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Music

Les Belles de Nuit: Women publishing keyboard waltzes in Paris, c.1800-1914

by

Diana Elizabeth Venegas Butt

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

January 2021
The study of nineteenth-century social dancing and its music has been the subject of recent academic interest, and much of the attention is focused on a particularly popular, yet controversial dance - the waltz. However, while research on the cultural, social, and musical implications of waltz music rests upon an analysis of works created by male authors, women as contributors to this influential genre, or indeed to dance music in general, are largely forgotten. For example, it is currently unclear if, how, and why women composed dance music at all, and yet the answers to these questions have the potential to dramatically rebalance and enrich our understanding of European social and musical culture within the period.

By concentrating on keyboard waltzes produced in Paris between 1800-1910, this study will reveal how women navigated the contemporary attitudes towards both waltzing and female composers, and attempted to harness the dance’s popularity as a springboard to participating in music as a professional enterprise. Crucially, this thesis also provides the most comprehensive analysis of nineteenth-century French female composers and the music they produced to date, contextualising scores and their authors within wider cultural environments. In doing so, this research challenges long-held historical assumptions and narratives surrounding women and their contribution to musical life within the period, many of which still hold firm today.
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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: DIANA ELIZABETH VENEGAS BUTT


I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signature: Diana Venegas Butt  Date: 16 December 2020
Acknowledgements

When I first embarked on this PhD, I was given the advice to research something I was truly invested in, because if not, it would be a long three years. It’s now been a long five years, and though my passion for my subject is just as strong, if not stronger than when I first started this journey, I still can’t quite believe I’ve got this project done. I most certainly wouldn’t have been able to without the unwavering support of family, friends, my supervisors, and the academic community at the University of Southampton.

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Most of all, this project is for my mother and father, and it is a testament to their constant, unconditional love and support. I hope this contribution to women in music makes you proud, because it most certainly wouldn’t exist without you both.
# Definitions and Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>BnF</td>
<td>Bibliothèque national de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACEM</td>
<td>Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Éditeurs de Musique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNM</td>
<td>Société Nationale de Musique</td>
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Introduction

As the first social dance to allow individual couples to embrace on the ballroom floors of mid to high society, the waltz became one of the most culturally informative and enduring dance genres to emerge in the nineteenth century. At first considered taboo, dancing the waltz was claimed by many to be potentially damaging for women’s health and social standing,¹ and the female sex in particular were duly advised against taking part. Despite these early warnings, however, enthusiasm for the dance spread rapidly throughout Europe and North America, inspiring composers of the period to write vast quantities of music for the waltz. Yet it is not immediately clear how much waltz music was composed by women, nor how such pieces - if they exist at all - look, sound, or functioned within their contexts. In short, women’s musical contributions to this important phase in the history of social dance are largely missing from scholarly accounts of the period, with the consequence of a sustained assumption that the creation of historically popular musical forms created by women does not matter enough to warrant a place in modern discussion. Meanwhile, prominent male composers within the canon - particularly Joseph Lanner, Johann Strauss, and Frédéric Chopin - continue to dominate the genre. This thesis thus attempts to address the persistent gender imbalance in musicological studies of nineteenth century dance, investigating how women interacted with the waltz as a cultural and musical phenomenon in Paris. Presented fundamentally from the historical woman’s perspective, this research shows how women were active informers and participants in waltz culture from the dance’s inception around the time of the French Revolution, to the end of Paris’s Belle Époque.

Contextualising Female Composers in the Nineteenth Century

Although this project focuses on waltzes produced in Paris in the long nineteenth century (as coined and defined by historian Eric Hobsbawm), which we take to be 1789-1914, works by female composers begin to appear sporadically in public records from 1810 onwards. Further, while the ‘traditional’ end point of the long nineteenth-century is the year the First World War broke out, evidence suggests women and men continued to compose and publish keyboard waltzes throughout the war years and beyond. A post-war shift of attention towards the more modern dance styles emerging from the Americas (including the foxtrot, jive, and Charleston), however, contributed to a growing impression of the nineteenth-century waltz as a nostalgic

¹ For a full discussion of the European reception to the waltz, see chapter 1.
Women composed and published keyboard dances throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, yet a number of conditions make Paris a productive focal area for establishing the woman’s voice in dance music studies. Musical life in the French capital thrived against a backdrop of almost constant civil unrest and political upheaval, and Paris was a dominating force within European opera, theatre, and the arts.\(^2\) A large number of public balls vied for popularity within the capital, and music education establishments also flourished, the most influential being the Conservatoire national de musique. Opening its doors in 1795, the Conservatoire accepted talented male and female students onto segregated courses, though women were limited to studying keyboard performance and solfège. Mixed-gender music conservatories followed suit within and outside of Paris,\(^3\) and privately-owned music schools competed with public academies; in Paris, a number of these schools were founded and controlled by women, and often embraced female musicians as composers and performers. Paris in the nineteenth century also saw a number of important societies created to protect the rights of French composers, as well as cultivate a French compositional style as an alternative to the Austro-Germanic tradition that had dominated Western music for decades. Two of the most influential were Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Éditeurs de Musique (SACEM), founded in 1851 by the author Ernest Bourget, composers Paul Henrion and Victor Prizot, and the publisher Jules Colombier, as well as the Société Nationale de Musique (SNM), established in 1871 by Camille Saint-Saëns and Romain Bussine. While these organisations still had a poor track record of accepting women within their ranks, some were more inclusive than others, and the Cercle de Saint-Cécile, headed by Georges Bizet, embraced a number of female composers as members.\(^4\) Unions dedicated to promoting women’s involvement in the arts were also formed later in the century, such as the short-lived Association des femmes artistes et professeurs (1877),\(^5\) the Association mutuelle des femmes


\(^4\) The members of Bizet’s group are invariably mentioned in meeting notices, published in *Le ménestrel* in the 1830s and 1840s. See in particular issues dated 24 November 1839, and 12 January 1840.

artistes de Paris (1894, founded by pedagogue Hortense Parent),\textsuperscript{6} and the Union des femmes professeurs et compositeurs de musique (1904).\textsuperscript{7} These societies were instrumental in ensuring its female members benefitted from contact with other prominent female composers, and had a public platform on which they could perform their works, develop their art, and endorse the advancement of women in music.

Women also published keyboard waltzes in French cities outside the capital (predominantly in Versailles and Rennes), yet in the practical interests of manageability and consistency, the scores mentioned in this study are restricted to those published in Paris, as an influential centre of dance music culture in France. It was also necessary to limit the recorded data to keyboard waltzes, though many women that feature in this study also composed an abundance of music in additional dance forms, including polkas, mazurkas, polka-mazurka hybrids, quadrilles and schottisches, as well as piano romances, character pieces, and chansons. There are also many female composers who published keyboard dances, but not waltzes; as a consequence, these women have not been included in this study. In a similar vein, scores by composers whose sex cannot accurately be established have been eliminated from the data that deals specifically with female composers, even though it is perfectly feasible that women would desire to hide their identities in this way. As a result, the true number of female composers active in Paris is likely to be much higher than the already sizeable figures reported in this thesis.

Finding Women

A number of challenges arise when attempting to place women in history, which can be attributed at least in part to social attitudes and conventions at the time of the preservation of both official and unofficial documents. For example, since women were not permitted to vote in France until 1945, searching electoral records - a potentially valuable source of biographical information - becomes futile when pursuing the traces of specific women’s lives in the nineteenth century. Personal records such as letters and diaries do of course exist, but tend to be part of family rather than public collections. According to Katharine Ellis, the historical preference for preserving works created by men while devaluing those of women “has dealt female performers a double blow,”\textsuperscript{8} and yet these documentary limitations can stimulate scholars into seeking out alternative, and

\textsuperscript{6} Launay, “Les musiciennes.”
\textsuperscript{7} Laura Hamer discusses the union in her book Female Composers, Conductors, Performers: Musiciennes of Interwar France, 1919-1939 (London: Taylor and Francis, 2018).
often creative methods of research, which was inevitably the case for the various biographies of women who produced piano waltzes in Paris that make up chapter two.

Prior to this study, the number of women who published keyboard dances throughout the decades of the long nineteenth century was entirely unknown, but this dissertation identifies over 500 individual female composers of waltzes alone. Armed with a list of names, the most obvious way to begin (re)constructing an individual woman’s personal and professional biography was by searching articles in the nineteenth-century French press, and for Paris, the most comprehensive sources were the music journals *Le ménestrel* (1833-1940), and *La revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (1835-1880); additional periodicals across a range of specialist interests, including *Le Figaro* (1854-1942), *Le Temps* (1861-1942), *Le Rappel* (1869-1933), *Gil Blas* (1879-1940), *L’intransigeant* (1880-1943), and *Le Radical* (1881-1931) were also extremely useful. Performance schedules, concert reviews, and even the musical supplements that these papers often offered to their subscribers disclose remarkable insights not just about women making music in Paris, but also unveil the prevailing social attitudes towards woman who chose music for their careers, predominantly expressed by their male peers. The disadvantage, therefore, of such source materials is that we are invariably forced to rely on male accounts of these women, their perceived characters, their triumphs, and their failures. Furthermore, the research process reveals that the women for whom a relatively substantial amount of information does exist in print tend to be those who enjoyed a privileged social background and/or musical education that bolstered their successes, enabling them to stand out as ‘exceptional’ women. Therefore, relying solely on journalistic accounts in the press for a universal picture of female composers risks misrepresentation, since not all women who published waltzes were necessarily prominent public figures in Parisian musical life.

Contemporary journals - musical or otherwise - often tell us almost nothing about a woman’s biographical data, for example her date and place of birth, background, or family. Although obituaries for prominent composers and performers were common in the pages of nineteenth-century music periodicals, such necrologies for women in music are notably absent, even for those who seemed to have been admired in their day. In order to establish the very basics of biographical information that was often missing from the sources above, it was necessary to turn to alternative sources, as suggested by Ellis, and think outside the standard methodological box. Although the *Bibliothèque national de France*’s searchable index of data

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9 Everist explains how examining the nineteenth-century press is now a well-established research method, and lists the most important secondary sources on the subject within a footnote in the introduction of *Mozart’s Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1.
information provides dates of birth and/or death for an individual where possible, searching through dedicated genealogical websites proved a veritable treasure trove of information for the additional bibliographic details of women’s lives, encompassing heritage, family, marriage, and children, building a more comprehensive social profile for an individual. Since there is a particularly strong motivation for detail when researching one’s own family, pulling well-sourced data from personal genealogical research websites was often fruitful. Occasionally, the BnF’s catalogue and SACEM’s archives also hold various correspondences written by women composers to family or colleagues.

