted to stage your compositions.162

Roqueplan, as sole director from November 1849 until July 1854, and undoubtedly, due to his friendship with Pauline Viardot and hers with Gounod, handed the opera to Gounod. At this point, Berlioz ‘recognised that the Meyerbeer/Scribe domination of the Opéra, and the public taste it expressed, effectively barred his entry’ with Roqueplan in power.163 He resented Meyerbeer, critical of his ‘music opportunism’ full of contradictions, for ‘cheapening his talents’ by appealing to ‘the lowest common denominator in public taste,’ especially after canvassing Berlioz’s support to attend ‘with entourage’ the premiere of Le Prophète, starring Madame Viardot in April 1849.164 Berlioz complains about having to resort to becoming a ‘wretched feuilletonist’ who, unlike the music critic, is ‘obliged to write on anything and everything within the domain (bog-ridden, infested with toads and grasshoppers)’ to keep his family fed and survive while contemplating suicide.165 He had overlooked the fact that Gounod and Offenbach had captured the remaining niches in Paris: Liszt absent and Viardot marginalised.

160 Berlioz, Mémoires, 57.
161 Berlioz, Mémoires, 57.
162 Berlioz, Mémoires, 57.
163 Berlioz, Mémoires, notes from the editor David Cairns, 508 and see 59.
165 This occupation did not seem to trouble the inimitable Castil-Blaze. See Berlioz, Mémoires, 53.
The influence of Meyerbeer, it must be said, and the pressure he exerts on managers, artists and critics and consequently on the Paris public, at least as much by his immense wealth as by his genuine eclectic talent, make all serious success at the Opéra virtually impossible.\footnote{166}{Berlioz, Mémoires, 59.}

Following the election of Napoleon as President of the Second Republic, Berlioz—well known for his \textit{concerts monstres}—directed a massive benefit concert at Versailles staged on 29 October 1848, organised by the \textit{l'Association} committee, celebrating the opening of the railroad. Berlioz had earlier co-signed the letter of invitation to musicians, 17 October 1848, along with Baron van Taylor, Spontini, Adam, Niedermeyer, Massart, Meyerbeer, and Léon Kreutzer, summoning them to perform for the \textit{grand fete musicale} (See Appendix 6 for the copy). The concert involved 450 participants including military musicians, plus soloists Dorus-Gras, Madame Widemann, and the famous tenor, Alexis Dupont, and raised ‘7155 fr. 65 cents.’\footnote{167}{See \textit{l'Association}, 1849, 37 and \textit{Revue et Gazette}, 1848, 231. Two years later, he served again on the committee with Adam, Tilmant aîné, Auber, Kastner, Alard, Lebel, Gounod, Amédée Artus, Onslow, Panseron, and Hubert.}

At that point, \textit{l'Association} had featured Berlioz’s \textit{Requiem} at Saint-Eustache in 1846, summarily followed by a concert in ‘solemn memory of Baron Trémont’ on 22 October 1852 with ‘600 singers and instrumentalists under Berlioz’s direction,’ as discussed at the annual meeting on 17 February 1853.\footnote{168}{See \textit{l'Association} from 1847 (1846), commenting on his \textit{Requiem}: ‘belle exécution du \textit{Requiem} de M. Berlioz qui a eu lieu à Saint-Eustache.’ See \textit{l'Association}, 1853, 43: ‘été exécuté par 600 chanteurs et instrumentistes sous la direction de son auteur, M. Berlioz.’}

His name rarely appears in the minutes after 1854. Did his exclusion occur because he was an atheist in a Catholic France, because he did not convert to imperialism, or for a reason not yet understood?\footnote{169}{Patrick Waddington, “Viardot-Garcia as Berlioz’s Counselor and Physician,” \textit{The Musical Quarterly}, Vol. 59, No. 3 (July 1973): 382–398, 383.}

Berlioz had served on the \textit{l’Association} committee in 1844, and again in 1852 immediately following Napoleon’s \textit{coup}, along with Hubert and Gounod, after which his name virtually disappears from their records. During the period leading to Napoleon’s election as president of the Second Republic in 1848, Berlioz seemed to be at the peak of his success when he conducted the massive military concert at Versailles that cemented the relationships between Napoleon, the National Guard, and the public. After the 1852 coup, Berlioz struggled to exist under the Second Empire. Perhaps there had been a fall-out between Gounod and Berlioz leading up to 1857? Unlike Gounod, who had snubbed Viardot in early 1852, Berlioz continued to frequent her Thursday Salons and praised her in the début performance of Gounod’s opera, \textit{Sapho} (libretto by Émile Augier) in 1851, even though ‘neither Meyerbeer nor Gounod was exactly to his taste.’\footnote{169}{Patrick Waddington, “Viardot-Garcia as Berlioz’s Counselor and Physician,” \textit{The Musical Quarterly}, Vol. 59, No. 3 (July 1973): 382–398, 383.}
become a barbarian people,’ while contemplating accepting the King of Saxony's offer of the post of Kapellmeister. Berlioz travelled to Russia and Europe instead.

On the performance [1852] of the Requiem of our colleague, Mr. Berlioz, and the mass of St.-Cécile, S. M. Emperor Napoleon, the then President of the Republic, sent us 200 fr.

Berlioz remained victimised by status-group closures from the Jockey Club, peers, directors, conductors, and bureaucrats of the most prestigious opera house in the world. Relationship-damage began at the Paris Conservatoire with Cherubini, followed by Kreutzer as Conservatoire professor and conductor of the Paris Opéra, compounded by archenemy, Habeneck as in-house conductor of the Opéra (1824–1846), and then sealed by in-house conductor Narcisse Girard (1846–1860). Berlioz and Girard had ended on ‘bad terms’ after La nonne sanglante episode in 1848 when, indignantly, he insisted that Duponchel and Roqueplan should dismiss Girard and that he should be the chief conductor at the Opéra, and promptly left for England to conduct the Grand English Opera. Years later, Berlioz's nomination to l'Association committee on 2 April 1857—as well as a disgruntled Hubert who complained against Gounod—proved unsuccessful while Gounod stood elected. Musard and Manry replaced Berlioz and Hubert. Ironically, weeks later, by imperial decree on 25 June members of the Institute, nominated Berlioz over Gounod to fill Adolph Adam’s chair upon his death on 3 May 1857. Based on Gounod's hostile relationship with Hubert and his politically astute nature it is reasonable to conclude that Gounod had marginalised Berlioz, despite his earlier admiration for him, and especially as neither Hubert nor Berlioz served on another committee after that. By 1856, Offenbach, who had befriended Gounod, joined l'Association after which his operettas gathered tremendous success through Napoleon’s support: a style Berlioz vehemently opposed.

It appears that Napoleon and his bureaucrats had closed ranks against Berlioz through silent snubs, made evident when he sort permission stage his five-act opera, Les Troyens (The Trojans). Dispensing with protocols, as was his custom, Berlioz personally delivered the opera manuscript to Napoleon at a Tuileries house party at the Compiègne in 1858, hoping to repeat Lesueur’s earlier triumph with Napoleon Bonaparte who ‘ordered’ the Paris Opéra to stage Lesueur’s opera. Although cordially addressed when he greeted the Emperor as he attempted to hand him the manuscript, Berlioz suffered an unholy silence from Napoleon, followed by indifference, delays, and then ridicule. The manuscript had ended up with the Controllers of Theatres and Minister of State when the Paris Opéra director, Alphonse Royer, assured him that the script remained under consideration, but, instead, staged Wagner’s ill-fated Tannhäuser in 1861 by

170 Berlioz, Mémoires, 59 (18 October 1854).

171 See l'Association, 1853, 31.

172 See l'Association, 1857, 23.
imperial order.\textsuperscript{173} Berlioz lamented in his \textit{Mémoires Postscript}, 25 May 1858 (this was a letter accompanying the completed manuscript addressed to "M.____" [perhaps Eugene de Mirecourt]) that 'the prolonged war waged against me lies in the antagonism between my musical values and those of the Mass of the Paris public.'\textsuperscript{174} See Figure 5.12 and see Figure 5.13. He continues, the 'teachers at the Conservatoire were against me . . . nearly every conductor in Germany is against me' and there is a 'French prejudice against me,' and I am criticised for an 'excessive use of Sax's instruments,' for 'being inordinately noisy' and 'too fond of the bass drum.'\textsuperscript{175} In the interim, he filled his time with passionate outbursts of tormented declarations of love for Pauline when he stayed at her Château Courtavenal in September 1859. He declared, 'the whole of my life has been nothing but a long and passionate aspiration towards an ideal which I had created for myself.'\textsuperscript{176} That year, the Jockey Club amused itself at Berlioz's expense in their private \textit{Almanach} by ridiculing him as the personification of their fourth prejudice—the 'dilatant' (see Figure 5.14) thereby exposing one of the mysterious forces against him in Paris.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Figure 5.14} The frontispiece of the 1859 \textit{Almanach du Sport of le Jockey Club de Paris}, pages 9–10.
The club satirised Berlioz as the personification of their fourth prejudice: 'le cheval dilatante.'
The superficial dilatante is an amateur dabbler who pretends to be knowledgeable.\textsuperscript{177}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{173} Royer and Gustav Vaëz, staged French adaptations of Italian operas of Donizetti, Rossini, Verdi, and Niedermeyer.

\textsuperscript{174} Berlioz, \textit{Mémoires}, Postscript.

\textsuperscript{175} Berlioz, \textit{Mémoires}, Postscript.

\textsuperscript{176} Pauline quotes Berlioz in FitzLyon, \textit{The Price of Genius}, 394, cross referenced with Berlioz, \textit{Mémoires}, 21.

Madame Viardot describes Berlioz that year as ‘ill, embittered, and unhappy.’\footnote{178}{Quoted, Waddington, “Viardot-Garcia as Berlioz’s Counsel[or] and Physician,” 382–398.} Five years passed and ‘after a long and fruitless period of waiting, tired of being treated with contempt,’ Berlioz approached Director Carvalho to stage his Les Troyens at the Théâtre-Lyrique. The opera opened on 4 November 1863 to virtually empty houses and closed soon after.\footnote{179}{Berlioz, Mémoires, Post face.} After years of silence, confessing that he was beginning to ‘hate republicanism’ and even ‘preferred despotism to the constitutional monarchy,’ Berlioz wrote in the Post-face to his Mémoires in 1865; ‘My career is over.’\footnote{180}{Berlioz, Mémoires, Introduction, xvi.} He concludes his Mémoires on 1 January 1865 in a conflicted state of peace by saying: ‘through tears, I look towards my star.’\footnote{181}{Berlioz, Mémoires, his final entry.} He summarises by saying that love and music ‘are the two wings of the soul,’ while likening Parisians to ‘pigs snuffling and rooting in the earth’ in search of their favourite truffles, melodramatically concluding he can die in peace. From November 1867 to February 1868, Berlioz revisited St Petersburg to give six concerts, returning to Paris where he died just before the 1870 Franco-Prussian War. Regardless of their possible differences, Gounod served as one of the pallbearers for Berlioz’s funeral on 8 March 1869. Nine years later, he wrote the Preface to Hector Berlioz’s Correspondence, describing him as a misunderstood ‘cantankerous’ genius (like Beethoven) endowed with a ‘particular sensitivity’ and a ‘volcano’ of emotions whereby ‘all the feelings go to extremes’ for which he suffered, primarily due to Cherubini’s ‘malicious intent.’\footnote{182}{See a publication of his letters, Hector Berlioz, Calmann Lévy ed., Correspondance inédite d’Hector Berlioz, Vol. 1, 1878, Preface and see Gounod, Mémoires, 329–342} Berlioz survived revolutions and cabals, but had difficulty surviving the consequences of his passions that had alienated him from Napoleon and Second Empire officials. Retiring on a small Conservatoire pension he, too, died in poverty.

Conclusion

Through Massenkulturgut verstehen, this chapter affirms Weber’s observations of authority’s control over mass culture due to its inherent suspicion of crowds (mobs) and charities related to staging concerts linked to conflicts between hierocracy, theocracy, and caesaropapism. The chapter traces fifty years of superimposed laws under successive regimes after revolutions that established legal definitions of utilité publique. Building upon Napoleon’s Civil Code of 1804 negating harsh rational-legal laws and reinstating church charities and permitting public gatherings of up to twenty, the July Monarchy developed the law of utilité publique to permit music education in schools that led to the founding of large choral societies and philanthropic organisations. Expansions under the Second Empire forged new trust relationships between the
state, police, army, local militia, charities, crowds, and musicians that facilitated a new socio-political and cultural phenomenon in Paris that advanced the prospects for all musicians providing support following the devastations of successive revolutions.

Weber’s *aktuelles Verstehen* (observable understanding) and *erklärendes Verstehen* (explanatory understanding) assist in interpreting individual behaviours during a revolutionary crisis. The chapter examines Liszt and Berlioz’s relationships within political contexts, not as musical geniuses, and as contributors to two large music organisations of *l’Orphéon* and *l’Association* that engaged most of Paris in staging large concerts to raise money for charity. Both had welcomed the 1830 Revolution, but soon expressed their dismay at the fate of musicians in Paris, and adopted value-rational actions by joining *l’Association*. Both embraced republicanism, composed military funerary tributes to the 1830 Revolution, fled the 1848 Revolution(s) for different reasons, and expressed disappointment in the Republic and an Empire ruled by Napoleon III.

The following chapter utilises Weber’s concepts of status alliances and social actions within political settings to show the differing outcomes from instrumentally rational and value-rational actions that destroyed the professional relationship and friendship between Charles Gounod and Madame Pauline Viardot. The mysterious events of May 1852 reveal themselves through a *Verstehen* approach to the interactions between Gounod and Viardot that ultimately defined his alliance to Emperor Napoleon III after the *coup* in snubbing her and her husband as Republicans.
CHAPTER 6: Gounod and Viardot: Status Women, Republics, and Empires

Weber believes that music virtuosos attract public adoration that guarantees fame and fortune while they remain popular, but may not sustain their livelihoods if they uphold value-rational principles against a political milieu. Seemingly, the less gifted socially astute musicians, who accurately calculate the predictable consequences of their actions, tend to survive if they navigate social, political, and economic mazes by adopting Weber’s instrumentally rational action. The chapter applies Weber’s *aktuelles* and *erklärendes Verstehen* method to lend deeper insight into how revolutions, regimes, and relationships in Paris influenced the survival and strategies of two famous protagonists, Charles Gounod and Pauline Viardot. It examines how imperialism, royalism, and republicanism influenced their fate in Paris, by studying their interactions with political parties, music critics, the Paris Opéra directors, music theatre directors, and each other. It focusses on the Gounod, Zimmermann, and Viardot households following the December 1851 coup and examines whether the republicans, Napoleon III, Liszt, Berlioz, Offenbach, Chopin, Sand, or Wagner influenced their fates. The relationship between Viardot and Gounod attracted salacious gossip and innuendo in the 1850s, which this chapter incorporates to discover the truth behind the events of May 1852 that led to Viardot’s virtual exile form Pairs when rumours circulated that Gounod was the father of her baby.

Weber’s *Verstehen* method integrated with his theories of authorities, status-groups, status-women, and philanthropy are central to discussions about Gounod, whereas party politics, gender, matriarchal households, power, and status-group closures are central to Viardot. Weber advises that in the father’s absence, family units often develop a kind of “manless” household management by the wives and mothers,” and this certainly was true of the Gounod and Viardot households. Concerning Gounod, his mother played the dominant role as advisor and securing his career and early success, whereas, with the Viardots, Pauline held status and economic power (*Oikos* according to Weber) in her partnership with her husband. Both households chose self-imposed exiles during one or more revolution and strategically returned to Paris, albeit with different outcomes due to status-group or ‘party’ closures. The chapter shows that political alliances more than talent underpinned their professional survivals vis-à-vis Napoleon III who, in complying with Weber’s charismatic authority, personally influenced their survival.