Almost all the waltzes assembled in this study are available in the BnF’s archives, and can be searched through the library’s online catalogue. The index was also useful for finding additional works published by each composer, in order to generate an understanding of the other types of music women who published waltzes generally wrote, how much music they officially produced, and what periods they were professionally active in, as well as providing a picture of how women’s compositional output changed over the span of their careers. Though the BnF’s music collection for these women is usually restricted to works published in France, alternative sources such as Worldcat and IMSLP sometimes exposed waltz editions published elsewhere, providing a sense of a composer’s international impact. Unfortunately, these three databases are limited to searching for copies of music held in public institutions, and it is thus impossible to say how much more music authored by female composers exists in private collections.

Since one of the most common career paths for a woman on completing her musical education - be it private or institutional - was to teach, dedicated printed annuals of working artists and performers were excellent for revealing the names of active music teachers in Paris at different points throughout the nineteenth century, especially the Annuaire des artistes et de l’enseignement dramatique et musical (referred to hereafter as the Annuaire des artistes) (1887-1910). These indispensable artefacts also provide extensive listings of composers, editors, and instrument manufacturers at local, national, and international levels, and later editions provided sections of short but insightful biographies for some of the leading musicians and performers, both male and female, of the time. Interestingly, though the annuals originally served as a directory rather than a critical commentary, their content often exposed prevalent nineteenth-century attitudes towards the typical musical roles women were expected to play, and an abundance of female private piano teachers jars against the dearth of women serving on influential musical committees. Ultimately, a variety of these sources used in conjunction with

\[\text{\textsuperscript{10}}\text{Annuaire des artistes et de l'enseignement dramatique et musical (Paris: 1893-1910).}\]
each other completes a comprehensive and multi-faceted profile of the many women in this study.

One of the most valuable resources for understanding nineteenth-century practices and attitudes towards social dancing can be found within historical etiquette guides and dance treatises. A large volume of these sources has been compiled by dance historian Elizabeth Aldrich in *From the Ballroom to Hell*, which takes its title from a late-century text by American minister and ex-dancer master Thomas Faulks. Faulks’s essay, which is dedicated to damning the waltz’s perceived encouragement of morally subversive practices, echoes the nineteenth-century line of thought that couple’s dances requiring a close hold resulted in a denigration of culture and society, and women were particularly vulnerable. These sentiments are refuted in the dance manuals that were published across Europe throughout the century; perhaps the most influential is Thomas Wilson’s *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing*, published in London in 1816, as well as Henri Cellarius’s equivalent guide *La danse des salons* (originally published in 1847).

Although this study deals exclusively with music produced in Paris, sources from other European countries have been included in the argument to situate Parisian practices within a ‘wider’ view of waltzing; to assess where attitudes beyond Paris aligned with French thought; and to obtain a sense of how French styles and customs influenced its close neighbours; since Paris and London possess a long and historic cultural relationship, sources from the latter are particularly useful for weaving a richer social tapestry of Parisian waltz culture. Including non-French sources additionally attests to how influential waltzing became in nineteenth-century Europe, particularly pertaining to expectations of gendered coded behaviour in social dancing.

**Analysing Women’s Waltzes**

Historically, the study of dance music has given special attention to eighteenth-century repertories and practices, while the nineteenth century has been relatively overlooked. In *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz*, Eric McKee reasons that this neglect may be due to a historical devaluation of “musical texts associated with pleasure, the human body, utilitarian function, and popular social entertainment.” In 2012, McKee noted that only four published monographs, including his own, dealt exclusively with the relationship between music and dance in the nineteenth century; one for the quadrille, and three for the waltz. Derek Scott’s 2008

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book *Sounds of the Metropolis*, for example, charts the rise of popular music traditions in four nineteenth-century cultural centres: music hall in London, minstrelsy in New York, cabaret in Paris, and the waltz in Vienna. The first to do so, Scott shines an analytical spotlight on the emerging music industry’s role in commercialising these musical forms, exploring the subsequent polarisation of ‘serious’ and ‘popular’ music in public reception and modes of consumption. More specifically, Scott examines the meteoric rise in fame of ‘waltz Kings’ Lanner and Strauss, and the musical consequences for the standardisation of form and style in Viennese waltzes for orchestras and larger ensembles. Sevin Yaraman’s earlier text *Revolving Embrace*, however, was the first dedicated study to present a comprehensive historical, cultural, and musical analysis of waltz music in the nineteenth century on its publication in 2002. Nevertheless, McKee’s *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz* arguably remains one of the most influential texts to succeed in revealing the nuances of the relationship between waltz music, dance, and society in the nineteenth century.

McKee’s insights on waltz composition originally began with an interest in the keyboard waltzes of Chopin. In a chapter of his 2004 book *‘Dance and the Music of Chopin: The Waltz’*, McKee examines social dance and the waltz in Warsaw between 1800-1830, and Chopin’s participation within this culture as both a keen dancer himself, and prolific composer of dance music. McKee explains that as a dancer, Chopin was sensible of how to compose music that complemented physical movement, and analyses a number of the composer’s published and unpublished piano waltzes to demonstrate this awareness. McKee also suggests that at certain points, Chopin’s unpublished piano waltzes seem to emphasise the woman’s rather than the man’s steps (while the reverse is true in his published waltzes). Citing two piano waltzes in particular that were inspired by women whom he was said to be in love with at the time of composition, McKee’s analysis suggests how waltzes could be deliberately designed to communicate and express femininity in movement. Chopin’s ‘introspective’ piano waltzes and the nineteenth-century social dance scene in Warsaw also form a chapter of *Decorum*, preceded by an exploration into the cultural and musical implications of women waltzing as the focal point of male spectatorship. Here, McKee develops notions of feminine characterisation in waltz

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13 Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis*.


16 The waltzes in question are the *Waltz in Ab Minor*, op. 69 no. 1, written for Maria Wodzińska in 1835 after an earlier improvised version (later published in 1855); and the *Waltz in Db major*, written in 1829 (published in 1852) and inspired, by Chopin’s own admission, by the singer Konstancja Gladkowska. In Ibid., 148-152.
compositions with a greater degree of analytical insight, taking these concepts beyond the private spaces of Chopin’s personal waltzes and into the public sphere of the ballroom waltzes of Lanner and Strauss. McKee’s mode of analysis centres on disruptions in rhythm and meter in waltzes by Lanner and Strauss as methods of deliberately manipulated musical variety by the composers, intended to avoid the monotony of the dancers’ constant revolutions around the floor, and the repetitive ‘oom-pa-pa’ waltz pattern in the music. McKee expounds these theories to suggest the possibility that in danced waltzes, rhythmic variety - which has no relationship to physical steps - could also satisfy the sentiment of spectatorship and the male gaze on the female form, since watching the spectacular and diverse array of women dancing could be its own form of public entertainment in nineteenth-century social events. Thus, waltz music could be written to communicate not only physical steps, but the sensual beauty of the female body in movement.

While both McKee and Scott concentrate exclusively on male creators, the single scholarly text to consider women as composers of waltz music rather than passive objects of male experience is Sevin Yaraman’s *Revolving Embrace*. Although women are not the focus of her study, Yaraman crucially asks critical questions which establish a need to consider women’s roles as composers of dance repertoire more fully, and enquires as to whether a “woman’s tradition of style”17 can be gleaned from women’s dance works. In the final chapter, Yaraman goes part of the way to answering her question, and undertakes a brief but insightful analysis of two waltz songs composed by women from two contrasting periods - Clara Wieck’s *Walzer* (1833; published 1834), and a scene from Jane Vieu’s musical drama *La Belle au bois dormant* (1902). In both, Yaraman discusses the composers’ setting of a text to waltz music as a vessel for exploring female roles within nineteenth-century social culture, finding that in composing waltzes, the two women found an opportunity to implicitly voice “the conflict between celebrating and oppressing their sexuality.”18 Yet Yaraman concludes that “only very few women are known to have composed waltz music,”19 a statement which has not been questioned nor scrutinised in the nearly twenty years since the book’s publication. While it is true that Yaraman’s study stimulates a critical discussion of dance music composed by women, it also reveals a persistent gap in formal research on women as active creators of waltz music, which urgently needs to be addressed if there is to be a more balanced understanding of musical and cultural life in the nineteenth century.

Yaraman’s analyses are based on two waltzes that were not intended to accompany dancing, while much of what McKee and Scott examine are practical compositions destined for

17 Yaraman, *Revolving Embrace*, 121.
18 Ibid., 132.
19 Ibid., 119.
dance. Waltz music, therefore, presents a unique problem in that it was created for an assortment of danced, and eventually, non-danced functions. The analytical tools required to determine purpose and meaning in waltz music therefore require careful consideration, and music theorists who have dealt with the subject in the present day use a variety of analytical methods. For danced waltz compositions, for example, musicologists base their observations on the nineteenth-century teachings of Adolf Bernhard Marx, who offers instruction on the correct method of writing waltzes with regards to form, melody, accompaniment, meter, rhythm, and phrase structure, stressing that music to accompany dance must support the dancers’ movements in every way possible. In an exploration of music’s similarities and differences with the linguistic rules of grammar, Lawrence Zbikowski also uses the example of Marx’s analysis of the waltz to elucidate what he calls ‘musical construction grammar.’ Zbikowski defines the mapping of patterned sound to physical gestures as ‘sonic analogues,’ in which a tight-knit relationship between music and movement can provide the dancer with a “sonic image of the various gesture required for the dance as well as a series of sonic events onto which she could map specific bodily motions,” an essential cognitive process in danced waltzes.

At its most fundamental level, as laid out by Marx, the maintenance of close-knit analogies between music and movement lie in the construction and preservation of a regular sense of meter, the methods of which are dealt with in detail by Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff in their seminal text A Generative Theory of Tonal Music. The value of metrical construction in waltz music is stressed by Harald Krebs in Fantasy Pieces, in which the author adopts a less formal terminology to describe the deliberate manipulation of metrical processes by waltz composers, and their musical effects. Finally, in Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music, William Rothstein’s discussion of the interaction between meter and phrase structure has implications for the strict rules that governed waltz compositional practice, particularly in cases where waltzes were not composed to accompany dance. In the musical analysis section of this thesis in chapter 6, a number of appropriate methods taken from Marx, Lerdahl and Jackendoff, Krebs, Zbikowski and McKee have been mobilised to reflect upon a variety of women’s waltzes, in order to help

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20 McKee, Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz, 122; 148-49; 159; 174; 236; Yaraman, Revolving Embrace, 19-22; 33; Lawrence M. Zbikowski, Foundations of Musical Grammar (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 131; 142; 152; 166.
21 Adolf Bernhard Marx, Die Lehre von Der Musikalischen Komposition, 2 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Hartel, 1837).
establish women’s stylistic and cultural motivations in waltz composition - this chapter also contains the fullest and most diverse volume of analysed music for dance, or in a dance style, with female authors to date.

**Presenting Women’s Waltzes**

With its lowly origins, the waltz appalled as many as it delighted, and strict rules governed nineteenth-century ballroom etiquette to avoid potential impropriety in this novel environment which brought male and female dancers into close physical proximity. The sensuality of dancing in pairs was also seemingly unavoidable, and provided new inspiration for art and fictional writing from the period, dominated by a male perspective on feminine beauty in the waltz. Yet how women really thought and felt about waltzing is missing from both historical and contemporary literature. Further, waltz music was historically judged on an entirely different plane to that of dancing, and provoked debate on the musical and intellectual value of dance repertoire. In Chapter 1, the cultural origins of the waltz, its reception in Parisian society, and its assimilation into French music and culture is explored. In addition, the first chapter studies the waltz’s historical implications (real and imagined) for women in particular, drawing crucial questions on identifying the woman’s “voice” within waltz dance, literature, and music.

A surprising number of women, from diverse backgrounds and social classes, chose to compose and publish waltzes. A handful of these composers - such as Cécile Chaminade, Louise Farrenc, and Mélanie-Hélène Bonis - have already been the subject of limited musicological research, thanks to an increasing concern for lives and works of female composers that took place in the 1980s and 1990s by such scholars as Jane Bowers, Marcia Citron, Susan Cook, Nancy B. Reich, Ruth Solie, Judith Tick, and Judy Tsou. The majority of Parisian women composers and their works, however, are named, recognised and analysed in this project for the first time. The variety of ways in which female composers engaged with nineteenth-century musical society, their opportunities and limitations, their performance lives, careers, and very existence as individuals, underpin the discussion in chapters 2 and 3. In chapter 2, the impact of women’s social backgrounds - their class, privilege, and family - on their compositional careers and image in the French press is examined using four female musicians with contrasting upbringings as

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examples. Similarly, chapter 3 explores women’s relationships with educational establishments as students, teachers, and directors, from the highly competitive and frequently misogynistic settings of music conservatories, to the often nurturing and inclusive environment of independent schools with entrepreneurial professional female musicians at the helm. Chapter 3 also examines the life and career of one woman who produced a significant quantity of dance music - including many waltzes - for performance at Parisian balls, but who may also be the first example of a female conductor leading all-male dance orchestras. In each case, the current that runs through the dialogue revolves around how publishing waltzes enabled or disabled women in their musical ambitions.

The second part of this project involves a close examination of the bibliographic, iconographic, and musical elements that can be found in waltz scores with female authors, identifying common features, inconsistencies, and cultural implications. It is no coincidence, for example, that the two waltz compositions authored by women chosen for analysis by Yaraman are scored for voice and piano, which were the two most socially acceptable instruments in the nineteenth century for a woman to learn. For a young girl of the bourgeoisie, the piano was especially important for social mobility, whereby learning to study and perform music implied that her family had the means to provide her with lessons. The nineteenth-century trend for studying piano, combined with a mania for waltzing at society balls, were two key factors in generating a high demand for keyboard waltzes for the fashionable young lady or gentleman learning music at home, on which publishers and composers alike capitalised. Nineteenth-century publishers recognised the potential goldmine in churning out dance repertoire to a seemingly insatiable public, and waltzes - the enfant terrible of the ballroom - could be especially lucrative. In fact, acquiring and reproducing dance repertoire for keyboard is credited for ensuring the early commercial success of many of the largest and most profitable of Paris’s publishing houses,26 including Leduc, Heugel, Lemoine, and Enoch. With varying implications for the authors who wished to make their waltz compositions available for public consumption, women’s relationships with the publishing industry is the focus of chapter 4.

The bibliographic and iconographic detail on front covers of published waltzes throws an important light on editors, composers, reception, and indeed the wider social life of the score, and many waltzes began exhibiting decorative title pages from the 1840s. These images often feature romantic and/or feminine themes to include flowers, pastoral scenes, and women’s portraiture that betray the preferred physical, social, and behavioural ideals for women in the

nineteenth century. The majority of these scores also detail dedications which, as opposed to the previous century, were more often than not chosen by the composer rather than the editor.\textsuperscript{27} Score dedications can thus provide vital information about a composer’s social milieu - real or desired; yet despite its potential for cultural insight, the study of score iconography and dedications are vastly underrepresented subjects in the study of nineteenth-century music; chapter 5 examines these aspects of women’s waltzes in detail.

Just under 1000 individual keyboard waltzes written by female composers fill the shelves of the BnF, while countless more may exist in private collections, as unpublished manuscripts, or have simply been lost over time. Although we may never know the true figure of how many women wrote waltzes for piano throughout the long nineteenth century, or indeed, how many more of these scores were made available for public consumption, an abundance of such waltzes are available to establish an understanding of how women composed and interpreted waltz music in this period, and discover their possible motivations; these observations form the heart of chapter 6, which provides the most exhaustive musical analysis of waltzes by female composers to date.

Finally, this project features works by women on their own merit and subsequently does not include comparative data between women and men. While it is true that substantially more men published keyboard waltzes in the decades of the nineteenth century,\textsuperscript{28} this thesis intends to avoid the implication that women composed waltzes as a response to men composing waltzes, or that the male repertoire is the standard to which women’s music must be compared. Instead, by focusing almost exclusively on a body of work produced by women, female authors will for the first time dominate the analytical conversation in dance music study. This female-led approach facilitates an investigation of how the inclusion of female composers, as active creators of waltz repertoire in the nineteenth century, can enrich our current understanding of a dance genre loaded with cultural, social and gendered implications.


\textsuperscript{28} See appendix G.2.
Chapter 1  

Twists and Turns: The Social History of Waltzing in Europe, 1800-1914

“What had girls in ball-dresses got to do with life as it swirled and rushed by her, with its remorseless laws, its unceasing activities?”

Ella Hepworth Dixon

_The Story of a Modern Woman_, 1894

“...”

Léon Moussinac in 1827, “is a German dance which our French adore.” As a dominating force in the Parisian social dance landscape throughout the nineteenth century, waltzing forever changed the ways in which men and women interacted on the dance floor and in private spaces. Women also had the opportunity to become involved in the male-dominated world of composition to a greater degree than ever before, thanks to a high demand for waltz music generated by the dance’s popularity. In order to understand how women negotiated dancing the waltz and composing waltzes, this chapter sets the waltz in its wider historical and social context, from its pastoral Bavarian origins, to its introduction and reception into the Parisian metropolis.

1.1  

Historical Contexts

1.1.1  

Origins

The exact origins of the ballroom waltz are difficult to pinpoint, and a number of Germanic rural ‘spinning’ dances, such as the Weller or Spinner, date back to the sixteenth century. An earlier possible precursor also exists in _La volta_, which was a lively couples dance in triple time consisting of turns and leaps practised by members of European aristocracy, and was apparently danced for the first time in Paris on the 9th of November 1178. Like the waltz, the volta was not without its

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critics, who objected to its “lewd and unchaste” character, professing its practice to be “lascivious and wayward;” King Louis XIII even banned the dance from court on account of its unrefined and undignified character. Indeed, it seems that any kind of spinning dance— including the Dreher, Ländler, or Deutscher—in which pairs of dancers embraced and revolved on an axis—invoked a degree of moral chastisement from those who were horrified at the licentious behaviour and lack of common decency its votaries apparently displayed.

With the exception of the volta (and eventually of course, the ballroom waltz), these spinning dances were predominantly popular with the working classes, and on account of their low associations did not make it onto the dance floors of high society. This accolade was reserved primarily for the stately minuet, the study of which has dominated dance music research since the early 1990s. Dancing the minuet remained fashionable among European aristocracy from the 1660s until the end of the eighteenth century, and in modern discourse, the minuet is sometimes paired with the waltz to offer a contrast in style and ideals. Similarities can however be drawn between these two seemingly polar opposites; like the waltz, the minuet was danced to music in triple time, and was chiefly performed as a show-dance, in which a single couple had the opportunity to display their refinement, grace, and elegant restraint to an assembly of select spectators. At the height of its popularity, the waltz also thrilled onlookers who came to gaze at the splendour and abandon of the now multitudinous whirling couples on the ballroom floor, yet the arrangement was less formal than the minuet, which functioned as a deliberate display of skill to an appreciative audience; in the case of the waltz, the dancers danced primarily for

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5 Thoinot Arbeau [pseud. Jean Tabourot], Orchesographie (Langres, 1589); in Mosco Carner, The Waltz (New York: Chanticleer Press, 1948), 12.
themselves. For the spectator and dancer alike, waltzing could be readily accessed at the numerous private or public balls held throughout the nineteenth-century, and in theory any bystander could come and take their fill of the spectacle - provided of course that they could afford the entry fee. There were other alternatives: less formal social gatherings in public spaces, such as pleasure gardens, offered an open opportunity to watch and dance the waltz, regardless of social class or personal income; not so for the minuet, which was reserved for society’s most elite members.

One of the most important differences between the minuet and waltz lies in their respective choreographies; the minuet’s steps were notoriously complicated, and it was a mark of skill for the performers to execute the dance with precision and effortless style. It is for this reason that only nobility or royalty had the means and/or desire to learn and perform the social minuet. The waltz’s steps, on the other hand, were markedly easier to learn, and in many cases, one did not even require the often-expensive services of a dance master, as learning the minuet did - a skilled family member or friend would do, and children and young adults could practise steps together in the privacy of the family salon. This domestic characteristic of the waltz was undoubtedly one of the key factors in the dance’s rapid rise in popularity and dissemination among the influential rising middle classes, usurping the minuet to virtual nonexistence in social dance. The waltz became the new ‘queen’ of the ballroom, and by the first half of the nineteenth century, dance enthusiasts from nearly every social sphere seemed to spend their leisure time waltzing, to the pleasure of some, and the vexation of others.