Freelance musicians in the market, staff musicians at the Paris Opéra and Paris Conservatoire, and entrepreneur-managers of the music theatres in Paris, operated under strict regulations until Napoleon III amended the precedents set by his uncle in 1807. During that time, the Opéra

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director, Nestor Roqueplan, undertook the unprecedented action of débuting an opera by an unknown composer in Charles-François Gounod, due to Madame Viardot’s pledge to perform the lead role of Sapho. The events established an imperial operetta genre supporting an expanding imperial theatre culture that secured the livelihoods for hundreds of musicians in Paris, particularly Gounod and Offenbach whose fame and fortune are attributable to Emperor Napoleon, Paris salons, and l’Association. Figure 6.1 delineates the interrelationships between Napoleon, l’Orphéon, l’Association, and the musicians in Paris with Gounod at the centre.

Gounod’s influence in 1852 and 1856 viewed through Weber’s Massenkulturgut Verstehen shows how he affected the destinies of Viardot and Berlioz upon marrying Anna Zimmermann culminating in his appointments as l’Orphéon director and l’Association committee member.

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3 Harding, Gounod, 76–77. Refer to the earlier part of the chapter for discussions about Gounod and Sapho.
gained through his father-in-law Professor Zimmermann. Gounod’s dismissal of Viardot is perhaps explicable in light of Weber’s instrumentally rational action that involved his career enhancement through status alliances with imperialists. Did the Zimmermann and Gounod families sever their relations with the Viardots in May of 1852 for socio-political advantage?

**Charles François Gounod: A Monarchist Posing as an Imperialist**

Born at Rue de l’Eperon in Paris three years into the Restoration, Gounod became an organist, pianist, an aspiring priest, singer, choirmaster, guitarist, and composer. He survived coups and revolutions, poverty, fear, poor judgement, operatic failures, fits of despair, mental breakdowns, nervous madness, and ridicule. A long-term survivor of ill health and six revolutions in France, Gounod’s status as an acclaimed composer has remained somewhat of an enigma and the reasons for his success elusive. Renowned today for only two operas, *Faust* and *Roméo et Juliette*, and one song, *Ave Maria*, Gounod came from an upper-middle-class family lineage of Versailles artists and a Rouen magistrate that the 1789 Revolution virtually ruined. A prolific letter-writer and social networker, he owed his success to status-women—Madame Viardot, Mademoiselle Zimmerman, Madame Zimmerman, Empress Eugénie, Princess Metternich, Mrs Weldon, and Queen Victoria—as well as to their salons and political connections. Nonetheless, his mother, more than most, was perhaps the most influential force that shaped his mind and survival *modus operandi* until her death in 1858 after which his career blossomed upon launching *Faust*. Prima facie, it is difficult to understand why the opposing French regimes awarded him four of five *Legion d’honneur* grades—*Chevalier* (1856) [Second Empire]; *Officer* (1866) [Second Empire]; *Commander* (1877) [Third Republic]; and *Great (Grand) Officer* (1880) [Third Republic]. Most of his operas were unsuccessful and few critics held him in high regard as a composer. His early success is attributable to *l’Orphéon* and to his surreptitious networking through social, spiritual, philanthropic, and political channels in France, England, and Italy.

Generally ‘adversely received by critics’ Bernard, Bannelier, Héquet, Jullien, and Monnais of *Gazette Musicale*, and with indifference by Berlioz, Gounod’s compositional style—sometimes perceived as contrived, boring, monotonous, or too German—shaped the music for generations of French composers and performers. What was the secret to his survival, if it was not his

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4 The *l’Association* alliances during the Second Empire seem to provide the key to unlocking mysteries determining the fates of all. Note discussions about Berlioz, Napoleon, and Gounod discussed in chapter 5 of this thesis.


6 These honours brought an annual income of between 250 to 2,000 francs per annum.

talent? Some believed he used his good looks, charms, and social connections to influence key women: Viardot dubs him Tartuffe. By the 1870s, critics viewed his ‘chameleon-like diversity of style as derivative’ with some asserting that he plagiarised or alluded to elements from Mozart (la Reine de Saba), Berlioz (Roméo et Juliette), to Meyerbeer’s Robert le Diable or Weber’s Der Freischütz (La Nonne Sanglante), Schubert (Faust), and Wagner (Faust and La Reine de Saba). One cannot detect plagiarism unless one knows the source from which it borrows, which lays beyond the scope of this thesis. Regardless, he rose to fame and acquired his fortune politically nested in the Second Empire that is directly attributable to his status-relationships and pivotal choices made after revolutions to ensure his survival, often at the cost of others.

More than most musicians, two revolutions and notably, Napoleon’s coup of 2 December 1851, defined Gounod’s fate as a musician, composer, and man. More than most, his socio-political connections, status-women, and philanthropic organisations of l’Orphéon and l’Association provided avenues for his secular success after he quit the Church. A ‘truly individual composer’ possessing a ‘Janus-like personality’ and a ‘quick wit,’ Gounod attributes the beginning of his music career, spanning sixty years across four regimes, as a direct result of the 1830 Revolution. Scholars did not consider the impact of revolutions when they divided Gounod’s music activities into three periods (1839–1859, 1860–1870, and 1871–1893) dating from his winning the Prix de Rome in 1839. In truth, the 1830 Revolution shaped his formative years up until 1839, whereas the 1848 Revolution and the 1851 coup sub-divided the first period into three: 1839–1848 (sacred period), 1849–1851 (transitional period), and 1852–1859 (operatic début, status-marriage, l’Orphéon, and l’Association of the pre-Faust period). The discussion that follows shows that new interpretations of his, often, inexplicable actions emerge if viewed as the

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8 She was referring to Molière’s play Tartuffe in which man, disguised as a priest, secures advantage over a woman for gain through insincere and devious means.

9 Gounod’s tomb scene from Roméo et Juliette matches the emotional register of Berlioz,’ according to Stephen Rodgers, “Music Smashed to Pieces: The Destructive Logic of Berlioz’s Roméo au tombeau,” Current Musicology, No. 89 (Spring 2010), 63. See Ellis, Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France, 202 and Harding, Gounod, 111 and 193. Plagiarism was a common practice during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Arguably, Margaret’s spinning song from Gounod’s Faust, was ‘inspired’ by Schubert’s Gretchen am Spinnrade and Wagner’s Spinning Chorus from Der fliegende Holländer [Flying Dutchman], featuring rhythmic representations of eight, six, and twelve-spoked French and German spinning wheels. Gounod knew Schubert and supported Wagner in staging of Tannhäuser in 1860, agreeing with him that one had the right to conduct one’s own work: See Wagner’s letter, 7 March 1861.


11 Flynn, Charles François Gounod, 7. My research shows he composed six songs Sehnsucht (22 May 1849), La Pevanche, Nocturne (CG593a), Le Reusseau (CG589), and CG619, CG585, and CG359.
equivalent of Weber's instrumentally rational calculated action, seeking personal advantage by adopting deceptive guises of value-rational action.

Primarily exalted for his Mephistophelean metaphysical opera based on Goethe’s *Faust*, the obsession of many European composers at the time, the aspiring Abbé Gounod vacillated between his seemingly ‘unrequited’ love for opera and his profound devotion to God—his compositions reflecting this ambivalence.\(^\text{12}\) He composed twelve operas, nineteen masses, six dramas, six oratorios, two symphonies, plus a plethora of vocal motets, canticles, and *l’Orphéon*-styled songs.\(^\text{13}\) From 1848 to 1870, Gounod composed two symphonies (1855), two masses, and eleven operas and the years from 1852 to 1870 represented stability, prosperity, and celebrity under an imperialist regime. He fled to England during the Siege of Paris, to overcome confusion, hostilities, scandals, negative press, arguments with Royal Albert Hall administrators, litigations against Novello, a tarnished reputation, and Mrs Georgina Weldon’s ‘bizarre’ relentless pursuits.\(^\text{14}\) He returned to Paris briefly in 1872 to stage a concert with Weldon as soloist, and then settled permanently in 1874 without her, untainted by scandal and having refused the directorship of the Paris Conservatoire, made vacant after Salvador Daniel’s execution. His relationship with *l’Association* and *l’Orphéon* proved imperative to his return to Paris and subsequent survival. Regardless of fame, fortune, and failure, ‘Gounod’s life and career ended as it had begun, as a church musician.’\(^\text{15}\)

The revolution of 1830 created a new life-path for the twelve-year-old Gounod, who says there ‘commenced an occurrence that decided the direction of my life’ [commencent les événements qui ont décidé de la direction de ma vie] that changed his fortune from emulating his father and grandfather to choosing the music of his mother.\(^\text{16}\) The revolution also brought a succession of headmasters in the Lycée Saint-Louis school replacing his teacher, abbot Ganser, with a military-

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\(^{12}\) Gounod’s opera, *Faust*, originally staged with spoken dialogue, a French equivalent of German *singspiel* without ballet music, was a rendition of Goethe’s *Faust*, extracted and embellished from the sixteenth-century English play, *Doctor Faustus* by Christopher Marlow (1564–1593), attributed to the chronicles from Staufen (1565), Spies (1587) and P. F. Gent (1592). Gounod’s librettists used Gérard de Nerval’s translation while Gounod adapted ideas from Schubert, Wagner, and Berlioz. Nerval’s French translation of Goethe’s *Faust* inspired Berlioz’s *Huit scènes de Faust* (1829)—rejected by Goethe’s music advisor, Zelter but used in *Symphonie fantastique* (1830)—and *La damnation de Faust* (1845), Beethoven’s Opus 75 (1809), Spohr’s opera, *Faust* (1816), and Liszt’s *Eine Faust-Symphonie* (1857).


\(^{14}\) For a short comprehensive biography, see Flynn, *Charles François Gounod*, Introduction, 1–24.

\(^{15}\) Flynn, *Charles François Gounod*, 7.

styled revolutionary teacher, Liez, and then Poirson, who initially reproached the fatherless Gounod for his aspirations of becoming a professional musician, declaring ‘Être musicien, ce n'est pas état! [Being a musician is not a profession!].’ Remarkably, upon hearing his music, Poirson blessed Gounod who pursued his ‘obsession’ to compose opera, overwhelmed by pseudo-mystical experiences of seeing Mozart’s 'Don Juan' and 'l'Otello de Rossini’ even though ‘in his youth he underwent a religious crisis which almost ravished him from his art.’

Gounod spent three years at the Paris Conservatoire tutored by the illustrious tenor of Garat’s lineage, Gilbert Duprez, and German composer, Reicha, acquiring strong foundations in vocal techniques and composition under the tutelage of Jadin, Lesueur, Choron, Berton, Halévy, and Paër. After winning the Prix de Rome in 1839 with his sacred cantata, Fernand, Gounod returned from his three-years in Rome in 1843 to serve five-year post as choral master ‘on the brink of renouncing art and embracing the priesthood’ when the 1848 Revolution changed his destiny. The post had resulted from his mother’s efforts and not Gounod’s, who maintained his passion for opera: his acceptance was a conciliatory survival gesture more than his dedication to the sacred genre.

One gains insight into Gounod’s personality, inner torments, and double-success as a rational and irrational composer of sacred and secular genres by adopting Weber’s aktuelles Verstehen and erklärendes Verstehen approaches to analysing his survival tactics. It seems that Gounod’s ‘functional’ music, composed for the church and state, more than his irrational ‘orgiastic’ operas such as Faust, had established his ‘honour’ status more than celebrity had as an operatic composer. Known more for vocal compositions than instrumental works, Gounod emerged from post-revolutionary poverty, priesthood, musical anonymity, and operatic failure, into fortune and fame under the Second Empire after befriending Napoleon III, Empress Eugénie, and Matilda Metternich through Professor Zimmermann. He composed the Second Empire’s National Anthem (1856), Vive l’Empereur, featured for all official occasions from 1856 until 1870. His philanthropic and church alliances led to his composing the Vatican’s Pontifical Anthem (1869) and Mors et Vita (1872), dedicated to Pope Leo XIII, undoubtedly due to Napoleon’s influence as the financier of the Vatican. Having befriended Queen Victoria while exiled in England during the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, Gounod saw opportunity in dedicating The Redemption (1872) to her after having composed an arrangement of God Save the Queen used for

17 Gounod, Mémoires, 38 and 49. This is a testimony of estimations of music professionals as low status professionals.


official occasions in France. After this he composed her son’s Wedding March (1882). See Figure 6.2 featuring frontispieces of the three official compositions. As a testimony to his status in England during the late nineteenth century, the Proms Concerts held at Albert Hall featured his compositions among the top ten composers and the top twenty during World War I.

Within two weeks of the 1848 February Revolution, the aspiring Abbé Gounod resigned his five-year tenure ‘unworthy post’ as organist at maîtrise des Missions étrangères [Foreign Mission]; his pledge to pursue sacred music composition and the priesthood disavowed. Gounod composed only two masses in five years. He had been busy with baptisms, weddings, funerals, masses, and training choirs. Starting October 1847, he began to attend lectures at the Carmelite Seminary, conferences of Lacordaire at Notre-Dame, and theological lectures at Saint-Sulpice. As soon as revolution erupted, speaking of career, and not of God—rationalising his instrumentally rational decision to leave the church—Gounod declared his disillusionment with the sacred genre and choice to pursue a secular career as an opera composer due to its offering a sustainable future through exposure and opportunities. See Table 6.1 for a chronological list of his opera débuts by venues and sopranos. The underpinning rationales behind his leaving the church and priesthood are also attributable to his chance meeting with Madame Viardot and relate to his family’s struggle as royalists from 1789 to 1815.

20 Note that Gounod’s pontifical anthem featured when President Obama visited the Vatican in 2016.

21 Flynn, Charles François Gounod, 3 and see Gounod, Memoires, 174.
The photograph of Gounod wearing his secular priest’s cassock was taken one month before resigning his post as organist and trainee-priest, two weeks after the February outbreak of the 1848 Revolution. The Catholic Church established the Foreign Missions in about 1658–63.22

A key to understanding Gounod’s reaction to the 1848 February Revolution via the erklärendes Verstehen approach seems to relate to his mother’s tales of her father as a Rouen magistrate and Gounod’s grandfather and father as royalist artists, and their bitter experiences of the 1789 Revolution under the First Republic, Jacobins, Directory, Consul, and First Empire. Gounod did not deliberate in his Mémoires whether he would have faced a precarious future under a Republic in a vocation associated with the Church or one aligned to the defunct July Monarchy, but surely, the subtext is there. Was it safer to dis-align oneself from the Catholic Church? When the monarchy collapsed, riots and death followed. ‘He put off his cassock for good’ and while they erected street barricades and France prepared for a new régime, Gounod prepared for his new secular career,23 ‘Art had gained the upper hand of faith!’24 Gounod writes:


23 Harding, Gounod, 57.

The February Revolution of 1848 had just broken when I quit the position of the Foreign Missions . . . while being very useful and beneficial to my musical studies it had, however, the disadvantage of allowing me to vegetate, in terms of my career and future, in a hopeless situation. For a composer, the only route to follow to make a name is [in] the theatre . . . Religious music and the symphony are indeed of a superior order, absolutely speaking, to dramatic music, but opportunities and ways to get exposure are exceptional [minimal] and only directed to an intermittent public, instead of a regular public like the theatre.25

Gounod also testifies to his family’s fate, avowing his inherited upper-middle-class lineage on both sides.26 His maternal grandfather, an ancien regime ‘magistrature’ in Rouen lost his judicial seat while forced to live in fear and poverty.27 His grandfather and father (winner of the Prix de Rome) as resident artists of the Louvre in the employ of the King of France faced eviction and death by guillotine.28 His father fled France twice and did not regain his stable livelihood as an artist until the Bourbons gained power when he obtained an appointment as the official artist to Duc de Berry at Pièce d’eau des Suisses at Versailles until his death in 1823. At the age of five Gounod and his older brother, who died prematurely, left Versailles for Paris with his widowed mother, Victoria Gounod, made reliant upon the church for her sons’ educations, and who taught piano to sustain a living while reminding them of the ‘horrors of Republicanism’ and its anti-Christian ideologies.29 One must often defer to Victoria until her death in 1858 when Gounod stopped writing his Mémoires, to understand his decision-making processes.

25 Gounod, Mémoires, 174. [‘La révolution de Février 1848 venait d’éclater lorsque je quittai la maîtrise des Missions étrangères. J’avais rempli, pendant quatre ans et demi, des fonctions qui, tout en étant très utiles et très profitables à mes études musicales, avaient néanmoins l’inconvénient de me laisser végéter, au point de vue de ma carrière et de mon avenir, dans une situation sans issue. Pour un compositeur il n’y a guère qu’une route à suivre pour se faire un nom c’est le théâtre. Le théâtre est un lieu dans lequel on trouve chaque jour l’occasion et le moyen de parler au public c’est une exposition quotidienne et permanente ouverte au musicien. La musique religieuse et la symphonie sont assurément d’un ordre supérieur, absolument parlant, à la musique dramatique mais les occasions et les moyens de s’y faire connaître sont exceptionnels et ne s’adressent qu’à un public intermittent, au lieu d’un public régulier comme celui du théâtre.’].

26 His lineage and ‘right to live and work’ at the Louvre had descended from his great grandfather, Antoine Gounod. See James Harding, Gounod (New York: Stein and Day, 1973), 17 and Chapter 1.

27 See Gounod, Mémoires, 1–13, passim. Gounod comments that his grandmother was a musician of remarkable intelligence. See Charles Gounod, Mémoires d’un artiste (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, éditeurs, 1896), Chapter 1.

28 See Gounod, Mémoires, 1–28, passim. Gounod’s father may have been one of twenty-two émigré artists Greer identified who fled the 1789 revolution. For lists of ‘professional’ émigrés deemed Upper Middle Class in 1789–1794 see Greer, The Incidence of Emigration during the French Revolution, 132.

29 See Prod’homme and Dandelot, Gounod (Vol. 1), 101 and see Tiersot, “Charles Gounod,” 419.
Table 6.1 The list shows Gounod’s opera débuts by venues and lead sopranos. *Ulysses* (1852), a tragedy, and *Jeanne d’Arc* (1873), a melodrama, are not included as they are not operas in the strict sense. *La nonne sanglante*, contracted initially to Berlioz in 1847 under the July Monarchy, faced delays in staging when the Opéra’s new Second Republic directors, Roqueplan and Duponchel, rescinded the offer in 1848 and then under Second Empire administration passed it to Gounod in 1852, staged 1854. The opera serves as an example of regime favouritism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opera</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Soprano</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851 <em>Sapho</em></td>
<td>Paris Opéra</td>
<td>Pauline Viardot</td>
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<tr>
<td>1854 <em>La Nonne sanglante</em></td>
<td>Paris Opéra</td>
<td>Poinsot</td>
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<td>1858 <em>Le Médecin malgré lui</em></td>
<td>Théâtre-Lyrique</td>
<td>Girard</td>
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<td>1859 <em>Faust</em></td>
<td>Théâtre-Lyrique</td>
<td>Madam Carvalho</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860 <em>La Colombe</em></td>
<td>Baden-Baden</td>
<td>Madam Carvalho</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860 <em>Philémon et Baucis</em></td>
<td>Théâtre-Lyrique</td>
<td>Madam Carvalho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862 <em>La Reine de Saba</em></td>
<td>Paris Opéra</td>
<td>Guéymard-Lauters</td>
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<td>1864 <em>Mireille</em></td>
<td>Théâtre-Lyrique</td>
<td>Madam Carvalho</td>
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<tr>
<td>1867 <em>Roméo et Juliette</em></td>
<td>Théâtre-Lyrique</td>
<td>Madam Carvalho</td>
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<tr>
<td>1877 <em>Cinq Mars</em></td>
<td>Opéra-Comique</td>
<td>Chevrier</td>
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<td>1878 <em>Polyeucte</em></td>
<td>Paris Opéra</td>
<td>Krauss (s/b Weldon)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881 <em>Le Tribute de Zamora</em></td>
<td>UNFINISHED</td>
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</table>

* = Gounod conducted

There is no real evidence about how Gounod and his mother survived financially from May 1848 until mid-1851, although he toured (probably in company with his mother) with the Viardots to England during 1850. Perhaps he lived on a small pension bestowed by *missions Étrangères* and rent-free at the Viardots’ Château de Courtavenal during most of 1850 until mid-to-late-1851. Berlioz’s letter to Gounod, 19 November 1851, addressed to 47 rue Pigalle and not to Courtavenal, discusses the commercial and musical merits of Gounod’s pending light opera based on Ponsard’s play, *Ulysses* (*Ulyses*), to be staged at *Comédie-Française* with Offenbach as director.30 Berlioz does not refer to him by name, but as ‘du directeur de ce théâtre’ otherwise ‘the director of this theatre.’31 This letter substantiates two points: that Gounod and his mother had already left Courtavenal by mid-November 1851 (less than one month before the coup); and that Gounod had established a working relationship with Offenbach (welcomed into the bosom of the Empire and *l’Association*) composing incidental music for his *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* in January 1852. At that point, the Viardots were overseas, and perhaps, unbeknownst to Gounod, Pauline was about six months pregnant. This timing is crucial to understand the mysterious developments that followed in April and May of 1852 (discussed throughout this chapter) and how the politics of the 1851 coup influenced their destinies.


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Of all the years in Gounod's professional life, 1852 is the most remarkable filled with career developments directly related to Napoleon’s coup. Reasons for Gounod’s sudden shift in an alliance from the Viardots to the Zimmermanns—the Viardots having fled Paris in mid-1851 only to return in early 1852—have remained hotly debated points, warranting a microanalysis through Weber’s erklärendes Verstehen approach. This requires reviewing the circumstances surrounding the staging of Sapho at the Paris Opéra with Viardot as Sapho, its lack of success in London (which Gounod blames on her poor voice production), her pregnancy, her republican anti-Napoleon alliances, the police raid on her house in Paris in June 1851, and implications arising from the December coup of 1851. Concurring with most scholars regarding Gounod’s fallout with the Viardots, April FitzLyon merely says, ‘Gounod had no more need for her.’\textsuperscript{32} The situation is complex. For example, her poor singing, understandably, would have resulted from her pregnancy that some authors believe resulted from her London dalliance with her fugitive Russian playwright lover, Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev (Tourguèneff).\textsuperscript{33} For Gounod, a Zimmermann alliance potentially brought him property and substantial career benefits after France's transition from a Republic to an Empire.

In Weber's understanding, a sudden change in an individual’s destiny may relate to a status alliance to authority. In Gounod's case, this infers that he adopted calculated action based on strategic career-choices that prevailed over any emotional reactions, traditional behaviours, exploitations, or condemnations of Viardot and her stigmatised anti-imperialist husband and their bevvy of republican activists—Alexander Herzen, Mikhail Bakunin, Hermann Müller-Strubing, and Sand. Her husband's hopes of leading in a republican parliament ended in December 1851 when ‘the Viardot’s house was searched for socialist documents, after which its occupants retreated for a time to Scotland.’\textsuperscript{34} After that, the Viardots maintained their absence from Paris until April 1852. Meanwhile, Gounod had avoided their shared republican friends after aligning himself to the Empire by marrying a professor’s daughter whose sister had married Napoleon’s family doctor.\textsuperscript{35} He clinched his future by surrendering all that conflicted with his goal for success. Gounod writes indifferently about his marriage in his \textit{Mémoires}, and without mentioning dates, having confused the point with the Viardots after intimating that he would delay his wedding until after the pending birth of Pauline’s child in May. He had already married.

\textsuperscript{32} FitzLyon, \textit{The Price of Genius}, 279, particularly 277–280 and generally, Chapter XIII.

\textsuperscript{33} For an opera singer, the first trimester causes dry vocal chords, fatigues the diaphragm, and causes general lethargy.

\textsuperscript{34} See Patrick Waddington, “Some gleanings on Turgenev and his international connections, with notes on Pauline Viardot and her family,” Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev (1818–1883), \textit{New Zealand Slavonic Journal}, 1983, 211 & fn.10.

\textsuperscript{35} See Rougerie, Tilly and Tombs' analyses of arrests and threats of death in Chapter 2.
A few days after my marriage, I was appointed the director of the choral society [l'Orphéon de Paris] and the assignment of teaching singing in municipal schools in the City of Paris. I replaced, in this post, Mr Hubert, pupil and successor of Wilhelm, the founder of this institution.36

In his letter to Simon, 23 January 1857, Gounod announced that his appointment as 'Director of Instruction of Singing' to l'Orphéon de Paris was in July 1852.37 Professor Zimmermann arranged for Gounod's appointment as director of l'Orphéon, offering a lucrative salary of 6,000 francs plus 600 for carriage expenses.38 According to Di Grazia, 'Gounod was officially named Director de l'Orphéon de la Ville de Paris on 30 May, just over one month after his marriage,' i.e., he had married in April.39 Without a formal nomination, Gounod successfully joined l'Association committee at the annual general meeting (n.d.) probably on 17 May 1852. Zimmermann, 'le célèbre professeur de piano du Conservatoire' as one of l'Association's nine founding members and vice-president, promptly retired upon arranging his son-in-law's appointment to the committee under Article 12, Section IV: 'comme M. Gounod à M. Zimmerman, qui s'en est retiré.'40 Everything points to Gounod's withholding the date of his marriage from Pauline and her husband. In 1853, l'Association acknowledges his performance of Messe à 3 voix d'hommes for which he sang the solo in the church of Saint-Germain-L'Auxerrois, with students of l'Orphéon and the début of his Messe Solennelle Sainte-Cécile (Saint Cecile), dedicated to his late father-in-law, to a captive audience at Saint-Eustache.41 From April 1852 to January 1860, Gounod composed approximately sixty-eight works and thirteen arrangements for l'Orphéon while his only reference to l'Association relates to the premiere of his Saint Cecile Mass.42

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36 Gounod, Mémoires, 238. ‘Peu de jours après mon mariage, je fus nommé Directeur de l’orphéon et de l’enseignement du chant dans les écoles communales de la Ville de Paris. Je remplaçais, à ce poste, M. Hubert, élève et successeur lui-même de Wilhelm, le créateur de cette institution.’


40 RGM, 1852, 181.

41 See l’Association, 1854, 39–42, and 1866, 37; Gounod, Mémoires, 198; and Flynn, Charles François Gounod, 248.

I wrote, at that time, *messe solennelle de Sainte-Cécile* which was performed successfully for *l'Association des artistes musiciens* on 22 November 1855, in the Saint Eustache Church, for the first time . . . dedicated to the memory of my beloved father-in-law, Zimmermann, who we lost on 29 October 1853.43

Considered by some as 'extremely handsome,' Gounod was discriminatingly minimalist in his *Mémoires* about how he secured success through status-alliances with status-women who were unquestioningly pivotal in developing and sustaining his career, but then later seemed to have served no further purpose.44 Prod'homme states that Gounod (sometimes referred to as the 'philandering monk') was a 'highly sensitive' man of 'delicate health' who suffered a 'craving for affection [and] . . . was used to the domination of women.'45 The list of dominant women includes pianist, Fanny Mendelssohn/Henzel, opera singers—Madame Viardot and Madame Carvalho—whose husbands managed theatres, and then, of course, Mrs Weldon.46 Apparently his protégé, Bizet, recalled Gounod’s farcical incidents with women and warned everyone to keep him away from girl’s schools, stating that his peers amusingly referred to him as 'the 'unfrocked priest': speculation about his unfrocking lay with the diva Viardot. Moreover, it appears that money was often at the centre of his concerns—a point often overlooked—as he pits woman against woman and husbands against reason; his wife against Viardot; Weldon against his wife; and the Queen of England against Weldon. It seems that even Queen Victoria, his ‘most distinguished admirer,’ was no match for Weldon’s embargo against Gounod preventing his return to England in August 1885 to conduct a Royal Command performance of *Mors et Vita* at Albert Hall until he honours the £11,640 judgement against him (£9,971.13.9 according to Brian Thomson).47 Husbands Viardot and Weldon begged Gounod to reconcile with their distraught wives to no avail.

Weber states that mothers provide a stable ‘natural’ long-term ‘biologically based household unit that lasts until a child is able to search for subsistence on his own.’48 In the case of Gounod, he waited forty years, which perhaps explains the secret-hand behind his fate. Gounod’s first


44 See FitzLyon, *The Price of Genius*, 260 and 261. He possessed ‘almost effeminate features’, ‘immense charm,’ was ‘cloying and ‘weak’ to some, and possessed a ‘certain smoothness,’ although Pauline believed him to be a genius.


46 Regarding his liaisons with women, a reviewer said ‘His “Mémoires” are disappointing in every way.’ See Robert Hughes, *The Love Affairs of Great Musicians*, Volume II, 1903.


indebtedness for his music career is, naturally, to his upper-middle-class pianist mother, Victoire, the daughter of a Rouen magistrate, a woman of great piety, his music life-blood, inspiration, mentor, and 'natural initiatrix of her son' after his father's death at Versailles. 'Art was his by inheritance.' Victoire, a staunch Catholic and anti-republican, taught him piano, introduced him to opera, ensured his music education at the short-lived Choron School at the Paris Conservatoire, networking with Church officials through her influence with Abbé Dumarsais. Listed in the 1849 Almanach du Commerce under Professeurs de Musique (page 618), Professor Victoire secured her son's first professional post at Le Séminaire des Missions Étrangères de Paris in 1843 after he completed his three-year Prix de Rome tenure in Rome studying Palestrina and nine months in Vienna studying Bach. See Figure 6.3. The Missions Étrangères parish chapel 'possessed a mediocre organ; four singers of two basses, a tenor, and a choirboy' to whom Gounod resolutely introduced Palestrina and Bach.50

His 'venerated' mother secured his future in 1843, albeit a humble one on an annual salary of 1,200 francs.51 Sharing accommodation with his mother and several priests, including former music colleague, Abbé Gay, reigned Gounod's desire to join the priesthood, dispelling his mother's fears that Father Lacordaire would convert him to the Dominicans. Meanwhile, she advised against affiliating with his tenor friend, Alexis Dupont, whose republican sympathies she suspected would bring him trouble, and which they did.52 Nevertheless, Gounod began his studies as a lay priest in late 1847, which he abandoned in March of the following year. One must acknowledge her role in encouraging his status-marriage, his anti-republicanism, his snubbing of Madame Viardot, and his career manoeuvres up until her death on 16 January 1858. Gounod's greatest success arose one year later with his opera, Faust, after he resigned from l’Orphéon and secured Madame Carvalho as his new mentor and who sang the lead soprano role of Marguerite for the opera staged at the her husband's venue, the Théâtre-Lyrique.

Mendelssohn's married sister, Fanny Henzel (Hensel), 'a remarkable pianist' and friend to Pauline Viardot who detested Georges Sand, played a key role in influencing Gounod's sacred Germanesque compositional style.53 They first met in Rome in 1841 when she introduced him to


50 Tiersot, “Charles Gounod,” 421 and see Gounod, Mémoires, 38.

51 Harding, Gounod, 51. Le Séminaire des Missions Étrangères (Foreign Missions) was a secular church for foreign missionaries of all nationalities, which accepted lay and non-denominational priests.