1.1.2 The Waltz Comes to Paris

The closest direct ancestor of the formalised nineteenth-century ballroom waltz was - in dance historian and music analyst Eric McKee’s opinion - the deutscher-walzer, enjoyed by the Viennese middle classes from around the 1760s. Like its early forms, this dance not only possessed the spinning element of an individual couple’s rotations, but there was now the added element of a loose group co-ordination, where each couple followed one another around the perimeter of the floor in a large circle. This structural movement was an important step closer

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9 “Before considering whether [...] a waltz is, or is not, calculated to please the spectators, we should enquire if it is likely to please the dancers; that, we shall find, is the essential point.” Henri Cellarius, The Drawing-Room Dances (London: E. Churton, 1847), 33. Italics in original text.
11 McKee, Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz, 91.
towards the ballroom waltzes of the nineteenth century, and after 1800, as the word *deutscher* was gradually dropped from the dance’s namesake to become known simply as the *walzer*, couples began to exercise greater autonomy by following their own paths around the floor. In addition, while the *deutscher-walzer* was at first characterised by “several leaps, and some particularly pleasing steps” including “hopping and skipping,”13 (and it is interesting to note how the leaping element harks back to the volta of two centuries previous), a more refined gliding motion in the feet was gradually incorporated to more closely resemble the nineteenth-century Viennese waltz.14

It is not clear exactly how or when the ballroom waltz was transmitted from Vienna to France, and Parisian dance manuals offer little insight into the subject. English sources are slightly more helpful, and refer to the waltz’s popularity in Europe in relation to its growing presence in London. Dance master Thomas Wilson’s influential 1816 guide *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing*, for example, credits dance practices abroad with both introducing and popularising the waltz in English society, explaining that on the continent, “waltzing, as well as every other species of dancing, are much more indulged in than in this country.”15 An emerging Parisian awareness of waltzing in the earliest years of the nineteenth century is also present in an illustration from *Le bon genre*, a volume of caricatures portraying Parisian social life between 1801 and 1822. “La Walse” (figure 1) is the first image of the collection, and juxtaposes a couple in coarse dress dancing with ease against a more elegant pair who struggle with their steps, rendering the latter absurd in their efforts. The image also suggests that among the upper echelons of Parisian society, the desire to learn the waltz was still a relatively new ambition at the turn of the eighteenth century.

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A gradual standardisation of waltz technique can be established when examining the various nineteenth-century dance manuals published throughout the century. In 1816, Thomas Wilson describes three different methods of French waltzing - the Slow, Sauteuse, and Jetté (or Quick Sauteuse)\(^\text{16}\) - as distinct from the traditional German style. By the 1840s, two waltz types dominated dance floors in Paris and beyond: the *valse à trois temps*, or the “old walse” pertaining to the Viennese style, and the newer *valse à deux temps*, apparently originating in Russia and first danced in Paris in 1839.\(^\text{17}\) In reality, the latter was not danced to two beats of music as its name suggested, but essentially condensed the three-step pattern into two via a glide and a *chasser* (with a one-beat pause between the two), and was danced to standard waltz music in triple time. Although this waltz was simpler to execute, teachers lamented the *valse à deux temps*’s name and its tendency to cause confusion among learners, and the influential French dance master Henri Cellarius suggests it would have been better called the *valse à deux pas*. Nevertheless, the new two-step waltz was popular in Parisian ballrooms, and threatened to overshadow the apparently monotonous Viennese waltz, with its “incessant rotation” rendering dancers akin to

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\(^{16}\) Wilson, *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing*, 62.

\(^{17}\) “De la valse à deux pas; dite valse à deux temps: C’est en parfaite connaissance de cause que je puis parler de l’origine Russe, de la Valse à deux pas, car mon père fut le second qui la dansa à Paris en 1839, je dis intentionnellement le second car le premier fut un de ses élèves.” Gustave Desrat, *Traité de la danse: contenant la théorie et l’histoire des danses anciennes et modernes* (Paris: Delarue, c. 1883), 81.
“automatons.” By the 1880s, even the waltz’s Bavarian origins were in dispute, and the French appeared to love the waltz so much that some dance masters claimed it as their own based on its links to the volta; Edmond Bourgeois, for example, rather triumphantly concludes in 1901 that the waltz was French all along, stating “the waltz […] is not at all of German origin, but very French. […] The waltz is a National Dance that is well worth defending, and we claim it as ours since it is ours.”

Popular as it was, the waltz was of course not the only social dance to grace nineteenth-century ballroom floors, and the quadrille, polka, mazurka, and galop were also well-loved in Paris and Europe.

1.1.3 Social Dance in Paris - the Quadrille, Polka, Mazurka, and Galop

The quadrille, which was well-established in Paris by 1910 and introduced in London in 1815, was a group dance derived from the eighteenth-century French cotillion. As its name suggests, the quadrille was performed by at least four couples facing each other in a square formation, and pairs of couples on opposite ends of the square - the ‘head’ and ‘sides’ - danced a series of figures in turn, weaving in and out of the square’s centre in a walking or sliding motion. By the 1820s, the ballroom quadrille comprised a standardised set of five figures, each with its own distinct character: Le Pantalon; L’Été; La Poule; La Pastourelle; and the Finale. Certain dance treatises point to small stylistic differences in the ways the quadrille was danced in Paris, mainly concerning the logistics of floor placement: “[In France] it is danced in lines, extending the length of the room. […] The leading gentlemen with their ladies face the music; but in [the USA], as a natural sequence to our manner of numbering couples in the square set, the leading gentlemen with their ladies should face the left of the room.” Regardless of region, the quadrille

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19 In pages 73-77 of his Traité de la danse, Desrat cites from an article dated 17 January 1882 that appeared in the journal La Patrie, in which its authors contested Germany’s ancestral claim to the waltz due to similarities in descriptions of the French volta in Arbeau’s Orchésographie, and the Dictionnaire universel françois et latin [Dictionnaire de Trévoux], 2-3 vols (first published Trévoux, 1704); Desrat reiterates these allegations in his Dictionnaire de la danse: historique, théorique, pratique et bibliographique (Paris: Libraires-Imprimeries Réunis, 1895), 370-373. In turn, Eugène Giraudet and Edmond Bourgeois repeat Desrat’s claims almost word for word their respective manuals Traité de la danse: seul guide complet renfermant 200 danses différentes de salons, grands bals, sociétés, théâtre, concert, province et étranger (Paris: Imprimerie A. Veutin, ca. 1870), 33; and Traité pratique et théorique de la danse (Paris: Garnier frères, 1901), 237-239.

20 “La valse […] n’est pas du tout d’origine allemande, mais bien française. […] La valse est une Danse nationale qui vaut bien qu’on la défende, qu’on la revendique chez nous, puisqu’elle est bien à nous.”


was instructed to be performed with an effortless grace and fluidity, avoiding awkward movements or large steps.23

Dancing the quadrille required minimal exertion, and could provide much needed respite from the more physically demanding waltz or galop.24 The measured physical nature of the quadrille gave dancers an opportunity for socialisation, though some dance masters note a certain amount of ennui setting in around the middle of the century;25 in Paris, the excitement surrounding the newer waltz and polka may have somewhat eclipsed the popularity of the quadrille in the late 1840s.26 Mindful of this issue, some Parisian attempts were made to update the quadrille by incorporating the fashionable round dances into its traditional figures, including Laure Micheli’s *Quadrille-vals Micheliana* in 1861,27 and the *Variétés Parisiennes*, composed by the Société académique des professeurs de danse de Paris in 1865.28 Although it is not clear how widespread these versions became, their presence suggests a desire to keep the quadrille within the ballroom repertoire and provide a more sociable contrast with the couple’s dances that dominated the period; quadrilles thus continued to be a stalwart of European and North American dance floors throughout the nineteenth century.

25 “The author of a recent work on etiquette, published in England […], says - “I do not attempt to deny that the quadrille, as now walked, is ridiculous; the figures, which might be graceful […], have entirely lost their spirit, and are becoming a burlesque of dancing.”” Cecil B. Hartley quoting an unknown source in *The Gentlemen’s Book of Etiquette and Manual of Politeness* (Boston: G. W. Cottrell, 1860), 97; 108-109.
27 See chapter 3, section 3 for a more detailed discussion of Micheli and this quadrille.
28 The new figures for this Parisian Variety were structured thus: *L’invitation* (valse); *L’étoile* (polka); *Le prisonnier* (valse); *L’alternante* (polka-mazurka); and *La rosace* (valse). De Garmo, *The Dance of Society*, 45-47.
Perhaps the greatest threat to the waltz’s popularity was the polka. With its origins in Bohemia, the polka was most likely introduced in Paris by the Czech dance master Raab, who
danced it at the Odéon Theatre for the first time in 1840. Similar to the waltz in hold and rotational movement, the polka faced many of the same criticisms as its immediate predecessor, and the “violent gestures” that characterised the polka’s rural form were “substituted by a movement more in accordance with the rules of good taste, and more congenial to the quiet refinement of a ball-room.” Recognising its potential, some of the most prominent Parisian dance masters jostled to add their own flourishes to the polka and herald their versions as the best in town, creating rivalries and contributing to the ‘polka-mania’ in the process. Not unlike Bourgeois’s rather tenuous claims to the ‘true’ French origins of the waltz, Cellarius also attempted to suggest that by rights, the polka should be “considered as a French dance, despite its foreign origin; for to France it owes its great vogue, and its character of universality.” Danced in 2/4 time with a combination of heel and toe steps and punctuated with delicate hops from both partners, the polka was distinctively easy to learn and master, and could provide “an indispensable repose amidst the fever of the waltz.” The relative simplicity of its steps contributed in part to the emergence of polka-mazurka and polka-quadrille hybrids in the middle of the century, and these mixed styles were a particularly popular choice for female composers of keyboard dances.