52 Tiersot, “Charles Gounod,” 419. Dupont died in poverty during the Third Republic, abandoned by his republican friends because he aligned himself to the Second Empire along with Gounod.

53 Gounod, Mémoires, 130–132.
Bach’s compositions, and two years later in Berlin in 1843 upon his return to Paris after completing his Prix de Rome tenure, writing a letter of introduction to Mendelssohn who he visited in Leipzig.\textsuperscript{54} Discussing France’s sacred music compositional legacies from Italy (Palestrina) and Germany (Bach, Mozart and Beethoven), and rivalries between these schools at the Paris Conservatoire, Gounod reveals, ‘Palestrina et Bach étaient mes dieux [Palestrina and Bach became my gods].’\textsuperscript{55} His Palestrina-inspired operatic rendition of \textit{Ave Maria} based on a Roman Catholic Latin text over a Lutheran accompaniment of a Bach Prelude composed with Zimmermann, exemplified his dedication to Palestrina, Bach, the voice, and God, in the blending of French, German, and Italian genres.

Only through the famous mezzo-soprano, Pauline Viardot, ‘Godmother of his career,’ could Gounod have débuted at the Paris Opéra on 16 April 1851, and then at Covent Garden in July. Having left the priesthood two weeks into the 1848 Revolution, the unemployed Gounod met with his violinist friend, François Seghers in 1849, who arranged a meeting with Pauline, who promptly persuaded him to accompany her and her husband to England during the winter of 1850. Their performances of his sacred compositions met with favourable press reviews, and his operatic career began the moment she uttered, ‘Mais, monsieur Gounod, pourquoi n’écrivez-vous pas un opéra? (But, Mr Gounod, why not compose an opera?).’\textsuperscript{56} Viardot’s husband was a passionate Republican while her Russian ‘nihilist’ lover, Turgenev, was a Republican and a suspected Communist who had served time in jail as a revolutionary. Her connections in Paris, London, Germany, and Russia with prominent managers, artists (Berlioz, Chopin, Liszt, Scribe, Meyerbeer, Perrin, Sand, Alfred de Musset), and political activists like Sand made her a formidable artistic and political force that ensured Gounod’s success under the Republic.\textsuperscript{57}

During 1850 while preparing his début opera, \textit{Sapho}, Gounod and his mother resided with Turgenev at Courtavenal, using its salon, \textit{Théâtre des Pommes de Terre}, where he wrote more

\textsuperscript{54} Gounod, \textit{Mémoires}, 156–161.

\textsuperscript{55} See Tiersot, “Charles Gounod,” 438 and Gounod, \textit{Mémoires}, IV, Le Retour. L’Association refers to innumerable renditions of this popular hymn by Cherubini, Schubert, and Franc but particularly to Gounod’s French operatic version: ‘enchanteresse de Mlle Nilsson dans l’\textit{Ave Maria} de Gounod’ in 1869. In the 1918 edition of \textit{Neue Zeitschrift für Musik} the author reported of Gounod’s \textit{Ave Maria} that, ‘In Germany, it is likely his rape of Bach’s first prelude will remain unforgiven from beyond the grave.’ ['In Deutschland, dürfte ihm seine Vergewaltigung von Bachs erstem Präludium über das Grab hinaus unverziehen bleiben.'].

\textsuperscript{56} Gounod, \textit{Mémoires}, 177.

\textsuperscript{57} Pauline’s crush on her piano teacher, Liszt who wrote her seven letters, lasted a long time. She met Camille Saint-Saëns in 1849 and sustained a long friendship with him after her fallout with Gounod.
than 250 pages of letters to Viardot as she performed in Germany, Italy, and London. Upon returning to Paris, Pauline launched his operatic career at the Paris Opéra, secured via her guarantee to Nestor Roqueplan that she would star as the lead role, *Sapho*, ensuring he overrode Opéra protocols of prohibiting débuting unknown composers. Was this God opening the way for Gounod? Abandoning this status relationship with Viardot to secure a status-marriage under the Empire proved beneficial for Gounod.

Anna Zimmerman was the key to Gounod’s long-term professional survival with status circles in Paris, where marriages, and as Weber observes, the ‘monopolisation of potential bridegrooms’ were paramount for success. Undoubtedly, like Professor Zimmerman, Gounod’s mother, and his mother-in-law, Gounod foresaw the value of a Zimmermann-Gounod union despite his initial repugnance. Omitting particulars in his *Mémoires* about his fall-out with Viardot and his puzzling relationship with the Zimmermanns whom he often joked about with her, Gounod is transparent about the fortuitous consequences of marrying Anna, which this thesis establishes as 20 April 1852. The status-marriage aligned him to Napoleon III and the inner-sanctum of the Empire through Zimmermann’s brother-in-law, Dr Pigache, Napoleon’s physician, who had married Anna’s older sister, Zéa. Mrs Weldon observed in February 1871, upon meeting Gounod, Madame Gounod, his mother-in-law, Madame Hortense Zimmermann, and their family priest, Abbé Boudier (vicar of St. Cloud), during their self-imposed exile in England that Gounod had married the ‘ugly, little old brown woman’ because—in Sir Julien Benedict’s words—’she had a

58 The BNF holds 250 pages of his precisely catalogued handwritten missives although pages 7 and 8 are missing. See http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53050146g/f248.image.r=Lettres%20de%20Charles%20Gounod%20Pauline%20Viardot (accessed 29 October 2015). Turgenev’s reactions to the ‘love triangle’ relationship between Pauline, himself, and Gounod, are allegedly evident in his plays, *The Diary of a Superfluous Man*, *The Student*, and *A Month in the County*, written while they shared accommodation at Courtavenal. They indicate that Turgenev was inclined to the Mohammedan faith perhaps challenging Gounod’s approach to the Christian faith. See Patrick Waddington, “Turgenev and Gounod: rival strangers in the Viardots’ country nest (Part I),” *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, No. 2 (1976), Australia and New Zealand Slavists’ Assoc., 11–32.

59 Roqueplan certainly did not offer such an exception for Berlioz. Viardot did not sing all six performances, instead, sharing half with the Opéra cover, Masson. On the third night, there was a late addition of a ballet composed by violinist conductor, Edouard Deldevez. To understand how important Viardot was to securing Gounod’s early success as an opera composer, and see FitzLyon, *The Price of Genius*, Chapter XIII.


61 Some say May, others June. Professor Zimmermann had been Gounod’s piano teacher at the Conservatoire.

62 The significance and timing of his marriage and snubbing of the Viardots, is best understood in light of political alignments, as feasibly Gounod benefitted from politically nesting with Napoleon.
fortune and a position, which he had not.' This observation tends to confirm perceptions of Gounod's opportunism. Tiersot also comments:

He married, allying himself with a family whose head was a well-known professor in the Conservatoire, so that he was again, smoothly launched on the stream of secular artistry. Being no longer a maître de chapelle, he accepted the post of director of the municipal l'Orphéon; as such, he still wrote choruses for men's voices, and opportunity was not lacking for controversy on one or the other hand.64

A microanalysis of Gounod's actions surrounding his marriage clarifies his willingness to adopt deceptive behaviour—instrumentally rational action. Secured with a stable income as director of l'Orphéon, having launched his career as an opera composer, Gounod turned his hand to composing a short music drama, Ulysse. Unflatteringly and inaccurately, he noted in his Mémoires that his tragedy for fourteen choruses at the Théâtre-Français (Comédie-Français) on 18 June 1852 under Offenbach's baton in collaboration with protégés Bizet and Saint-Saëns, had been preceded by his marriage: 'I had just married a few days earlier, a daughter of Zimmermann.'65 He is either careful to disguise the true date or the event was simply unremarkable. His seemingly loveless marriage may have supplied the ingredients for multiple rumours of his feminine intrigues. Regardless, through Zimmermann's lobbying, Gounod had been welcomed onto l'Association committee at the General Assembly meeting in May 1852, replacing the nominated Battu: Zimmermann immediately retired from activities, as noted in Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris.66 Gounod's compositions promptly appeared on many concert programs along with Zimmermann's for l'Association and Society of Saint-Cecile. In 1853, l'Association acknowledges 'Director Gounod' as singing the male solo with l'Orphéon for his composition, Messe aux Orphéonistes, on 12 June at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.67 Zimmermann opened all of Paris to Gounod and especially, Revue et Gazette whose owners, Schlesinger and

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64 Tiersot, "Charles Gounod," 423.
65 'Je venais d’épouser, quelques jours auparavant, une fille de Zimmerman.' See Gounod, Mémoires, 191. London's Musical Times, July 1, 1866 is unflattering of Gounod's concerts staged in England. 'Whether a Gounod evening can attract a London audience without the additional stimulus of its being in aid of a charity remains still an open question, [and] should not lead us to find apologies for what is bad. . . .[W]e trust that M. Gounod' music, if it do not enrich the art, may at least enrich the funds of that excellent charity.' See The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular, Vol. 12, No. 281 (Jul. 1, 1866), 332. See The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular, Vol. 12, No. 283 (Sep. 1, 1866), 363–365. 'How is it that Schumann's music has been played and applauded at the most popular concerts, whilst the "Gounod nights"— although enriching the funds of an excellent Charity—have been obviously artistic failures?'
66 See l'Association, 1852, 77 and RGM, 30 May 1852, 181.
67 See l'Association, 1854, 41 confirming Prod’homme and Dandelot, Gounod, Vol. 1, 145.
Brandus, along with its many critics, had joined *l'Association*, and assigned special weekly columns in support of *l'Orphéon* and *l'Association*. After that, Gounod featured in the *Gazette*: acknowledged for *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Ave Verum*, Maurice Bourges's two critiques on *Sapho*, and advertised his imminent *Ulysses*. Gounod was untouchable! His relationship with fellow committee member and advisor on *Ulysses*, Berlioz, seemed to cool suddenly under the Empire.

Another turning point for Gounod came with his meeting with status opera singer, Madame Carvalho in 1856, arranged through his long-term librettist friends, Jules Barbier and Michel Carré. Like Viardot, Madame Carvalho was an international artist but unlike Viardot, did not display strong political alliances. She is directly responsible for *Faust*’s success. Prized for coloratura bel-canto roles *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Hamlet*, and *Les Huguenots*, Carvalho, like Gounod, had studied voice at the Paris Conservatoire with Duprez. At the time, she was one of Paris’s most famous sopranos and wife to impresario, Léon Carvalho, director of *Opéra-Comique*. During the year his mother died, Gounod and the Carvalhos had been working tirelessly on the ‘audacious’ project to launch a French singspiel-styled opera based on the classic *Faustus*, to premiere at the Théâtre-Lyrique under her husband’s management in March 1859. Madame Carvalho, in partnership with her husband (comparable with Viardot and her husband), ensured the opera’s success by offering advice on the music, dialogue, drama, staging, production, and by performing the lead role. As usual, Gounod downplays her and her husband’s contributions to *Faust’s* remarkable triumph in Paris and London that launched his spectacular career. Following the lucrative venture, Carvalho performed four more of Gounod’s operas at the Théâtre-Lyrique, which collapsed with the Franco-Prussian War and Second Empire demise upon Napoleon’s capture on 2 September 1870. Due to *Faust’s* international success, Gounod reworked the spoken dialogue into sung recitatives and tacked on a compulsory ballet for its Paris Opéra début in 1869, and the myriad of performances that followed.

A born-again imperialist, Gounod escaped the war in Paris within the week of Napoleon’s capture, arriving in Liverpool on 13 September 1870, and then travelling to London where he

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68 Composers of these operas were Gaetano Donizetti, Ambroise Thomas, and Giacomo Meyerbeer.

69 Barbier and Carré became his long-term friends.

70 The Seveste brothers directed the theatre from 1851 to 1854, and then (Émile) Perrin and Pellegrin (1854–1856), Carvalho (1856–1860) and (1862–1868), Réty (1860–1862) and finally, Pasdeloup (1868–1870) when it closed.

71 The soprano often determines an opera’s fate. Verdi had problems launching the Venetian première of *la Traviata* in 1853 because an obese soprano played the role of a thin consumptive Violetta. It triumphed at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1864 featuring the thin Christina Nilsson who made for a convincing Marguerite for Gounod’s *Faust* at the Paris Opéra.

met yet another singer with a compliant husband, Mrs Georgina Weldon: his perfect ‘Mimi.’ This well-connected English socialite, charity-worker, ardent admirer, alleged lover, and personal advisor soon became his house-slave, nursing him through poor health episodes and seizures for three years.\(^{73}\) She secured his social position in England, consolidating opportunities that Viardot had opened. Weldon, whose admiration for Gounod originated with *Faust*, recalls meeting the ‘strange mortal’ on 26 February 1871 at Sir Julien Benedict’s house, again at a rehearsal and soirée, claiming her singing caused the entire Gounod-Zimmermann family to weep.\(^ {74}\) She offers vivid accounts of ‘Madame Gounod’s jealousy,’ the family’s preoccupation with money, discussions about how she would facilitate their opportunities in England through her social networks, Abbé Boudier soliciting for charity: ‘The question of £ s. d. was a never-ending topic of conversation.’\(^ {75}\) Gounod praised her ‘extraordinary’ voice that he saw befitted his opera, *Polyeucte* (libretto by Jules Barbier and Michel Carré). Weldon, believing the ‘old man’ was filled with the same ‘holy ardour’ like herself, claimed he had ‘allied himself to me [her] for the avowed purpose of helping me [her] carrying out this [her] work.’\(^ {76}\) She was wrong.

The ‘Gounodyssey played out’ at Tavistock House in England for three years starting on 19 June 1871 when he suddenly moved in after fighting with his ‘demon’ wife and mother-in-law who both returned to France.\(^ {77}\) His stay was full of flights of religious ecstasy, melodrama, sanctity, steam baths, madness, tears, smoking, spitting, directives, nicknaming, co-dependency, scandal, gossip, and dog loathing. Georgina Weldon claims she ‘slaved’ for him, especially regarding their involvement with the ‘Gounod Choir’ at Albert Hall during the spring of 1872; a choir she claims she founded for his benefit. Gounod, puffing cigars and sniffing snuff, wore her ‘husband’s cast-off coats’ and ‘jackets’ until they were ‘threadbare’ while professing ‘I haven’t a farthing’?\(^ {78}\) Years of poverty seemed never to have left him, even though Zimmermann had bequeathed him his St Cloud property in 1853.\(^ {79}\) Gounod had married well, tapped the socio-political networks, earned a fortune, and saved his Saint-Cloud house from destruction during the 1871 Siege utilising ‘embarrassing’ connections via the Crown Prince of Prussia. Gounod was a consummate survivor that manoeuvred himself into sanctums of power. Nonetheless, his wife still blamed him for his ‘spendthrift ways’ and lack of business acumen. Records from the Paris Opéra archives (Théâtre

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\(^{73}\) See Weldon, *My Orphanage*, Chapter 1.

\(^{74}\) See Weldon, *My Orphanage*, 38–40.

\(^{75}\) See Harding, *Gounod*, 156, whose account conflicts with Weldon’s in *My Orphanage*, 43.

\(^{76}\) See Weldon, *My Orphanage*, Preface, 4 and see *Friendship*, 41.

\(^{77}\) See Harding, *Gounod*, Chapter XII. Harding’s account of Weldon and Gounod’s relationship is hilarious.

\(^{78}\) Harding, 182 and see Weldon, *My Orphanage*, *Friendship*, 50.