In contrast, the ballroom mazurka was technically more difficult than the majority of round dances, not least because of its improvisatory nature based around four basic steps: the pas glisée (or pas de mazurka); the pas de basque; the pas boiteux; and the pas polonaise (or coup de talon). More advanced steps could also be performed, but required extensive study and practise to execute well. Cellarius calls the mazurka a refined, quintessentially Polish dance “of impulse, majesty, unreservedness, and allurement. It has even something of the proud and warlike.” Because of its scope for improvisation, the mazurka also offered greater opportunity for individual expression through dance, though since the man leads, self-expression is predominantly his for the taking. Indeed, Cellarius confirms that the lady “must obey without reserve the movement of
the gentleman who throws her into his arm.”35 Since the mazurka required such dedicated instruction, it was rather less popular in the ballrooms and salons than simpler forms like the waltz, polka, or quadrille; and yet the mazurka’s basic steps were often incorporated into these dances for variation. Cellarius himself created a quadrille-mazurka to introduce the mazurka’s basic elements to dancers, inject variety into the ballroom, and consolidate French and Polish national styles; the dance master also blended waltz and mazurka into a new five-step dance of his own creation, which was commonly known as ‘The Cellarius.’36

Figure 2. “La Polkamanie: La Polka des bals publics,” Charles Vernier, 1844. Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris. The illustration comes accompanied with the text:

“- Young man!... I say, young man!... you dance here a dance as incoherent as it is incompatible with the constitutional authorities of your country!
- Police sergeant... you aggrieve me... as you can well see, we are doing the Polka!”37

35 Ibid., 63.
36 Ibid., 21; 25-26; 61; 63; 69; 74.
37 “- Jeune homme !... dites donc, jeune homme !... vous dansez-là une danse aussi incohérente qu’incompatible avec les autorités constitutionnelles de votre patrie !
- Sergent de ville... vois m’affligez... vous voyez bien que nous Polkons!” Charles Vernier, “La Polkamanie” (Paris: d’Aubert &Co., 1844).
What the waltz, quadrille, polka, and mazurka had in common was an emphasis on producing refined and dignified movements; the same could not be said for the raucous galop which, as its name suggests, was characterised by a series of rapid chases across the floor in waltz hold. The galop also required no special instruction, and was “possibly the simplest dance ever introduced into the ballroom.” Sometimes danced as the finale of a ball, its endorsement for speed could raise the temptation to ‘dash’ across the dance floor rather too quickly, causing accidents and falls. A source from 1837 laments the domino effect of careless dancers: “some of the more spirited of the dancers, especially among the male sex, often dash against the ropes in the midst of the gallopade, and sometimes, by the rebound, are thrown prostrate on the floor. […] The evil is, that others, and ladies too, suffer as well as themselves. When they are thrown down on the floor, it not unfrequently happens that they prove a stumbling-block to some “charming young lady,” who, before she is aware, falls over them, and is stretched in the same horizontal posture as themselves” (see figure 3). As indicated in the discussion of the previous

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dances, steps could be borrowed from two different forms to create hybrids, and the galop was
no exception. Incorporating a revolving motion into the galop, for example, could produce a
galop-waltz,40 and a knowledge of the galop could be beneficial when learning the valse à deux
temps, which essentially used the same step.41

Above all other dances, the waltz, with astonishing endurance, continued to dominate
Parisian ballrooms, and in his 1895 dictionary of dancing, Gustave Desrat explains “it is useless
to discuss the success of this dance, which is almost the only one performed at our balls; all the
dances, polka, scottish, even the quadrille, serve as a pretext to waltz.”42

1.1.4 Public Balls and Concert Halls

In the nineteenth century, Parisian citizens who possessed the financial means and social
inclination had various options for dancing in public, and in the 1830s around 230 bals publics
functioned in the French capital.43 Often run by dance masters, the writer and publisher Victor
Rozier credits the first ‘true’ public, paid-entry ball to Monsieur Mabille, who had begun
organising social events after his dance classes for his students to practise. Following the success
of these events, Mabille recruited the help of his sons Victor and Charles to establish his bal
Mabille near the Champs Elysees in 1840. After a revamp in 1844 that saw the venue fashioned to
resemble a kind of enchanted grotto, ticket prices, and thus exclusivity, were raised so that
eventually only the most well-heeled Parisians and European tourists could afford to attend the
venue’s balls. At the Mabille, the orchestra occupied a central position (figure 4), while couples
danced informally around the bandstand, themselves surrounded by spectators; and yet by the
1860s, only the “indigenous population, the lowest of the low, the plebs, the tiers état” would
occupy the dance floor of the Mabille, while onlookers were generally “of a higher social class,”44
and prostitutes were common. Nevertheless, at the bal Mabille, patrons could dance with an
uncommon sense of freedom,45 and it was here that the can-can is said to have originated.

40 Friedrich Albert Zorn, Grammar of the Art of Dancing; Theoretical and Practical Lessons in the Arts of
Dancing and Dance Writing (Choreography), With Drawings, Musical Examples, Choreographic Symbols and
Special Music Scores, ed. Alfonso Josephs Sheafe (Boston, Massachusetts: The Heintzemann Press, 1905),
229.
41 Cellarius, Fashionable Dancing, 35.
42 “Il est inutile de parler du succès de cette danse, qui est presque la seule usitée dans nos bals; toutes les
danses, polka, scottishe, même quadrille, servent de prétexte pour valser.” Gustave Desrat, Dictionnaire de
la danse: historique, théorique, pratique et bibliographique (Paris: Libraires-Imprimeries Réunis, 1895), no
page.
43 Jonathan Conlin, Tales of Two Cities: Paris, London and the Birth of the Modern City (London: Atlantic
Books, 2013), 139.
44 Ibid., 142.
45 “One is free at Mabille, at the Chaumiere […]. There everyone dances as he wishes: he can walk, as in high
society; he can cut a caper and strut about in the pastourelle solos; the ladies are free to drink and smoke.”
According to Rozier, the Mabille occupied the highest class of public ball held in the summer seasons, alongside the Château des fleurs, the Ranelagh, the parc d’Asnières, and the bal Bullier. In the 1850s, entry to these venues averaged at around three francs per head for men, while women, who “contribute to the attraction of the festivities with their charms and adornments,” could attend for free. An exception to this fee was at the Ranelagh, where women were charged one franc in an attempt to solidify the ball’s high-brow status.

Figure 4. A coloured lithograph of the Bal Mabille by Provost, based on a ca 1850-60 sketch design by Eugene von Guérard. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie.

Most balls opened either in the summer or winter seasons, though some, like the Tivoli and the Jardin d’été/Jardin d’hiver, ran throughout the year; an illustration in Études quasi morales sur les bals champêtres parisiens demonstrates the practical difficulties in operating throughout the two seasons (see figure 5). For the winter balls, the salle Valentino, the Prado, and the Salle

(“On est libre à Mabille [...]. Là, chacun danse comme il l’entend: il peut marcher, comme dans le grand monde; il peut marcher, comme dans le grand monde; il peut aussi tricoter des entrechats et faire la roue dans les solos de Pastourelle; les dames sont libres de boire et de fumer.”) Anonymous author, Paris dansant, ou Les filles d’Hérodias, folles danseuses des bals publics: le bal Mabille, la Grande-Chaumière, le Ranelagh, etc. (J. Breaute, 1845), 10; translated by Carol Mossman in Writing with a Vengeance: The Countess de Chabrillan’s Rise from Prostitution (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 69-70.

Sainte-Cécile were held in the highest regard, and the cold months were more popular for balls than the summer; Rozier estimated that, at the time of writing in 1855, 40 balls operated in the summer compared to 70 in the winter.48 While summer balls were usually held in large pleasure gardens around Paris, the most popular winter balls took place in established venues which were capable of accommodating large numbers; the salle Valentino for example, located at 251 rue Saint-Honoré (now the Mandarin Oriental) could house thousands of dancers (figure 6).

Figure 5. “The Asnières ball in stormy weather.” Études quasi morales sur les bals champêtres parisiens (Paris: no date), 99.

Ballrooms were not the only places in Paris where waltzes were regularly played. Concert halls, which featured a variety of orchestral and chamber works, commonly included dance music in their programmes. The largest and most popular venues could seat hundreds: the salle Pleyel, for example, had a capacity of approximately 450, while its close rival, the salle Érard, was slightly more intimate, comfortably fitting just over 200 in its audience. Both established by two leading nineteenth-century piano manufacturers, the salles Pleyel and Érard specialised in piano music concerts, and were the sites of many important premieres throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by prominent composers such as Ravel, Satie, and Debussy. Numerous female composers and performers - particularly those who were predominantly involved in pedagogy - habitually showcased their works at these and other concert halls around Paris as part of personal performances.

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or student recitals, and there is evidence that keyboard waltzes were a popular choice of repertoire.\footnote{Monthly concert listings for numerous concert halls can be found in each year of the \textit{Annuaire des artistes}. See also the sections on Hortense Parent and Marguerite Balutet in Chapter 3, section 2 of this study.}

\subsection*{1.1.5 Social Dance Etiquette}

In order for the early nineteenth-century ballroom waltz to become disassociated from its undesirable humble heritage and achieve the approval of society, it needed to be refined and polished. Discussing French and German waltzing in 1816, Wilson explains that “such considerable additions upon [the waltz’s] primitive principles have been made to it, so as to render it the most \textit{fashionable} and \textit{agreeable} species of dancing;” one of these changes included the transition from a skipping movement to a more graceful gliding movement already mentioned. In addition, as the first social dance to allow a man and woman to effectively embrace for an extended length of time on the ballroom floor, those who wished to waltz in public and keep their reputations intact needed to observe boundaries of personal space. Both Wilson and the dance master Carlo Blasis agree that couples must leave sufficient space between their bodies, with the latter warning that “one person should keep as far from the other as the arms will permit, so that neither may be incommoded.”\footnote{Carlo Blasis, \textit{The Code of Terpsichore. The Art of Dancing: Comprising Its Theory and Practice, and a History of Its Rise and Progress, from the Earliest Times: Intended as Well for the Instruction of Amateurs as the Use of Professional Persons}, trans. R. Barton (London: E. Bull, 1830), 505.} This advice could have ramifications not only in the practical, more physical demands of the dance (i.e. not stepping on your partner’s toes), but would also ensure the modesty and respectability of the dancer, particularly the woman. In an 1867 etiquette guide, for example, the Comtesse de Bassanville stresses that the gentleman’s arm should not linger around the waist of his partner any longer than necessary.\footnote{“Un cavalier ne doit pas passer le bras autour de la taille de sa danseuse, avant le moment où il commence à valser ou à polker avec elle;” “Aussitôt que la danseuse s’arrête dans une valse, polka, etc., son cavalier doit aussitôt détacher le bras qu’il a passé autour de sa taille.” Mme [Anaïs] la Comtesse de Bassanville, \textit{Guide des gens du monde dans toutes les circonstances de la vie} (Paris: Lebigre-Duquesne frères, 1867), 251-252.} Still, the thrill of such close contact with the opposite sex was almost irresistible to nineteenth-century dance-minded youth, and was one of the key factors of the rise in popularity of the waltz.

To waltz at a ball, one had to be suitable dressed, and Parisian fashions were extremely influential throughout the period; in a bid to emulate French styles, couriers even carried small dolls dressed in the latest trends across the Channel to London for English tailors and dressmakers to copy.\footnote{See the opening pages of Conlin’s \textit{Tales of Two Cities}, 1-8.} Often, dance dictated fashion trends, and historian Elizabeth Aldrich uses the waltz to
highlight how social dances could impact women’s clothing in particular. In the early part of the 1800s up to the middle of the century, for example, women’s skirts were full, which “paralleled the increasing tempo of the waltz and also complemented the circular nature of the whirling dance;” fuller skirts had the added benefit of ensuring sufficient distance between the male and female partner. Towards the 1880s, cages disappeared from ballgowns to reflect the fashions of a “more pendulum-like” waltz,55 and more intimate hold. Nevertheless, rules of ballroom attire were strict, and not restricted to women: “a gentleman should always be so well dressed, that his dress shall never be observed at all,”56 writes Edward Ferrero in 1859, implying that all eyes should be on the ladies. Gloves were also an essential accessory throughout the century for both sexes, and the Comtesse de Bassanville warns: “A man must never offer his bare hand to a lady, either to lead her to the contredanse, or to get rid of a glass or other object,”57 thus avoiding the indecency of skin-to-skin contact between the sexes. Gloves, however, could also come in handy for a lady to achieve quite different ends: since blatant flirtation at any social (or indeed, private) function would have been frowned upon, gloves, fans, and even parasols could be used to send coded signals to the object of one’s affections, communicating messages of love, refusals, or indifference to a gentleman’s advances.58 The ballroom, then, was universally acknowledged as a place where attachments between men and women could be forged and developed, and the increased intimacy of waltz dancing enabled these processes.

It was one thing to dress well, however, but quite another to act it. Aside from the many spoken and unspoken rules for socialising in the ballroom (as provided by the vast array of etiquette guides and handbooks on the subject), there were also socially acceptable (and of course, unacceptable) standards of behaviour pertaining to dance, particularly when engaging in the social and physical ‘dangers’ of such round dances as waltzes, mazurkas, and polkas; although some guidance for men does exist, much of the advice from the period is aimed at women. For example, in addition to not permitting a gentleman to help hold up her dress while dancing with him, the lady was instructed to rest frequently, not only for her physical well-being, but for appearance’s sake, since to “race round and round until the music ceases [...] would be considered vulgar.”59 The Comtesse de Bassanville goes so far as to suggest that if a woman has become tired while dancing, she should not dance at all for the rest of the evening, for fear of offending any potential partner. In this situation, the gentleman must not insist his partner

58 Aldrich, From the Ballroom to Hell, 103-105.
59 Anonymous, Manners and Tone of Good Society, By a Member of the Aristocracy (London: F. Warne and Co., ca. 1879), 124-25.
continues dancing, but guide her gently to her seat; if she was a single young woman, she must remain seated near her mother or chaperone.60

Further, women were counselled when and with whom to dance, and a Mme Celnart in Boston recommends that “unmarried ladies should refrain from [waltzing] altogether, both in public and private; very young married ladies, however, may be allowed to waltz in private balls, if it is very seldom, and with persons of their acquaintance.”61 Just over thirty years later, the Comtesse de Bassanville repeats this recommendation, elaborating on the social restrictions placed on women at balls in general where “young women must never go alone to a ball or another big private party; they must always be accompanied, if not by their husbands, then by their mother or an elderly lady who is sufficiently well-placed in society to serve as their chaperone.”62

As a final note on ballroom etiquette, while it is true that social practices, customs, and styles varied from country to country, many of the suggestions found within manuals and magazines were given as cautionary guidelines rather than firm rules, and it is impossible to say how closely nineteenth-century women followed such advice, especially as dancing the waltz became increasingly acceptable. Indeed, as the century progressed, attitudes and dress evolved, and social conventions gradually became more relaxed; for the waltz, this mental and sartorial shift is evident in the ever-closing bodily proximity and interchangeability of couples, which enraged more conservative-minded individuals. Their dogged warnings against such immoral developments in social dance endured well into the later part of the century.

60 “Une dame qui a refusé un danseur, sous prétexte qu’elle était fatiguée, ne doit plus danser de la soirée;” “Quand une dame qui danse témoigne le désir de s’asseoir, c’est une faute à son cavalier d’insister pour la faire danser encore; on doit seulement, tout en la reconduisant à sa place;” “Une jeune fille qui ne danse pas doit rester assise près de sa mère, ou de la personne chargée de lui servir de chaperon.” Bassanville, Guide des gens du monde, 251-252.

61 Mme Celnart, The Gentleman and Lady’s Book of Politeness and Propriety of Deportment, Dedicated to the Youth of Both Sexes (Boston: Allen and Ticknor; Carter, Hendee & Co., 1833), 187. ‘Mme Celnart’ was the pseudonym for Élisabeth-Félicie Bayle-Mouillard (née Élisabeth Canard) (1796-1865), who wrote over 70 etiquette guides published in Paris, London, and the United States in the 1830s-60s. See the BnF’s online data pages for more information.

62 “Les jeunes femmes ne doivent jamais aller seules soit au bal, soit dans une autre grande soirée privée; il faut toujours qu’elles soient accompagnées, sinon par leur mari, au moins par leur mère ou une dame âgée assez bien posée dans le monde pour leur servir de chaperon.” Bassanville, Guide des gens du monde, 250.
1.2 Reception

1.2.1 Condemning the Waltz

Waltzing received censure from a number of quarters, and the outrage directed towards the new craze, particularly when it reached the ballroom floors of the middle to upper classes, is well-documented in a number of primary sources. Cellarius, for example, writes “the new dances, such as the polka, mazurka, valse à deux temps &c., which have gained favour during the last few years, [...] did not fail to meet with considerable opposition. Many persons, even now, [...] still speak of them with prejudice.” In an attempt to preserve their livelihoods, the authors of dance methods and manuals insist that any negative accusations towards the effects of waltzing are totally unfounded, and Wilson states “waltzing is [...] of a totally different tendency to that which has been until lately most erroneously impressed on the mind of society in general, as an enemy to true morals, and as endangering virtue.” In fact, both Cellarius and Wilson are at pains to stress that waltzing is practically “chaste,” especially when compared with the more raucous country dances.

What exactly, then, were the critics’ problems with dancing the waltz? As mentioned previously, spinning dances invariably raised scorn from society on account of their speed, corporeal proximity, and opportunity for licentiousness, and the early waltz was no exception; this time, however, it was the middle classes who were participating in this dance from ‘peasant’ origins. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, indignation towards the upstart waltz reached fever pitch in the early years of the nineteenth century, and the criticism is aimed almost exclusively at women. For instance, both the speed of the dance and the closeness of the dancers was regarded as detrimental to one’s physical well-being, and a mid-century French source warns that “the waltz is dangerous in some overcrowded establishments, because the gyrational movement is vertiginous and can lead to a stroke.” In England the advice was similar, and women in particular were recommended to “abandon waltzing, on account of its causing too violent emotions or an

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63 Cellarius, Fashionable Dancing, ii. Italics in original text.
64 Wilson, A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing, xxxii. Italics in original text.
65 Ibid.
agitation which produces vertigo and nervous symptoms,” which in turn could very well lead to “syncopes, spasms, and other accidents.”

Medical complications, however, were not the only issues at stake. For allowing increased physical intimacy between single men and women, the waltz’s potential negative effects on social propriety were a pressing concern; suddenly, unmarried men and women were permitted to place their hands and bodies against one another even before the dance’s first steps were taken, and this wanton familiarity was met with strong disapproval. Perhaps inevitably, the church was a powerful opposing voice, and in 1844, a cautionary article in the *Revue ecclésiastique* despairs: “the old quadrille is no longer enough in the present day; it was necessary to invent new dances, and in particular waltzes, of which I blush just by mentioning in name […], where both sexes let themselves be carried away by rapid movements… I shall stop there. Let us draw a thick curtain across these shameful disorders.”

The attraction of waltzing for the younger generation, as well as the subsequent decline in moral standards, is acknowledged earlier still in an 1832 verse from a book of French Catholic poetry:

Come, o queens of the ball!
The waltz awaits you, the waltz, - infamous dance,
That debases the body by prostituting the soul,
The waltz, invention of the archangel of evil.
O uncovered young women,
Young people, come all; troubled girls,
Come leaping into the mêlée,
Hearts against hearts, breasts against breasts,
And feet will stamp on your sullied crowns,
And vice will clap its hands.

One of the most famous objections to waltzing is found, however, in a poem by Lord Byron, published in London under the pseudonym Horace Horton in 1821. The poem is entitled

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69 “Accourez, o reines du bal! /La valse vous attend, la valse, - danse infâme, /Qui ravale le corps en prostituant l’âme, /La valse, invention de l’archange du mal. /O jeunes femmes dévoilées, /Jeunes gens, venez tous; jeunes filles troublées, /Courez bondir dans ces mêlées, /Cœurs contre cœurs, seins contre seins, /Et des pieds fouleront vos couronnes souillées, /Et le vice battra des mains.” Édouard Turquety, ‘La fête (1832),’ in *Poésie catholique* (Rennes: Molliex, 1836), 219.
“Waltz: An Apostrophic Hymn,” and Byron sets the scene with an introduction given by the fictitious narrator, describing how he has married a “middle-aged Maid of Honour,” and the two are contented in their domestic bliss. Problems arise, however, when the happy couple are invited by the “Countess of Waltzaway” to winter in town with their daughters, where the family attend a ball organised by the Countess. Expecting there to find some good, honest country dances (if only the Countess’s name had given some clue), ‘Mr Horton’ expresses his surprise and disgust on finding his wife “with her arms half round the loins of a huge hussar-looking gentleman I never set eyes on before,” and dancing to a “[damned] see-saw up and down sort of tune.” Byron’s moral objections to the physical familiarity between his wife and a virtual stranger, as well his disdain towards waltz music, are painfully evident.