\(^{79}\) Prod’homme, *Gounod*, 149; ‘Par la mort de son beau-père, Gounod héritait de la propriété de Saint-Cloud.’
Impérial renamed National in September 1870) show that in Article 18 of the mandatory Budget Reports, Gounod continued to reap income from Faust while exiled in England. In the first week of August 1871, Société des Artistes de l’Opéra allocated commissions to Gounod of 500 francs plus 250 each for the librettists, Barbier and Carré, for Faust. His gross revenue approached 6,000 francs that year. See Table 6.2. He successfully prosecuted Charles Lang Hutchings, Francis Romer, and George Wood for their use of his compositions in a court case in England 1872, upholding the principle of sovereignty over his published works.80

Table 6.2 Extract of royalties paid to librettists and composers by the Paris Opéra (1–7 August 1871).

Of the 1,850 francs payable in royalties in August 1791 from Théâtre National de l’Opéra (the Imperial letterhead scratched out), the Opéra allocated 1,000 to Faust—500 to Gounod and 250 each to librettists Carré and Barbier—demonstrating that composers and librettists earn income in absentia while performers do not.81 Others paid include Scribe, Auber, and Halévy.

80 See Gounod v Hutchings (C 16/793/G140) and Gounod v Wood (C 16/793/G146) at The National Archives, London.

81 See AJ/13/446, Société des Artistes, allocations to Auteurs et Compositeurs, ANF.
The 1870 war and 1871 Commune uprising under the republic became pivotal events for Gounod who had sought refuge in England until his temporary return to Paris in November 1871 and permanently in mid-1874. Weldon visited Paris with Gounod as the soloist for his oratorio, *Gallia* (first launched in England), staged in affiliation with *l’Association* for the reopening of the Paris Conservatoire on 29 October 1871, twice at the Opéra-Comique and then at Gounod’s former chapel, *Le Séminaire des Missions Étrangérés*, on 22 November 1871. The concerts demonstrated Gounod’s power to muster support after an almost two-year’s absence, while ensuring *Gallia*’s success through political timing for his re-entry into Paris using *l’Association*’s massive social networks, by appealing to the heightened emotions circulating after the war and Commune.82 From 1871 to 1874, Weldon and *l’Association* served his purposes amidst tirades of gossip and innuendo about his dalliances with her. During the meeting on 30 May 1872 at the ‘Grande Hall of the National Conservatoire of Music and Declamation,’ *l’Association* committee members discussed the success of annual Saint-Cécile concert staged on 22 November 1871 at Saint-Eustache Church, acknowledging Mme Weldon’s singing of Gounod’s *messe solennelle* and *Gallia*.83 They discussed France’s disasters—‘sur les désastres de la patrie’—portrayed in his Latin text on the ‘lamentation de Jérémie’ uniting the performers from all the theatres in Paris, raising 7,679 francs 45 cents, and read his letter of appreciation written after the concert.84

Gounod had posted his flowery missive from Weldon’s house in England before his family doctor rescued him in 1874. Three years after his return to Paris, *l’Association* acknowledges Gounod as their ‘illustre maître et vice-président honoraire’ in June 1877, after he had received the Commander rank of the *Legion d’honneur*. The cooperative relationship between Weldon and Gounod continued after they returned to England when in his stead, she returned to Paris in 1873 to monitor the début of his new opera, *Jeanne d’Arc*, directed by Offenbach at his new venue, *Théâtre de la Gaîté*. It premiered on 8 November 1873, which *Revue et Gazette Musicale* had been advertising since April.85 Gounod, accused of being ‘derivative and not growing as a composer,’ failed to impress the critic, Adolphe Jullien, who listed him among the inferior composers of melodrama.86 Offenbach, as a member of *l’Association* since 1856, had shared in the winnings of their opera competition. However, he received praise for his quality production and for daring to stage a work that other theatres would not. Although not a significant musical

82 See *l’Association*, 1872, 36. See Gounod’s letter concerning *Gallia*, omitting any acknowledgment of Mrs Weldon.

83 See *l’Association*, 1872, 36.

84 See *l’Association*, 1872, 36.


entrance to Paris for Gounod, it hit the right religious and nationalistic nerves following his Gallia and opera, Polyeucte, composed as a tribute to the deceased Emperor Napoleon. The opera was successful enough for Gounod to return to Paris and his wife, while escaping Weldon, and thereafter, bitter battles began. Weldon's husband wrote to Gounod in Paris, 20 June 1874, lamenting about his wife's dismal condition after their fallout. The formidable Weldon submits that she had persuaded Gounod to refuse the post as Director of the Paris Conservatoire made vacant after Salvatore Daniel's execution. Furthermore, she fostered his royal, social, and musical connections during his stay in England after he suffered a royal snub at a performance of his Te Deus dedicated to Queen Victoria, at St Pauls Cathedral in 1872. See Figure 6.4.

It seems that Gounod had successfully ingratiated himself with the Queen and the royal family: Prince Leopold requesting he compose a March for his wedding in April 1882. Weldon's husband, like Viardot's husband, and to a lesser extent Carvalho's husband, presented a united 'household' front to the world despite the rumours of his wife's romantic intrigue with Gounod. He permitted him to live with them and like Louis Viardot, wrote conciliatory letters requesting he reconcile with Pauline. During this time, Gounod reconciled with his exiled friend, Madame Viardot, maintaining their relationship upon his return under the Third Republic, as Weldon sued Gounod for a fortune lost, but never recovered.

In 1874, France firmly established under the Republic, Gounod’s physician, Dr Blanch, ‘rescued’ him from the Weldons after another nervous breakdown, sending him off to the familiar Passy clinic in Paris, severing contact with Tavistock House. His position secured, no longer needful of Weldon, now reunited with Paris, his property and estranged wife, Gounod resumed his career-relationship with l’Association and the new republic. Fully recovered in 1875, his national anthem obsolete, he retained his mystique and reputation as a state-honoured opera composer enriched with old-world social skills, a philanthropist, and diplomat, having transitioned five revolutions and three authority-types virtually unscathed. A seemingly born-again republican,

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87 Gounod left England on 6 June 1874 after a mental break down. See Prod’homme and Dandelot, "Gounod," Vol. II, Ch. XIV, and see Weldon, My Orphanage, Preface, x.

88 Weldon, My Orphanage, Friendship, 53–54. She claims to possess the documents in support.

89 As was his custom, Gounod tended not to refer to women by name in his letters to others.

90 See Weldon, My Orphanage, iii.
he remained true only to his music having secured fame and fortune through others via instrumentally rational calculated action. A *Musical Times* tribute to Gounod upon his death in 1893 encapsulates England’s regard for this French composer whose story concerning Madame Viardot has remained somewhat of an enigma.

He sang exquisitely; he was a brilliant conversationalist, a fine scholar, a most suggestive and witty writer, and a master of the art of irony and badinage. Gounod was not a genius of the inaccessible order.91

**Madame Pauline Viardot: Republican and Communist Sympathiser**

Spanish-born Pauline Viardot-García was famous before she was born. She was the daughter of the renowned baritone, Manuel del Popolo Vincente García (1775–1832), sister to the vocal pedagogue, Manuel Patricio García (1805–1906), and sister to the celebrated soprano, Maria Félicité García (Maria Malibran). She became the wife of the Paris entrepreneur and director of the Théâtre-Italien and Théâtre-Lyrique, Louis Viardot (1800–1883), and was, by all accounts, an ugly woman with a phenomenal mezzo-soprano voice. Pauline was famous by association before she began her career, making her social début at the renowned Paris Salon of Madame Caroline Jaubert and her operatic début in Paris at the Théâtre-Italien where she met her future husband, Louis Viardot, a man twenty one-years her senior. He surrendered his directorship to become her impresario. Accordingly, she married into the Parisian theatre world and became a French citizen in 1840. To all appearances, Pauline held the dominant role in her marriage, possibly attributable to her pre-existing fame and the nature of her vocation before marrying Viardot, although she had become the primary provider. She wore the pants on stage and offstage. Her wealth, status, and vocal lineage transcended gender and household issues as she co-existed with a supportive husband who unswervingly presented a united front to the world, upholding their 'household' status and reputation for survival and dominance.

Her rightful place in French vocal and compositional history has remained ambiguous, possibly due to her long absences from Paris or perhaps 'her country had forsaken her' because she was not French-born.92 Up until 1852, evidence indicates that the upper-middle-class García family had not suffered hardships from revolutions in France until President Napoleon delivered the first blow in 1851 followed by Gounod in May 1852. In 1789, Pauline's father was in Madrid, he moved to Naples in 1814–1815 after Napoleon's troops exited, and then travelled to Paris, New

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92 Waddington, “Viardot-Garcia as Berlioz’s Counsel[or] and Physician,” 398. After retiring and moving to Baden-Baden from 1864 until 1874, Pauline composed over fifty lieder and three salon operas for her students: *Trop de femmes* (1867), *L’ogre* (1868), *Le dernier sorcier* (1869), *Le conte de fees* (1879), and *Cendrillon* (1904).
York, and on to Mexico during the 1820s and 1830s. As a child, Pauline learned of the 1830 Revolution while she lived in Vienna. Returning to Paris to study at the Paris Conservatoire with Professors Reicha and Zimmermann, Pauline formed friendships with Liszt, Chopin, George Sand, Clara Schumann, and Robert Schumann, before marrying Louis Viardot. Her international profile developed during the 1840s, after her operatic début in London in 1839 through Rossini’s influence. She toured Europe and performed in the opera houses of Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Madrid, and St Petersburg in 1843 where she met the somewhat impoverished revolutionary communist suspect, Turgenev, who became her lover and regular houseguest.

As one of Liszt’s private students, Pauline was an exceptional pianist, organist, and composer fluent in French, Italian, German, and Russian and one of Europe’s rare feminine talents like the opera diva, Sophie Gail (1775–1819), pianist, Marie Pleyel (Camille Moke)—famed for her Pleyel-Wolf salons—composer-pianists, Fanny Mendelssohn/Henzel (1805–1847) and Clara Schumann (1819–1896). Armed with an exceptional vocal pedigree and many international professional networks, she attracted suitors from the male-dominated world of opera unobstructed by her compliant husband. Her status-alliances with artists, royalty, politicians, directors, and entrepreneurs in the opera circuits of Europe brought her honour and respect. She gathered distinction for her philanthropic enterprises in developing the musical talents of Europe, but reasons for her anonymity in Paris remain puzzling.

Gender issues related to power and success do not feature strongly in Weber’s work, which is an aspect relevant to Viardot who broke with the traditional role models for women in France. ‘Weber was by no means anti-feminist’ but often ascribes traditional stereotype roles to women as slaves, domestic servants, maternal groupings, members of households ‘based on the man’s absence’ such as those found in Sparta, or ‘normal households’ with men dominating the economic, political, and personal interrelationships. Differentiating the ‘two types of authority’ of ‘households’ (traditional and personal); Weber explains that ‘loyalty’ between the weak and strong forms the relationship glue that sustains their solidarity against the world. One authority is ‘derived from superior strength’ of leaders and another ‘from practical knowledge and


94 See notes from the editor in Weber, *Economy and Society*, 354. Weber supported his wife’s stance for women and often entered into lawsuits in the 1910s in her defence. ‘He also helped Else von Richthofen, his first female doctorate candidate, to become the first female factory inspector in the state of Baden in 1900.’
experience’ of the family preferentially ascribed to men. He introduces ancient concepts of patriarchal and matriarchal (‘Mutterrecht’) households and ‘household communism’ while examining ancien regime monarchy households dominated by kings. Like Rousseau, Weber concludes that ‘natural’ physical inequalities led to the dominance of men over women. Such a ‘natural’ order did not exist in the Viardot household. Professional stratifications had inferred that women were inferior musicians and inferior in all matters, although this did not apply to Pauline as the household provider with her husband playing the subordinate supportive role. Regardless, Weber’s ideas of a pure ‘household authority’ and issues of gender roles necessitate that all parties adhere to the ‘principle of solidarity in facing the outside world’ for survival.

Such was apparent in Louis’s behaviour who maintained ‘solidarity’ with his wife despite her affair with Turgenev, intrigues with Gounod, and rumours about the legitimacy of her child.

Female opera performers in Paris transcended the traditionally stereotyped stigmas attached to women working for a living, which seem to have resulted from the Paris Opéra’s preference for female voices over the Italian castrati due to the status associated with the profession. Women often earned equal or better salaries than men. The wealth-potential, glamour, élite alliances, and charismatic splendour added to their allure. Viardot often sang ‘pants-roles’ in London, such as Gluck’s Armida and Orfeo, which impressed Queen Victoria and the music critic, Henry Chorley, who she befriended. While Viardot lived in Paris, her husband and their friend, Sand, founded the socialist journal, La Revue Indépendante, in 1847 that actively campaigned against Napoleon for the republican cause of hoping to secure a place in the new cabinet. Nevertheless, he won the elections, which forced politically active republicans including Pauline to leave Paris in 1848 although she had secured performance opportunities in London, Germany, and Russia. Meanwhile, ‘through her [Thursday] Salon, she helped to launch the careers of Camille Saint-Säens, Jules Massenet, Gabriel Fauré, and Charles Gounod’ promoting compositions by Chopin, Liszt, Tchaikovsky, Brahms and Wagner, offering long-term admirer, Berlioz, a sanctuary in his darkest hours. For the Viardots, 1848 represented a triumphant year and inspired Pauline to

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95 Weber, Economy and Society, Chapter IV and 356–360.

96 The same applies to Madame Carvalho, Mrs Weldon, and Queen Victoria as protagonists in Gounod’s career. Alfred de Musset pursued Pauline but George Sand convinced her to marry Viardot as he offered her financial and musical stability. See Rachel M. Harris, The Music Salon of Pauline Viardot: Featuring Her Salon Opera ‘Cendrillon’ (PhD dissertation, Louisiana State University, May 2005, 6.

97 See Weber, Economy and Society, 359.

98 Harris, The Music Salon of Pauline Viardot, 1. In 1839 Meyerbeer introduced Pauline Viardot to Richard Wagner in September 1839, who wrote her letters in 1861, 1869, and 1896, mentioning Tannhäuser, Liszt, Madame Kalergis, Bülow, and Berlioz while praising her as a ‘truly artistic’ performer. He accredits the public for his operatic successes
compose a new Republican National Anthem for France when the February Revolution broke while they were in Germany. Viardot temporarily returned to Paris in March 1848, happy in the knowledge that her closest friend, George Sand, politically well placed under the new Republic, would influence matters through her connections while her husband’s aspiration as a keen republican to join the National Assembly seemed imminent.

Commemorating the new regime, Pauline composed *La Jeune République*, a ‘chant national’ for soprano—sung by the republican tenor, Pierre Dupont, in her absence—featuring a woman’s chorus of fifty girls from the Paris Conservatoire conducted by the chief of the Paris Opéra orchestra, M. Girard. Pauline intended the anthem to replace *la Marseillaise* (see her commenting that little real musical intelligence exits amongst musicians of his time. See Wagner, R. “Letters from Wagner to Pauline Viardot,” trans. Millar Craig, *The Musical Times*, Vol. 68, No. 1008 (Feb 1, 1927), 137–139.

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autograph score in Example 6.1) and it premiered at the Opéra (Théâtre de la République) in her absence on 6 April 1848 for which Georges Sand wrote the prologue. Critics from Gazette Musicale described the joyful event attended by Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Albert, Armand Marrast, Carnot, and other republican dignitaries. Nevertheless, she attracted criticism for daring to compose a national anthem and staging the performance at the Opéra.