In the poem itself, after a convoluted introduction and some disparaging remarks about Germany, Byron expands on the tactile familiarity between dancers: “Round all the confines of the yielded waist, the strangest hand may wander undisplaced; the lady’s in return may grasp as much.” The imagery Byron uses is strikingly and deliberately sexual (little wonder that the poem was originally published under a pseudonym), and echoes the practical advice meted out by etiquette guides on the subject. As both the man and woman are complicit in the immorality of touch before the dance has even begun, Byron thus warns against the moral implications of such “palming work,” and the promiscuous character of the dance will almost inevitably, in Byron’s mind at least, lead to the sin of carnal lust: “the breast thus publicly resigned to man, in private may resist him - if it can.” The woman who waltzes is thus sullied by association, whether she resists her partner or not, since she has allowed him to “approach the lip, which all, without restraint, come near enough - if not to touch - to taint.” A further inevitability according to Byron is that despite the waltz’s sexually subversive elements and dangers to their moral fibre, women will continue to waltz: “My wife now waltzes - and my daughters shall.”

71 Ibid., *Waltz: An Apostrophic Hymn*, lines 1-3.
72 Ibid., 19, line 20.
73 Ibid., 20, lines 3-4.
74 Ibid., 21, lines 11-12.
Though Byron’s poem is, of course, hyperbole, he verbalises what etiquette guides only hinted at; yet it is difficult to judge how seriously the younger generations would have heeded the words of Byron and his contemporaries who warned against the inevitable moral decline associated with waltzing. After all, women did, as Byron predicted, continue to waltz, just as they continued being able to resist sleeping with any man they waltzed with. If his words did not scare the youth, however, they might have frightened their parents, and one early nineteenth-century source asks “how uneasy an English mother would be to see her daughter so familiarly treated, and still more so to witness the obliging manner in which the freedom is returned by the females,” mirroring some of the sentiments in Byron’s poem.

Lord Byron was by no means alone in his concerns, and the waltz continued to be condemned throughout the century. An 1892 French etiquette guide reveals that though waltzing had become commonplace, anxieties surrounding its practice, and its implications for women in particular, were still present in the final decade of the century:

Young ladies must be forbidden some [dances], principally the waltz. “When, with one arm, one surrounds a slim and supple waist which, subject to cadence, comes and goes each time it is directed by a gentle embrace; that one holds with the other an obliging hand which does not leave yours, or that one departs only to embrace more; when, so close to one another, each fights for the same air, and receives it alternately from the lips which have breathed it, the two looks, which are but one, merge, carry and report the same thought of love and the same disorder; When one is young, loving, kind, handsome and waltzes, it is easy to predict what can happen. Mothers, who let your daughters waltz; husbands, who have young, pretty and impressionable wives, and let them waltz, have you lost your memories, or rather your heads?”

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77 “Les [...] jeunes dames doivent s’en interdire quelques-unes et principalement la valse. “Quand, d’un bras, on entoure une taille fine et souple qui, soumise à la cadence, obéit et s’approche chaque fois qu’on l’invite par une douce étroitesse; qu’on tient de l’autre main une main complaisante qui ne quitte point la vôtre, ou que l’on n’abandonne que pour s’enlacer davantage; quand, si près l’un de l’autre, on se dispute le même air et qu’on le reçoit tour à tour des lèvres qui l’ont respiré, les deux regards, qui n’en font qu’un, se confondent, portent et rapportent la même pensée d’amour et le même trouble; quand on est jeune, aimant, aimable, beau et qu’on valse, il est facile de prévoir ce qui peut arriver. Mères, qui laissez valser vos filles; maris, qui possédez des femmes jeunes, jolies et impressionnables, et les laissez valser, avez-vous donc perdu la mémoire, ou plutôt la tête?” Le livre de la famille: les personnes et les choses, savoir-vivre et savoir-faire, morale, éducation, économie domestique, hygiène, soins aux enfants, etc. (Paris: Auguste Pillet, 1892), 238.
This vivid description of waltzing is intimate, verging on the erotic, and makes the dance sound more appealing than abhorrent; yet this, perhaps, is the point: that the seductive qualities of waltzing can lead to women being seduced, in turn, by altogether more sinister forces.

These fears are realised in American ex-dancing master turned minister T. A. Faulkner’s 1892 diatribe *From the Ballroom to Hell,* which gives Byron’s effort a run for its money both in length and descriptive inventiveness. It tells the sad tale of a shy and virtuous young girl, who meets a stranger with a “handsome but deceitful face,” and becomes so emboldened by the pleasurable and disorientating effects of waltzing that she feels herself to be madly in love. She and the stranger proceed to dance the night away, until at 2am, the orchestra plays “the favourite waltz,” which is “the last and most furious of the night, as well as the most disgusting:”

She is now in the vile embrace of the Apollo of the evening. Her head rests upon his shoulder, her face is upturned to his, her bare arm is almost around his neck, her partly nude swelling breast heaves tumultuously against his, face to face they whirl on, his limbs interwoven with hers, […] until every curve in the contour of her body thrills with the amorous contact. […] She is filled with the rapture of sin in its intensity; her spirit is inflamed with passion and lust is gratified in thought. With a last low wail the music ceases, and the dance for the night is ended, but not the evil work of the night.

In this excerpt, music is in league with the dance’s sensuality and seductive powers; indeed, the two seem almost inseparable in their roles as agents of a respectable young woman’s weakening resistance to her dance partner’s advances, and Faulkner is quick to point out that there are men who frequent the ballroom with the sole purpose of seducing innocent women, only to cast them off the next morning with no adverse effect on their own respectability, free to do the same at the next opportunity. For women, however, the consequences are markedly different: now “robbed of that most precious jewel of womanhood - virtue,” the girl in the anecdote above, Faulkner regrets to say, consequently works in a brothel, where he estimates two-thirds of the women who “are ruined fall through the influence of dancing” are eventually destined. Indeed, as a former dance master, and thus first-hand witness, Faulkner stresses that the story is a true one, and he has seen it play out time and time again in even the most respectable of society balls.

Faulkner also points out that the socially precarious, and often impossible expectations placed on women, were only made worse by the temptations of the ballroom, where “any woman with a nature so cold as not to be aroused by the perfect execution of the waltz, is entirely unfit

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79 Ibid.
to make any man happy as his wife, and if she be willing to indulge in such pleasures with every ball-room libertine, she is not the woman any man wants for a wife.” In conclusion, Faulkner thus offers his readership a single solution to the problem: if you wish your daughter to remain virtuous and pure, do not, under any circumstances, allow her to waltz.

Byron and Faulkner’s views on waltzing, from an early and a later point in the nineteenth century respectively, occupy the more censorious end of the critical spectrum, and their motivations for writing need to be considered when evaluating their accounts of waltzing. Still, the alternative sources, which are numerous, seem to be spurred by a mutual fear of the waltz’s ability to break down established codes of behavior between the sexes, corrupting an impressionable youth and eroding their moral and social values in the process. The sheer volume of written discussion on waltzing also points towards the dance’s prevalence in nineteenth-century life, and though Faulkner argues “its universality does not prove its morality,” the waltz machine rolled on throughout the century regardless of its perceived dangers to modern society.

1.2.2 Advocating the Waltz

Some of the waltz’s greatest proponents in Paris were rather predictably the dancing masters, who, aside from attempting to making it a national dance, also endeavoured to promote a variety of often inventive benefits gained from its study, including: the waltz as an aid to physical health and graceful movement; a revival in interest among the youth for acquiring dancing skills (and thus, various social gains); a more modern breath of fresh air from the stifling dances of the previous century, and even a diversion from more undesirable pursuits such as gambling and card-playing. For the dancers themselves, the biggest concerns critics had with waltzing were the very features that made its practice so tempting - namely, the intoxicating thrill of twirling around the floor with abandon, in close embrace with a member of the opposite sex.

Fictional literature from the period provides us with a particularly descriptive, if romanticised, guide to the more positive experiences derived from waltzing, from the viewpoints of both dancer

80 Ibid.
81 Faulkner, who had become a minister, had predominantly religious objections. As for Byron, some historians suggest his hostility towards waltzing may partly have been ‘sour grapes’ owing to his club foot and withered leg impeding his ability to dance properly. Mark Knowles, The Wicked Waltz and Other Scandalous Dances: Outrage at Couple Dancing in the 19\textsuperscript{th} and Early 20\textsuperscript{th} Centuries (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: MacFarland & Company, Inc., 2009), 32.
82 Faulkner, From the Ballroom to Hell.
83 Albert Decombe, L’art de danser à la ville et à la cour, ou nouvelle méthode des vrais principes de la danse française et étrangère (Paris: Collinet, 1834), 109-110; Eugène Giraudet, Méthode moderne pour bien apprendre la danse, 67.
84 Cellarius, Fashionable Dancing, 6-7; 10.
and spectator. In fact, McKee suggests that “no other ballroom dance of the period receives this type of literary attention.”\textsuperscript{85} One of the most frequently cited sources of this type in the study of the waltz is a scene set out in Flaubert’s \textit{Sentimental Education}, originally published in 1869. In Flaubert’s description, the pleasure is derived from watching, rather than dancing the waltz:

A waltz was striking up. At this the women sitting on the sofas along the walls all rose to their feet, one by one, with great alacrity, and their skirts and shawls and head-dresses all began to swirl around. They swirled past Frédéric so closely that he could see the tiny beads of sweat on their foreheads; and this giddy spinning motion quickened and fell into a constant rhythm; he was gripped by a kind of intoxication, and all these equally dazzling women gyrating in front of his eyes, each with her own special fascination, brought other thoughts surging into his head.\textsuperscript{86}

The women rise up to waltz and begin their rotations very much like the automatons that Cellarius describes in his manual, and, as McKee notes, men are completely written out of Frederic’s observations.\textsuperscript{87} Instead, Frédéric, is hypnotised by the rhythmic regularity of the women’s exertions, their sweat, and their gyrations. The sexual overtones of Flaubert’s language are explicit, and Frédéric becomes more than just a spectator; he is now a voyeur, and as such, is also afforded a perceived intimacy which is perhaps even more strikingly risqué than the physical closeness of the dancers, since his takes places in “the inner sanctum of his erotic imagination.”\textsuperscript{88}