That year, Revue et Gazette Musicale featured articles on ‘Pauline Viardot-Garcia’ as a performer of Spanish songs and international opera singer of excellent ‘reputation and immense success in Russia, Vienna, Berlin’ ['réputation et les immenses succès en Russie, à Vienne et à Berlin'] and London without acknowledging her French citizenship. During that time, she became a prolific composer of an estimated 450 songs (in French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Russian), ensembles, piano solos, salon operas, and arrangements of compositions by Gounod, Schubert, Meyerbeer, and Chopin. Two of the 1848 Revolutions brought changes for Pauline’s brother, Manuel Garcia, who celebrated the new French Republic in his letter to her, 19 May 1848, which opened with Viva la République! He describes the ‘stupefaction,’ ‘terror,’ and ‘exultation’ of the failed second uprising in Paris on 15 May when Vicomte de Courtais, General of the Paris National Guard, refused to lead his troops against the republican demonstrators at l’Hotel de Ville. He recounts vivid details of revolutionary activities while mentioning Lamartine, Louis Blanc, and Sand. Turgenev kept them informed of the developments in Paris during the ‘June Days Uprising’ with over 10,000 people killed or injured prompting Napoleon to emerge from his exile in London on 4 June 1848 to become President and an elected member of the National Assembly. The news meant that ‘Louis Viardot and George Sand saw their political dreams crumbling.’ The implications of this did not affect Pauline until 1852, when talent and politics clashed with music in the form of Gounod.

composed Marche militaire (Militärmarsch) dedicated to the Queen of Prussia. Dupont was a keen republican and his friendship with Gounod saw him convert to imperialism for which he suffered under the Third Republic.

101 See RGM, 1848, 114.


Nevertheless, Turgenev awaited Pauline’s return to Courtenal in the middle of August 1848 to a France ruled by President Napoleon after her triumphant London season in La Sonnambula, I Capuletti, Don Giovanni, Les Huguenots, and débuting her transcriptions of Chopin’s Mazurkas. Her fame and fortune remained untouched by the revolution.\(^\text{105}\) She returned to prepare for the Opéra’s summer season from September 1848 to May 1849. After almost a five-year absence from Paris, Pauline had clinched a contract to sing the lead role in Meyerbeer’s Le Prophète at the Opéra launching her sensational success in Paris and then in London despite the opera’s failure. On 30 September, Pauline paid 75,000 francs for her second property—16 rue de Douai—near the Opéra. Scholars assert that regardless of her enviable international profile, her published compositions, operatic esteem, celebrated Thursday salons, and Sunday matinees, her ‘bizarre nature’ and rivalry with the radiantly beautiful soprano, Madame Grisi, meant that ‘Paris, as a whole, had not accepted her.’\(^\text{106}\) Issues of non-acceptance may also relate to her absenteeism and her anti-Napoléon Republican alliances, noting that her republican brother, Manuel Garcia, was ‘de-commissioned’ from the Paris Conservatoire soon after the coup after nine years of service—his political passions are evident in his thirty-one letters to her in Spanish and French.\(^\text{107}\) By 1849, with Napoleon as President ‘certainly, her husband’s affiliations and her friendship with George Sand had had a disastrous effect on her career.’\(^\text{108}\) The Viardots left Paris for the London opera season in April 1851 and stayed at Maida Vale, Pauline performed at Covent Garden, attended operas, met with French refugees, and performed Berlioz and Chopin’s songs.

The 1851 December coup sealed Pauline’s fate in Paris in part way due to Gounod. The status-group closures against her caused her significant grief and limited her success in Paris under the Second Empire. May 1852 was a turning point for her through the influence of the Zimmermann family. It appears that survival for Gounod, after his marriage to Anna Zimmermann and the imperial regime, meant his snubbing Pauline, despite her having ‘accomplished more for Gounod than perhaps any of her other rising musicians.’\(^\text{109}\) During the previous year, she had comforted

\(^\text{105}\) Berlioz praised Pauline’s singing in Journal des Débats, regardless of the opera’s lack of success. For critiques by Berlioz, Janin, and Mérys on Le Prophète (dubbed awful Prophète), its reception, Viardot’s performance and the ‘vain, secretive’ Meyerbeer, see FitzLyon, The Price of Genius, 236–246.

\(^\text{106}\) FitzLyon, The Price of Genius, 130.


Gounod when his brother died, provided him and his mother with free accommodation, and then launched his operatic career in Paris and London by sheer force of her celebrity and status. His *Sapho*, while not a success at the Paris Opéra, premiered at Covent Garden on 9 August 1851 through her influence, after which Gounod blamed her poor singing for its lack of success. An early example of Gounod's calculated action concerning career and money matters reveals itself in his letter to his 'dearest good friend' Turgenev in late June 1850. He wrote, 'there is nothing really good in this world except being good to other people' and enclosed an outstanding laundry bill for 8 francs and 55 centimes for payment.\(^{110}\) Gounod and the Viardots had returned to Paris in mid-September when she had not been feeling well, and soon after, Gounod and his mother moved from Courtavenal. Following a scandalous police raid at Viardot's house, initiated by President Napoleon's officials, Pauline and her husband left Paris for Scotland, returning seven months later for the birth of her second child.

Regardless of whether *Sapho* was a success or not, something 'untoward' seems to have happened in London during late July/early August 1851, which remains the focus of speculation as to whether the baby born on 20–21 May 1852, was her husband's, Turgenev's, or Gounod's. FitzLyon believes that Turgenev may have 'snuck' into London from Russia to see Pauline for the *Sapho* London début, but this is difficult to substantiate. Turgenev maintained a paternal interest in baby Claudie (Didie) her entire life, advising his friend, Ludwig Pietsch, he 'would certainly never have given his consent' to her marrying in 1874 if her husband was not suitable.\(^{111}\) By 1 May 1852, the Russian officials had arrested Turgenev, meanwhile Gounod had married into the Zimmermann family and thus, the Empire. According to FitzLyon, during April, Gounod announced to Pauline 'his forthcoming marriage and nomination as Director of the Orphéon.'\(^{112}\) Either Gounod withheld the date of his marriage or biographers err on the date, which, according to his biographer, Prod'homme, took place around 20 April 1852 ['Le mariage eut lieu vers le 20 avril.'].\(^{113}\) Gounod is also cautiously vague about the date in his *Mémoires*—perhaps demonstrating his cunning.


\(^{111}\) FitzLyon, *The Price of Genius*, 404.

\(^{112}\) FitzLyon, *The Price of Genius*, 284.

Gounod’s letter to Baron de Veneurve, 11 April 1852, announces his pending marriage while Prod’homme claims that on 17 April 1852 the Leipzig newspaper, Les Signale (Signale für die musikalische Welt), announces he will soon marry (wird sich demnächst . . . vermählen), which took place at a church in Auteuil—the 15th arrondissement of Paris—where his body now lies.¹¹⁴ Some authors claim the date to be 20 April while others just say April. FitzLyon claims that Gounod’s mother ‘coolly’ informed the Viardot’s four or five days after the baby’s birth in May that ‘her son’s marriage was to take place in two or three days’ time.’¹¹⁵ Had Gounod, in league with his mother, staged a ruse? He did not invite them to his wedding as promised, he returned the bracelet Pauline gifted his bride-to-be, and none called on them as promised. Gounod used a calculated secretiveness, deception, feeble excuses, and insults to avoid the Viardots whereas the Zimmermanns remained invisible.

Ary Scheffer and Louis Viardots’ roles in the Gounod saga are admirable in fulfilling Weber’s expectations that, traditionally, dominant parties of household authorities maintain solidarity concerning threats against vulnerable members. At the point, Pauline became vulnerable, so her husband assumed the dominant role. Writing a letter requesting Gounod to account for his actions as ‘the accomplice of an insult addressed to a woman, of whom you should at least respect,’ Louis threatened to ‘close the door against him’ unless he writes a letter of apology to Pauline.¹¹⁶ Gounod (and his mother) remained silent. Viewing the events through Weber’s Verstehen method and theories, Gounod’s marriage into the Zimmermann family had joined him to an ‘interest group’ otherwise a ‘legally privileged group (Rechtsgemeinschaft)’ within the hub of the Second Empire.¹¹⁷ As one of its ‘privileged members’ (Rechtgenossen), he was required to exclude from his company all who challenged the group, i.e., anti-Napoleon republicans like the Viardots. After that, Pauline resumed her salon activities as semi-recluse (see Figure 6.5) while occasionally singing operas or composing. Meanwhile, she attracted Berlioz’s enduring admiration and undying love. Whatever the truth—Weber consistently upholds the principle that ‘honesty is the best policy’—Louis and his good friend, Scheffer, presented a united front to Gounod and Paris, laying to rest rumours about the paternity of the baby and calling Gounod to account for his cowardly evasive calculated actions.

¹¹⁴ Perhaps Gounod did not want to be ‘caught out’ on a lie upon meeting the Viardots after their almost seven month’s absence. ‘Les [sic] Signale, de Leipzig, annonçaient le mariage de Gounod le 17 avril 1852 (page 158).’ Prod’homme & Dandelot, Gounod, Vol. 1, 134 and f.n. 2. See RGM (1935), 153, 110–115 and Signale für die musikalische Welt, 182, 158.


¹¹⁷ See Weber, Economy and Society, 342.
Gounod snubbed Viardot the moment he married Anna Zimmerman. Many scholars blame Anna’s jealousy for this, although prudent judgement arising from Professor Zimmermann and Gounod’s mother would have necessarily protected both families from scandal and political exclusion, given the rumours circulating that Gounod was the father of Pauline’s baby. Adding to speculations in England about Gounod’s thankless indebtedness to the Viardots and his wife’s jealousy, Mrs Weldon asserts that the ‘horrid’ Anna Zimmerman behaved abominably to Viardot: a woman of ‘inestimable value to Gounod; and all those who admire Gounod’s genius owe her a great deal. She was good to Gounod and his mother when they were in want.’

Patrick Waddington takes the position that Turgenev and Gounod, locked in a love triangle with Pauline whose husband did not interfere in these matters, meant that Gounod ‘was forced to abandon suit . . . in the most melodramatic way.’ This idea seems unlikely. Nevertheless, Pauline experienced pain and status-closure from Gounod, the Zimmermanns, imperialists, Empire officials, and Napoleon III. After that, she lived on the political and artistic fringes of Paris.

118 See http://gallica.bnf.fr/m/ark:/12148/btv1b8425570j/fl.item (accessed 22 May 2016).


Bitterly disillusioned after Gounod’s rejection, Pauline wrote to her closest friend, George Sand, about the heartless genius and after that, her circle of republican artist friends—Turgenev, Sand, Liszt, and Berlioz—withdrawed from Gounod.121 Under the Second Empire, Paris seemed to split into two factions with Viardot, Liszt, Berlioz, and Wagner marginalised on one side against the imperialist inner-circle on the other side consisting of Offenbach, Scribe, Meyerbeer, Gounod, and (quietly) Liszt as an occasional visitor to Napoleon’s salon. After leaving Paris, Liszt often wrote to Viardot, Sand, Wagner, and Berlioz—still suffering from the Opéra La nonne sanglante debacle of 1852 and the great imperial snub. These events perhaps explain some animosity towards Gounod after 1856 in alienating him from the composer he had once assisted, but who snubbed the woman for whom he professed his love. Pauline left for Baden-Baden, Germany, in 1863 and she retired from the stage, distancing herself from Berlioz after their success with Orphée. Louis continued to support republicanism, resenting the Empire and Napoleon. She ventured to London in 1853 to perform Gluck's Orfeo, and in 1859 for Berlioz's rendition of Orphée, meeting Lord Dudley in 1860 and Charles Dickens in 1862.122 Her London alliances proved helpful in 1870 when she fled Paris during the war.

The 1870 Franco-Prussian War and Paris Commune had devastating effects for the Viardots as French citizens living in Baden-Baden although German sympathisers, who, like many French nationals fled to England to take refuge in squalid unattractive conditions in Devonshire Street, London, forced to do musical hackwork. Gounod made peace with the Viardots after Pauline helped Empress Eugénie escape France, befriending them while he and Napoleon were in exile. In 1876, l’Association reports the Gounod and Viardot children working together to raise funds during a performance of Gounod’s new mass at Saint Eustache, ‘highly-successful, thanks to the devotion of the ladies . . . Misses Viardot and Jeanne Gounod.’123 So it seems, after Napoleons’ death under the Third Republic, it suited Gounod to re-acquaint himself with old republican friends, even attending the wedding of Marianne Viardot to Victor-Alphonse Duvernoy on 5 April 1881. The effect of the regime change in France nullified Gounod’s survival tactics against Pauline Viardot, demonstrating England's enduring significance as a political haven for Paris-based refugees of revolutions.

Conclusion
This chapter validates the benefits gained from applying Weber's Verstehen approach for large time scale studies to understand the meaningful behaviours of individuals in crisis within macro theoretical contexts. Upheavals before the 1830 Revolution set the foundations for Gounod’s

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121 FitzLyon, The Price of Genius, 288.
122 In 1860, she travelled to Dublin, Manchester, and Liverpool for the British revival of Gluck’s Orfeo.
123 See l’Association, 1877, 52.
anti-republican ideologies and survival strategies when he chose to become a musician. The Revolution(s) of 1848 served as a turning point for Gounod, ever mindful of the damage the First Republic brought to his family and church musicians. He abandoned preparations for the priesthood and sacred music post to pursue a secular career in opera upon meeting the republican Viardots and formed a beneficial relationship that suited him until May 1852. Maintaining royalist sentiments while living in poverty, Gounod (and his mother) adopted instrumentally rational action in forming status alliances that explains why he snubbed his republican friends and benefactor, Madame Viardot. On the other hand, the foreign-born contralto, Pauline (nee Garcia), her anti-Napoleon husband, and her eminent operatic family remained unaffected by revolutions until Napoleon came to power in 1849, and whose administration punished them for their political endeavours. After the coup, due to his status marriage and two appointments, Gounod’s relationship with the Church, choirs, philanthropic organisations, and Napoleon III advanced his career while navigating opportunities with calculated purpose; meanwhile, his predilection for ingratitude after manipulating status women into creating career opportunities for him remained his modus operandi. Had not Mesdames Carvalho and Viardot helped him and had not Napoleon overridden legal precedents to permit the Théâtre-Lyrique and Bouffes-Parisiens to exist, Gounod might never have launched his secular career or secured five Legions d’honneur. Perhaps, if Pauline had not brought Gounod into the inner sanctum of her salon, she might have sustained her famed status in Paris instead of having to flee France. The Franco-Prussian war, Third Republic, and Paris Commune brought temporary setbacks for both during their exiles in England. Gounod re-friended Pauline under the republican regime and, ultimately, politics and not talent, had determined their survivals.
Chapter 7: Conclusion

While social revolutions usually involve struggles for resources and coups struggles for power, the aftermath of both usually embodies campaigns for status. Not only did revolutions, coups, and wars, present complexities for professional musicians of all genres in Paris from 1789 until 1875, so did the regimes that followed. This thesis examines musicians surviving eighty-five years of revolutionary history under more than fifteen regimes by adopting Weber's insight into power relationships in the socio-political domain, their structures, and methods of enforcement. His definition of revolutions, which includes coups, provides for a comprehensive analysis of France's revolutionary history to derive an accurate understanding of musicians in crisis. The topic appears complex until analysed using the systematic macro-to-micro method of interrogation defined by the model constructed for this thesis based on Weber's socio-political and economic theories. It elicits predictable and repeatable patterns regarding the determinants of survival for Paris-based musicians. The thesis rests on the premise that republics, monarchies, and empires in France are representative of Weber’s rational-legal, traditional, and charismatic authorities respectively. The approach to the research comprises two main lines of enquiry: it examines revolutionary events and the related statistics, and it examines the post-revolutionary regime adjustments. At a macro-level, Weber’s theories of revolutions, three pure-types of authority, the state's legal monopoly over violence, Verstehen (mass-cultural), state-suspcion of mobs and organisations, state-control of security via information (statistics), state bureaucracy, survival communities, and the stratification of society define survival contexts for musicians. His theories of wealth stratification, stratification of music genres and instruments, rationalised music, irrational music, status-groups, status, social action, and Verstehen (observable and explainable) define the medium and micro survival contexts for musicians.

By adopting Weber's theories, the thesis shows that the revolutions that spawned a multiplicity of regimes in France were not a series of unrelated events, nor the fate of musicians random, but they followed repeated cycles after 1789. Monarchies surrendered to Republics (including the Jacobins, Directory, and Consul) via revolutions, which submitted to Empires via coups d'état until 1851, and both Empires collapsed due to wars. In 1870, with Napoleon's capture, there followed the provisional Third Republic, the Paris Commune, and the elected Third Republic. France was to return to monarchical rule, but dissensions regarding the legitimacy of the Bourbons verses the Orléanists brought about a permanent Republic in 1875. Weber’s theory concerning the state’s legal monopoly over violence and the expansion of bureaucratic power in Paris also extends to music institutions, salons, theatres, churches, the military, freelance musicians, music organisations, and concerts staged in the public domain. For any musician—irrespective of talent—it is crucial to understand the type of governing regime determining the protocols of behaviour and what constitutes a successful action for survival. Regime-types
possess distinctive milieus, philosophies, and laws that legitimise state-control over rational and irrational music genres, music institutions, organisations, and markets pre-determining the aesthetic, political, social, and economic survivals for musicians. This research verifies the overwhelming benefits that the charismatic authority of both Empires brought to musicians of all genres; the neglect that the traditional constitutional Monarchies brought to church and military musicians; and the adverse status-levelling effects that rational-legal Republics brought to musicians of all genres.

Weber's concepts of power struggles between authorities defined through hierocracy, theocracy, and caesaropapism explain why musicians (church and military musicians in particular), met with challenging fates under republics and monarchies. The pro-capitalist First Republic overturned the hierocracy of the ancien regime monarchy while surprisingly the Restoration and July Monarchy did not permit the hierocracy of the Roman Catholic Church to return, promoting public utility laws instead for education and charity purposes. As charismatic military leaders of the Catholic faith, Napoleons I and III reversed the culturally restrictive laws of the theocracy of two republics and prevented the full hierocracy of the Catholic Church from manifesting to enable caesaropapist rule to dominate. It united the state, the military, the church, and the populace—thus their musicians. The fear of mobs having subsided, Napoleon III endorsed local and international concerts involving the Opéra, Conservatoire, military bands, l'Orphéon, and l'Association. The Third Republic, ruled by President Thiers, overturned the caesaropapism of the Second Empire by reversing their laws and imposing harsh legal rule until 1875.

The 1789 Revolution, which shattered hundreds of years of feudalism and music traditions, served as a catalyst that established the First Republic's tyrannical control over music and the Paris Opéra. Weber observes that in a stratified society, the status-levelling laws such as those of the First Republic, offer socio-politico-economic power to bureaucracy creating a gulf between state officials and talented citizens. He clarifies that bureaucratic hierarchy mediates opportunities via state departments, officials, and élite status-groups through official channels in shaping politically sensitive survivals. After 1793, the civic oath, official documentation, passports, enrolment in the National Guard, and conscription proved French citizenship and offered ‘citizens’ the right to work in Paris. Law rather than revolution created a great divide between musicians of the new French Republic and those of the old monarchies of Italy, Germany, Austria, and Spain, which meant that talent no longer served as the criterion for opportunity in Paris—citizenship did. French musicians or converted foreigners either took the oath to the state or starved, while many suffered imprisonment and execution under the Jacobin rule: those who had the resources to flee Paris did so for other European monarchies at the risk of permanent expulsion. The Republic, until 1799, dispensed with miscreant foreign and local
musicians regardless of their talent. As Weber advises under officialdom, regimes reward bureaucrats, officials and their status-groups, music administrators, and cooperative composers, directors, and in-house conductors more than talented (genius) composers or performers. By 1799, to the derogation of primarily French and returning émigré musicians, Italian musicians came into vogue through Napoleon Bonaparte’s influence as First Consul and then Emperor. He diluted the laws of citizenship but imposed new structures over the theatres of Paris that lasted until 1875. Only a vague sense of the French music returned under the Restoration still reeling from the punitive measures imposed by the four monarchies of Europe of the second Vienna Conference that excluded foreign musicians from the Conservatoire. Downsizing the army, the Restoration ceased hiring professional musicians for the *état-major* bands and ended its support for soldier-musicians and National Guard musicians who endured extreme poverty after that.

Despite their postulations about upholding the American Revolution’s ideals of equality and freedom, the officials of the First Republic assigned music’s socio-political function to the state and subjugated musicians. In 1793, it subordinated them to legal, administrative, and economic terror as Weber predicts regarding rational-legal authority, ratifying the ancient stratifications of music genres and instruments. This was a unique period in France’s history where survival meant preserving one’s life. The Jacobins outlawed an entire music genre—sacred music—as it nurtured the training of low-quality musicians of the National Guard and soldier-musicians of its expanding army, via voluntary service and conscription, in founding the Paris Conservatorium. It further harnessed the Paris Opéra artists for political propaganda. The Jacobins radicalised its exploitation of law and on the threat of death for non-compliance, sustained legalise terrorism over citizen composers and performers, pitting musician against musician in the high stakes for survival. Those who remained in Paris co-operated with Terror officials, betrayed their colleagues, and performed for state festivals whereas royalists, loyalists, and the falsely accused went to prison or walked the scaffolds. The Jacobins harnessed compliant talent from the Opéra, theatres, churches, and military to stage propaganda festivals and censored operas concurrent with guillotining spectacles in the public domain. The festival marvels continued until 1794, to metamorphose under the Consul and First Empire that increased the involvement of military bands and the new Opéra repertoire validated the various political factions in Paris.

The first permanent injury inflicted on the music profession arose in 1792 through exclusionist status-levelling laws of citizenship that also weakened the group-power of all professions in outlawing guilds and corporations. Inadvertently, Napoleon as Consul struck the most damaging blow in 1798 when he arranged for the Opéra musicians take a 50% pay cut in lieu of receiving pensions upon retirement. More than revolutions, this was the most damaging action sustained against the profession. The final blow arose in 1814-1815 when the Restoration refused to
honour all imperial entitlements and sacked, without pensions, the National Guard and soldier-musicians. The monarchy re-hired all musicians on reduced salaries. The low remunerations and loss of entitlements caused grief and poverty under subsequent authorities until remedied during the Second Empire. Until 1854, music professionals had lost status and bargaining power. Even though the Opéra had retained its socio-political-cultural status and mystique, its talented musicians had not. They had succumbed to the powers of the new status-groups consisting of refashioned salons, state-officials, music critics, and then the Jacobin Club, which eroded the prospects of Paris-based performers and composers to favour ballerinas.

As Weber advises concerning bureaucracy, regimes usually offer substantial salaries and power to officials and music administrators thus providing them superior survival prospects. Under the Directory, five composers stepped forward to claim their promised rewards as Inspectors of the new Paris Conservatoire after having cooperated with the Jacobins, whereas many royalists and sacred *ancien régime* artists faced survival challenges regardless of their superior talent. Many foreign-born musicians refused to take the Civil Oath or co-operate with anti-Christian republicans and did not become citizens of France to face starvation or death. After 1789, the bureaucratic hierarchy of privilege of Parisian state music institutions remained virtually the same, as Weber maintains, but exacerbated after the Restoration dispensed with the Opéra's traditionally close relationship with composers and soloists when it appointed a permanent in-house conductor in Kreutzer. The Opéra administrators held the highest status, followed by Members of the Institute, Conservatoire professors, composers, and performers, albeit with ever-diminishing remunerations and status in real terms. Under capitalism, markets lured new talent and geniuses into the theatres where success brought celebrity, fame, and fortune but not status. Napoleon Bonaparte observed that capitalism had reduced the quality of music staged in Paris and set laws limiting the theatre numbers to eight to ensure France's cultural integrity.

Under all regimes in France, state-control over information dispensed into the public domain, for security reasons and out of self-interest, testifies to Weber's insight in point regarding the official versions of facts and the truth. Regardless of the limitations of working with incomplete and often error-ridden statistical data comprising of shifting definitions of professions from revolutions and coups in France, enough information and scholarship exist for the thesis to draw valid conclusions about the fate of each type of musician. The shifting class definitions under regimes and the frequent omission of musicians have distorted the figures. The published statistics from state departments serve as generally reliable indicators of deaths, guillotines, arrests, émigrés, and survivals, except perhaps for church musicians and soldier-musicians. The 2% formula, derived for the thesis, provides a reasonable estimate of the number of National Guard and soldier-musicians killed, wounded, arrested, or deported in revolutions that elicits
profound implications for further research. Similarly, research into the 1789 revolutionary period proves that the number of musicians affected is more significant than surmised. At a minimum, Greer’s tables for 1789–1799 should include an extra forty-three soldier-musician émigrés, twenty émigrés from the Opéra, about thirty performers guillotined, twenty deaths from the Paris salons, and include up to 907 church musicians who sought pensions from Rome. The total affected comes to about 1,000 more musicians than the small number identified.

Overlooking the three regime changes of 1814–1815, Pinkney advises that the revised statistics of the 1830 revolution reveal 950 deaths and more than 1,300 wounded, although details are lacking concerning musicians of the military, churches, and music theatres. Tilly’s analysis of the 11,616 revolutionary arrests in Paris during the June 1848 uprising demonstrates that most of those arrested were set free under President Napoleon and comprised twenty-one musicians categorised as domestics. By using the 2% formula, a further 10 soldier-musicians may be added to his list and at least two musicians out of the 32 professors identified. Tilly’s analyses of the 2,390 arrests during the 1851 coup and Rougerie’s figure of 31,717 official arrests following the Commune uprising in 1871, yield imprecise details about musicians. Tombs and scholars report that the returning republican troops massacred near 20,000 citizens in la semaine sanglante without supplying particulars regarding musicians, even though press reports confirm that several soldier-musicians were among the dead. The lists of musicians from Journal de la Régie and l’Association provide invaluable information for future research about the so-called ‘minor’ artists who fled Paris and those who cooperated with the Communards.

Weber’s theory regarding communist and warrior communities of the clergy and the military (National Guard and army) who possess innate powers to topple regimes explains why regimes subjugated them as well as the erosion of their remunerations and the status of their musicians. Regime administrations of all authority-types differ in their treatment of such communities as Weber predicts. The thesis demonstrates that French Empires supported these communities due to the nature of their charismatic rulers in fulfilling dual roles as Roman Catholics and Generals. There were no social revolutions in 1814, 1815, 1870, or 1871; nonetheless, wars, insurrections, and hasty regime changes brought profound impacts upon hired professional musicians of the elite military bands and soldier-musicians after the dismissals of the National, Royal, and Imperial Guards, who overthrew two monarchies and three republics. The July Monarchy secured power by promising to reinstate the National Guard after it had sacked King Charles X. Nevertheless, it rendered the musicians poverty-wages while it distanced itself from the Church and sacked its musicians. Misdeeds against the National Guard triggered the 1848 Revolution. After 1849, Napoleon III, as President and Emperor, financed the Pope’s temporal authority in France, funded church-participation in education and music, supported the army and National
(Imperial) Guard musicians, extended officer status to bandmasters and first-class musicians, and granted a three-tiered remuneration system to soldier-musicians for the first time in history. The conjoined efforts of the committee members of l'Association made this possible. In 1871, the Third Republic—acting as Weber predicts concerning rational-legal authority—summarily reversed all the imperial decrees and entitlements that had benefitted the military musicians. It murdered or executed the National-Guard musicians who had cooperated with the Communards and sacked the entire National Guard of Paris to the detriment of all until the ousting of President Theirs in 1875.

Typically, the survival opportunities for Paris-based musicians—stratified by remunerations and status related to functions, genres, instruments, and talent in accordance to Weber's observations—depended on their personal wealth, property, political contacts, networks, and effective actions such as renouncing regimes, the aristocracy, the politically stigmatised, and the Catholic Church. Benefitting from new laws governing royalties, while mixing with bureaucrats to secure opportunities, several Paris-based composers earned lucrative incomes while nesting within the state and key theatre administrations while receiving royalties generated in absentia as long as their music remained popular. After the 1830s, Paris-based composers rose in status above performers excluded from administrations and status-groups. Generally, only the wealthy famous musicians possessed the resources to flee revolutions to England or America. Whereas the poorly remunerated ensemble musicians of theatres, churches, bands, choruses, orchestras, National Guard, and armies remained in Paris: some taking part in the insurrections.

Viewing large music gatherings in post-revolutionary Paris through Weber's Massenkulturgut Verstehen explains that the republican laws dating from 1792 regarding public utility had redefined the state and public access to music. The laws initially empowered music to serve as a vehicle to promote the Jacobin state propaganda, and then after their demise, new laws founded on Napoleons’ 1804 Code redefined the remaining political alliances in Paris at the Opéra. The July Monarchy’s education program in 1831, which added music to school curriculums, generated the founding of many local choral organisations such as l'Orphéon. The socio-political musical phenomenon expanded after 1843 when Baron von Taylor founded France's most auspicious philanthropic organisation, l'Association des artistes musiciens, ameliorating the financial and social devastations of revolutions for musicians. During the Second Empire, the amended public utility laws advanced the combined social, cultural, religious, political, and philanthropic force for those staging large concerts featuring choral, operatic, sacred, military, and orchestral musicians. These organisations and groups that had pre-empted the welfare state worked to improve the status-quo for all musicians while uniting amateur and professionals throughout France and England as they shared music in intercontinental cultural exhibitions.
These groups and events ultimately led to the declining influence of status-groups of music critics and salons: the culture of the masses displaced the perceived discipline of experts.

Unlike many social theorists, Weber believes in the power of individuals to transform society, and this is true of musicians. During the return of a compromised traditional authority of the 1820s, Napoleon’s charismatic concepts of careers by talent developed into notions of genius that offered hope to fledgling musicians thrust into the market, and who pioneered the new music of the Romantic era that shaped France’s Grand Opera genre. Despite the hardships brought by revolutions, the charismatic talent of Sarrette, Garat, and Véron facilitated the rise of France’s Grand Opera genre through their unique contributions in teaching and management, meanwhile, virtuosic musicians thrived in Paris facilitated by the technological developments in music instruments by Cavaillé-Coll, Herz, Sax, and so on. The developments improved the survival prospects for French singers and instrumentalists above their Viennese, German, and Italian counterparts. After 1848, as President and Emperor, Napoleon III consolidated music’s political, social, and religious role in society and amended the laws of previous authorities to benefit musicians of all genres. His endorsement manifested the massive cultural phenomenon of the grand choral movement of France, most of Europe, and England—promptly quashed by the punitive legal-rational authority of the Third Republic.

Many of the famous and fortunate musicians we know of today who resided in Paris, had originated from upper and middle-class musical families with early exposures to excellent music education. As French citizens after 1815, they entered the Paris Conservatoire whose professors groomed and polished them. Born from or married into wealth they survived revolutions best as they had the resources to escape Paris. Having gained career opportunities via the Paris Conservatoire networks sealing peer approval (or not) bestowing a kind of grace upon them as prizewinning debutants, musicians ensured their entry into the Opéra, leading music theatres, Conservatoire, and institutions with long-term tenures as performers and professors. At the Paris Conservatoire, one networked and gathered an understanding of how the socio-political music fabric in Paris operated as it offering inbuilt schemata on how to negotiate the sophisticated political echelons during peace, revolutions, and post-revolutionary periods. Foreigners, outcasts, dilettantes, the arrogant and socially inept were not particularly welcome in Paris or the Conservatoire, and their exclusion tends to explain why foreign-born outsiders and those whose education not attributable to the Conservatoire were not welcome in the salon dog-trade in Paris after 1815 until 1848. Ironically, the poor remunerations and limited opportunities offered to performers and professors by the prestigious state-controlled music institutions of Paris enduring incessant funding cuts exacerbated the survival complexities for Paris-based musicians. As it was taboo to discuss money matters in polite society, silence on this
issue remained with very little achieved to alleviate the poverty that continually hounded music professionals. The split in loyalties between those musicians who served the Commune due to financial necessity in 1871 and the reluctant élite Opéra artists highlights the divide.

Significantly, this thesis pioneers a new theoretical research method to analysing musicians, which may form part of significant innovations for future scholarship into all professions. The method adopted in this thesis, the new insights gained, and results obtained have demystified several complexities regarding music professionals under political stress. Repeatable and predictable patterns emerge from applying Weber’s theories to the events that determined survival prospects even though musicians were not acting as a united professional body. They were scattered across genres, instruments, disciplines, institutions, music theatres, communist groups, and status-groups that rendered them elusive targets for historical research. Identifying the types of professional relationships that musicians—as individuals, by genres, and as a body—held within shifting power structures in France under shifting status stratifications helps explain their resilience, vulnerabilities, and obstacles to establishing or maintaining professional identities in their reactions to revolutions and regimes. This thesis enquiry applies to individuals and groups adjusting to revolutions and regime changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as much as to the dissolutions of businesses, changes in business structures, takeovers, and changes in management and management-style today. Professional survival in music required different strategies from other professions due to stratifications by genres and instruments impose penalties and the often-casual nature of their employment.

Many historians, musicologists, and musicians have distorted the truth about what it meant to be a professional musician in Paris during the eighteenth century by glamorising it: the same applies today about the struggling sages of old art forms. The words of Richard Bonynge’s letter resonate with this thesis as he places definitive survival stratagems beyond the control of artists reliant upon luck, hope, dreams, and being at the right place at the right time while retaining an undying enthusiasm in the face of adversity. There is little constructive advice about how to survive in this capricious industry other than perhaps from Mrs Weldon who asserts that the press holds the key to success and thus survival. Passive acceptance of one’s fate does not produce a strategy for survival. It renders a kind of hopelessness for music professionals in an industry whose officials and agents exclude artists from political, economic, and social advantage. Unlike nineteenth-century lawyers and doctors who formed status-driven professional institutions, the fractured body of highly trained classical musicians in Paris (as today) failed to establish a unified professional identity other than through state institutions or status groups. Self-promotion that may form part of a survival system based on value-rational
social action, as abhorrent to *ancien regime* culture as it is today, often serves an obstacle to advancing one's professional status and survival under capitalism: a task allotted to managers.

The benefits and limitations of the conclusions drawn from this thesis arise from the extensive research and discovery of new primary sources. The first conclusion drawn from this thesis is that every musician needs a patron. The second conclusion is that musicians should join a status-group or form one. The other conclusions drawn are less palatable. In revolutionary Paris as in any era, one helps the politically misaligned at one's peril; status-groups hold toxic power over musicians; and bureaucracy subjugates musicians. Talent receives its due acknowledgement, skill its due respect, ability offers some hope for a career, whereas the alienating force of genius is a quality that musicians, critics, members of institutions, and politicians reluctantly bestow upon another, and generally, after death. Many of today's retrospectively endorsed geniuses were, according to critics of the time false geniuses or dilettantes. The price of genius often brought survival complexities (failure) arising from bitter struggles with status-groups, non-acceptance, and poverty, as it challenged peers, opposed socio-musical norms, offended state officials, and disturbed power niches. The statistical analyses, *Almanachs*, and the slithering definitions of professional classes after 1791 placed musicians in the low socio-economic strata of Paris, and there they remained. Their low economic power thwarted survival during peace and revolution. This thesis shows that the most talented Paris-based musicians did not survive revolutions best: the most politically cunning, socially well connected, wealthiest, and adaptable did. Many achieved fame and fortune through official channels, political alignments, status-groups, persistence, dedication, self-interest, and sometimes by accident, but usually through calculated action that had less to do with talent than with peer support, political connections, and wealth. Nevertheless, perhaps irrationally, Weber believes—as does this author—in the power of individuals to transform society despite the social, political, and economic odds.

The recommendations and predictions for future research regarding Weber's theories and the theoretical model would encourage scholars to re-examine the extensive archival sources with a new theoretical approach, as discussed by Botstein. This thesis, which covers a broad timeframe across many music genres involving thousands of musicians, discovers predictable and repeatable patterns and actions that ensured survival under regime-types before, during, and after revolutions. The new theoretical frame has the potential to develop a new approach to investigating survivals of individuals and groups of all professions. For example, the implication is that legal professionals would survive best under rational-legal authorities whereas music professionals would survive best under charismatic authorities. Meticulous statistical analyses should provide exact information about the so-called ordinary musicians who met with circumstances beyond their control. A microanalysis of state-employed ensemble musicians of
the Opéra, Conservatoire, the Church, and the military before, during, and after revolutions—focused on those reinstated and dismissed under regimes—offers insight into how musicians, as staff, reacted to revolutions and regime changes. There is more to discover about church musicians scattered across parishes engaged in a variety of tasks as performers, teachers, or administrators and the humble professional military musicians long forgotten by history.

According to Weber’s estimations of social actions, this thesis surmises that emotionally charged action tends to damage professional prospects, traditional action produces professional inertia, value-rational action involves high-risk professional activity, and instrumentally rational action tends to generate a loss of personal integrity. The latter often requires adopting activities repugnant to the spiritual, moral, or loyal type as it often requires forgoing personal values to fabricate, if necessary, a kind of professionalism and willingness to serve a regime for advantage. Most musicians discussed in this thesis survived by adopting instrumentally calculated action. The ancien régime composer, Cherubini, for example, who fulfilled the functions required of him under all regimes, became an excellent Conservatoire administrator for which the Restoration rewarded him abundantly. Such men were not necessarily well-liked individuals, and some possessed considerable talent, but they had all serviced each regime’s lowest talent benchmark and common socio-political-cultural denominator. This observation correlates well with the age-old adage, ‘it’s not what you know, it’s who you know’ that determines success and should be qualified by Weber’s observation that ‘it’s how you act’ that determines survival. This brings me to Fararo’s formula $s(\alpha) = v(c(\alpha))$ and his hypothesis about status—that individual survival is fundamentally reliant upon status-groups: i.e., if one does not belong to a status-group, then one should join one or create one because power-bases reinforce the odds of survival.

In summary, there is more to discuss and discover about this topic and the benefits of the model constructed from Weber’s theories that provides invaluable insight into revolutions and power relationships between authorities, music genres, and musicians. Survival during revolution and post-revolution necessitates not only being at the right place at the right time but also taking the right action. Talented people in the same situation may take the same action, but endure different fates due to unseen factors. The results of this research affirm that there are similar patterns of success for Paris-based professional musicians caught in revolutions: that survival entails varying degrees of adaptability and calculated rational action according to authorities. The nature of the musical beast that pits musician against musician in illusory quests for fame and fortune often bestows failure. Those Paris-based musicians that we acknowledge as famous and fortunate today—many of whom were composers—were not necessarily the most talented artists. They sometimes failed, but ultimately survived by adopting strategically rational actions.
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Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris
Revue de Paris
Les Tablettes de Polymnie Journal consacré à tout ce qui intéresse l'art musical 1810 and 1811
L'Art Musical
Le Commerce
Le Constitutionnel
Le Courrier Français
Le Courrier des Théâtres
L'Étoile
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## Appendix

### Appendix 1  Regime changes from 1789 until 1871

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>French Revolution</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Overthrow <em>ancien regime</em> and Louis XVI</td>
<td>AR/CM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Assembly</td>
<td>1790–1791</td>
<td>Revolutionary Tribunal/ National Convention</td>
<td>CM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Republic</td>
<td>1792–1793</td>
<td>National Assembly/ First Republic</td>
<td>R</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reign of Terror</td>
<td>1793–1794</td>
<td>Robespierre/ Jacobins/ Committee of Public Safety</td>
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<tr>
<td>Directorate</td>
<td>1795–1799</td>
<td>Directors Barras, Carnot, Letoumeur, Lépeaux, Rewbell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consulate</td>
<td>1799–1804</td>
<td>Consuls Napoleon, de Cambacérès and Lebrun</td>
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<tr>
<td>First Empire</td>
<td>1804–1814</td>
<td>Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte I</td>
<td>E</td>
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<tr>
<td>Restoration</td>
<td>1814–1815</td>
<td>King Louis XVIII returns from England/Vienna Conference</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>First Empire</td>
<td>1815–1815</td>
<td>Napoleon I rules for 100 days</td>
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<tr>
<td>Restoration</td>
<td>1815–1824</td>
<td>King Louis XVIII restored</td>
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<td>Restoration</td>
<td>1824–1830</td>
<td>King Charles X (King Louis XIX and King Henry V)</td>
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<td>July Monarchy</td>
<td>1830–1848</td>
<td>King Louis-Philippe</td>
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<td>Second Republic</td>
<td>1848–1852</td>
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<td>Second Empire</td>
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<td>Siege of Paris</td>
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<td>Franco-Prussian War/ Third Republic/ President Thiers</td>
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<td>Commune Uprising</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Paris Commune</td>
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<td>Third Republic</td>
<td>1871–1875+</td>
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AR = Ancien Regime  
CM = Constitutional Monarchy  
E = Empire  
M = Monarchy  
R = Republic

Traditional authority  
Mixed authority  
Charismatic authority  
Traditional authority  
Rational-Legal authority
Appendix 2  Salary hierarchies listed at the Paris Opéra in 1798 (Théâtre de la Républic et des Arts de l’an 7).

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<th>DÉSIGNATION DES EMPLOIS</th>
<th>APPORTÉMENT fixe.</th>
<th>APPORTÉMENT variables suivant le nombre des parties</th>
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<td>Danse.</td>
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<td>Un premier maître compositeur des ballets, et chef des écoles de danse.</td>
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|                                        | 1,800 | 800 | 2,600 |
|                                        | 3,600 | 1,200 | 4,800 |
|                                        | 3,200 | 1,200 | 4,400 |
|                                        | 5,400 | 3,600 | 1,200 |
|                                        | 900 | 300 | 1,200 |
|                                        | 900 | 500 | 1,200 |
|                                        | 800 | 300 | 1,100 |
|                                        | 1,600 | 800 | 2,400 |
|                                        | 300 | 300 | 600 |
|                                        | 300 | 300 | 600 |
|                                        | 600 | 300 | 900 |
|                                        | 600 | 300 | 800 |
|                                        | 3,000 | 3,000 | 6,000 |
|                                        | 1,800 | 800 | 2,600 |
|                                        | 1,800 | 600 | 2,400 |
|                                        | 1,600 | 800 | 2,200 |
|                                        | 1,500 | 500 | 1,500 |
|                                        | 2,000 | 800 | 2,800 |
|                                        | 1,800 | 800 | 2,600 |
|                                        | 3,600 | 1,200 | 4,800 |
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85,500  543,000

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**Total** 8,800 74,950
Appendix 3 An ordinance effective 1 April 1816 reduced the Paris Conservatoire staff hired on reduced pay.
The ledger, 1 April 1816, under the new Restoration lists the orchestral professors and their reduced salaries

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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Appendix 4  Examples of Third Republic changes to the Second Empire Opéra letterheads, February 1871.

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<th>Noms et adresses des parties prenantes</th>
<th>Nature des dépenses</th>
<th>Articles du budget</th>
<th>Sommes à payer</th>
<th>Observations et détail des pièces jointes</th>
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<td>Frédéric Lesy</td>
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Appendix 5  The methodology used to derive the 2% formula for soldier musicians

The percentage of French soldier-musicians of companies (Armies and National Guard) engaged in battle do not include those of the état-major or petit-état major bands, and generally ranged anywhere from 0.93% to 1.4% to 2.5% and 3.2% in 1767 and in the years 1788 to 1875 published in Belhomme’s Histoire de infanterie en France, I-V.

In 1814, ten musicians of the état-major (8 wind instruments, a tambour-major, and corporal-tambour) represented 34% of the small élite company band that did not engage in battle. French regimes generally assigned two tambours or two trumpet/clarion/life players to each company, a chef-de musique, and a tambour-major who moved out of the état-major to the petit-état major in 1815 on to various companies depending on regimes that phased the lower ranked corporal tambour in and out of companies.

The ‘2% formula’ is a workable average percentage of the number of musicians engaged in or died in battle and revolutions, derived from analysing decrees and ordinances after revolution under new regimes. As the years progressed, tambours, trumpets, and clarions appeared less often in parliamentary addresses. The figures below summarise my calculations of the available information concerning the composition of soldier-musicians in armies.

In 1767, a company of 9 officers plus 232 soldiers included six tambour players, i.e., 2.5%. (Monarchy)
In 1771, a company of 3 officers plus 60 soldiers included two tambours, i.e., 3.17%. (Monarchy)
In 1788/1789, a company average of grenadiers, fusiliers, and of the dépôt gives 1.97%. (Monarchy)
In 1792, two tambours belonged to a company averaging 120 infantry, i.e., 1.4%. (First Republic)
In 1793, two tambours belonged to a company of 65 grenadiers, i.e., 3.08% (Jacobin Republic)
Two tambours belonged to a company of 85 fusiliers, i.e., 2.25%. (Jacobin Republic)
In 1799, a company of 4 officers and 96 soldiers included two tambours, i.e., 2.00%. (Consul)
In 1804, a company of 4 officers and 100 soldiers included two tambours, i.e., 1.92%. (First Empire)
In 1814/1815, tambours represented 2.67% of most companies and then fell to 1.69%. (Restoration)
In 1830, a company of 3 officers plus 214 soldiers included two clarion players, i.e., 0.93%. (July Monarchy)
In 1848, a company of 3 officers and 134 soldiers included two tambours, i.e., 1.49%. (Second Republic)
In 1852, a company of 3 officers and 119 soldiers included two tambours, i.e., 1.68%. (Second Empire)
In 1854, a company of 3 officers and 115 soldiers included two tambours, i.e., 1.68% but due to the expansion of musicians and new status with Napoleon III, this gave a new average of 2.5%. (Second Empire)
In 1871/1872, a company of 4 officers and 100 soldiers included two tambours, i.e., 1.92%. (Third Republic)
In 1875, a company of 3 officers and 100 soldiers included two tambours, i.e., 1.94%. (Third Republic)

The average percentage is 2.026% rounded to 2%
Appendix 6  Invitation from l’Association des Artistes des musiciens committee, dated 17 October 1848.
The invitation, signed by Baron van Taylor, Berlioz Spontini, Adam, Niedermeyer, Massart, Meyerbeer, and Léon Kreutzer, asks musicians to perform for a benefit concert at Versailles on 29 October 1848.  
Source located at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53025889x
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<th>No.</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>VENUE</th>
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<td>Opéra</td>
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Appendix 8 Copy of Richard Bonynge’s signed letter to Janet Deshon Healy regarding survival for musicians.

Dear Janet,

I am afraid I am ten months behind with my mail and I doubt that I shall ever catch up.

You have had a really interesting career and I am sure you have had great pleasure from it. I wish I could give you some worthwhile advice. So many singers ask me to help them and I feel sometimes quite powerless. In a singing career so much depends on luck and being in the right place at the right time. I am sure you can hear as well as I can that there are many singers who have big careers and one wonders why. There are many wonderful talents who do not make the grade for one reason or another. It’s a very tough profession.

You have had some wonderful times obviously and must just continue trying. Sing for all the companies and societies around and never lose hope. You can also pass on some of your experience to others. We must never lose sight of the fact that we are very lucky to be able to make music. Never give up your enthusiasm.

I send you my very best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Bonynge
Appendix 9  The thesis chapters correlated with the theoretical model founded upon Max Weber’s theories.