The emerging fixation on the female body in physical motion is also present in factual, personal accounts of balls, such as the Comte de La Garde-Chambonas’s experience of waltzing at the Viennese congress of 1814-15. As in Flaubert, the dancers are immediately mobilised by the strains of waltz music:

The bands struck up a series of waltz tunes, and immediately an electric current seemed to run through the immense gathering [...]. As soon as its strains rise upon the air, the features relax, the eyes become animated, and a thrill of delight runs through the company. The graceful gyrations of the dancers, at first somewhat confused, gradually assume accurately timed movements [...]. The pen fails to reproduce that enchanting scene of beauteous women covered with flowers and diamonds, yielding to the irresistible strains of the harmony and being carried away in the strong arms of their

\textsuperscript{85} McKee, \textit{Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz}, 99.
\textsuperscript{87} McKee, \textit{Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz}, 104.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.
partners until sheer fatigue compelled them to pause. The pen fails to reproduce the magnificent sight, to which daylight streaming through the windows put an end. 89

Once more, the dancers gyrate, and women are at the centre of the male gaze, as they yield to the undeniable masculinity of their partners, the allure of the music, and the unmitigated joy of the dance, to the point of pleasurable fatigue. In Paris dansant, Georges Montorgueil (the artistic pseudonym for Octave Lebesgue) discusses poet Sully Prudhomme’s impressions of women waltzing, troublingly suggesting that the dance’s sensual requirements had the potential to expose virgins and more experienced women alike:

The ardent impression that [Prudhomme] brought back testified that the [...] waltz is the touchstone of virginity. The virgin does not waltz. She is swept away in the whirlwind, she follows the movements that a gentleman prints in his steps, but stiff and as inanimate. She has the consenting suppleness that embraces only when love has given her the mystery of embraces. A waltz is a woman; she has loved, she has understood, she has vibrated in unison with other ecstasies; she knows [...] the undulation of the torso, the arch of the loins, the softness of abandonment, the drunkenness of vertigo, “the sweet and fleeting promise of a kiss that never comes.” 90

In this extract, Montorgueil suggests through Prudhomme that a woman who waltzes well cannot simply be talented - she must have some degree of sexual experience, or even proclivity. In addition, as in Flaubert and La Garde-Chambonas’s descriptions, men are completely removed from this heavily sexualised narrative, and are therefore unblemished by the waltz’s sexual associations in a way that women could not escape.

In nineteenth-century French fiction, the waltz was a vessel for igniting passions, and had the potential to both make and break relationships. The novelist Arsène Houssaye was particularly fond of harnessing the emotionally provocative elements of waltzing to craft tension in the relationships of his protagonists, often resulting in jealousy and resentment. In Life in Paris, for example, an eligible Count finds he has suddenly fallen in love with a pretty girl at a ball, and


90 “L’ardente impression qu'[Prudhomme] en rapporta témoigne que [...] la valse est la pierre de touche de la virginité. La vierge ne valse point. Elle est emportée dans le tourbillon, elle suit les mouvements qu’un cavalier imprime à ses pas, mais raide et comme inanimée. Elle n’a la souplesse consentante qui enlace que lorsque l’amour lui a livré le mystère des embracements. Une valseuse est femme; elle a aimé, elle a compris, elle a vibré à l’unisson d’autres extases; elle sait [...] l’ondulation du torse, la cambrure des reins, la mollesse des abandons, l’ivresse éperdue du vertige, “la douce et fuyante promesse d’un baiser qui ne vient jamais.”” Georges Montorgueil, Paris dansant (Paris: Théophile Belin, 1898), 3.
because he is so much better off than her, he is sure she will find him a catch. Approaching the woman, he asks to strike a bargain with her - if she will not waltz with any other man that evening, he will marry her. Since she loves waltzing so much, the young woman is hesitant at first, but the man’s fortune and title begin to tempt her. Just as she is about to agree to the Count’s terms, she hears the strains of Olivier Métra’s waltz *Serenade* starting up; incapable of controlling herself, she leaves the Count’s side and “glides like a serpent” to the grand salon where the orchestra plays. To the Count’s horror, a stranger “seizes her [...] and bears her into the whirlwind,” leaving the poor young man bereft “all because Waldteufel had the unlucky idea to play that diabolical waltz.”

Presenting the account as a true story, Houssaye expresses the waltz’s power to provoke irrational possessiveness in men, and an involuntary leave of one’s senses in women. Using the waltz as an example was thus ripe for legitimising constructed codes of behaviour that relied on prevalent gender stereotypes in which men are dominant, and women weak-minded.

Though Houssaye weaves waltzing into the narrative of a substantial number of his novels, none revolve around its fallout more so than volume II of *Les courtisanes du monde*, which tells the tale of the Marquis de Villeroy. The Marquis (Rodolphe) has had the supposed misfortune of falling in love with, and eventually marrying a beautiful woman who does not hide her love of waltzing, and it is in fact while watching her dance that the Marquis is first smitten. Though a fine dancer, the Marquis is not keen on waltzing, and enjoys seeing his young wife waltzing with other men even less so. Struggling to contain his possessiveness, the Marquis forces his wife Victoria to “promise that she would only waltz with him. She had kindly understood that the embraces of the waltz [...] are already the embraces of adultery.” Unfortunately, one evening Victoria forgets her promise, and while her husband is discussing politics with an ambassador (as noblemen do), she waltzes with ‘Prince Rio.’ When the ambassador embarrasses the Marquis by revealing Prince Rio’s reputation for pursuing married women, the incensed Rodolphe forces his wife to leave the ball early, and Houssaye warns, “a woman never forgives the one who snatches her from the ball before the hour.” Already, Houssaye grimly elaborates, “the grain of revolt was germinating in the heart,” and driven by passion over duty, Victoria begins to fantasise about the Prince. Crucially, the waltz is the catalyst for Victoria’s waning fidelity:

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93 “Une femme n'a jamais pardonné à celui qui l'a arrachée du bal avant l'heure.” Ibid., 214.
94 “Le grain de révolte germait déjà dans le cœur.” Ibid.
While Rodolphe caressed Victoria with idolatrous glances and amorous words, she felt herself in the middle of the ball at which she had waltzed with the prince. She kissed Rodolphe, but it was out of habit.

- Your lips are distracted, he said suddenly. You do not love me anymore.
- Me! She said like a bird singing its song, I never loved you so much!

It was the lie that brazenly arose on the young woman’s lips. In saying these words she thought of the prince. Rodolphe’s embraces reminded her of the waltzer’s embrace. The adulterous woman was already piercing through. Where the soul had committed sin, the body could not defend itself.\(^95\)

Eventually, Rodolphe’s fears become a self-fulfilling prophecy, and his jealousies drive his wife to undertake an illicit affair with Prince Rio. Unwilling to expose his wife, the Marquis is a martyr to her infidelity, yet his jealousy and passion suffocates her both symbolically and physically; desperately embracing her one evening, Rodolphe accidentally crushes Victoria, killing her in their bed.

In *Les courtisanes du monde*, the waltz is the palpable driving force behind both the foundation and the destruction of Rodolphe and Victoria’s relationship, and Houssaye’s intention for his novels were to act as cautionary tales that could prevent men and women from letting their passions lead them to sin. According to the author, his own personal opinions on waltzing were shaped by his grandmother, who Houssaye recounts as saying, “I do not like wives who waltz, […] because the waltz is another marriage; it is impossible to follow one another without leaving something of one’s self, like a peach picked by greedy hands, thereby losing its virginal down.” Houssaye adds, “I think like my grandmother, but that does not prevent married women from waltzing, tilting their heads, staring with drowned eyes, and abandoning themselves to the current.”\(^96\) Thus, while Houssaye seems to insists both sexes are equally responsible for upholding

\(^{95}\) "Aussi Rodolphe avait beau caresser Victoria par des regards idolâtres et des paroles amoureuses, elle se sentait toujours au milieu de ce bal où elle avait valsé avec le prince. Elle embrassait Rodolphe, mais c’était par habitude.
- Tes lèvres sont distraites, dit-il tout à coup. Tu ne m’aimes plus.
- Moi ! dit-elle comme un oiseau qui chante sa chanson, je ne t’ai jamais tant aimé !
C’était le mensonge qui se posait effrontément sur les lèvres de la jeune femme. En disant ces mots elle pensait au prince. Les étreintes de Rodolphe lui rappelaient les étreintes du valseur. La femme adulte perçait déjà. L’âme avait commis le péché, le corps ne devait pas se défendre.” Ibid.

\(^{96}\) “Je n’aime pas les femmes mariées qui valsent, me disait ma grand’mère, parce que la valse est un autre mariage; il est impossible de s’enchaîner ainsi sans laisser quelque chose de soi, comme la pêche cueillie par des mains gourmands, y perd son duvet de virginité.” Je pense comme ma grand’mère, mais cela n’empêche pas les femmes mariées de valser, de pencher la tête, de regarder avec des yeux noyés et de
moral integrity, it is apparently still only women who need to be ‘saved;’ which they can do by reading his novels.97

1.3 The Music of the Waltz

1.3.1 Cultural Considerations

The craze for waltz music was undoubtedly attributed in part to Lanner and Strauss’s elevation to celebrity status in the early part of the century. A first-hand account from Richard Wagner, at the tender age of nineteen, reveals the public reaction to Strauss and his musicianship, which had more intoxicating effects even than alcohol: “I shall never forget the enthusiasm, bordering on derangement, generated in that extraordinary figure Johann Strauss whenever he played... [A]nd veritable whinnies of pleasure from the audience, indubitably attributable more to his music than to the drinks they had enjoyed, whipped up the ecstasies of this magician of the violin to heights that nearly frightened me.”98 Berlioz too remarks that “sometimes, when one of the new waltzes which [Strauss Sr.] writes of every society ball makes a special hit, the dancers stop to applaud and the ladies go over to his rostrum and throw him their bouquets.”99 However, the two Austrians were by no means the only composers to attempt to capitalise on the waltz: the Alsatian Émile Waldteufel’s waltzes, for example, were well-known internationally, especially in London with the support of King Edward VII. In Paris, conductors who were known for specialising in dance music composition wrote an abundance of their own waltzes, to be performed at events across Europe. These men include Philippe Musard (1792-1859), who became so popular that concerts in London and the United States were promoted as ‘à la Musard;”100 the charismatic but debt-ridden Louis-Antoine Jullien (1812-1860), who toured the United Kingdom and the United States and was particularly beloved in London; Paris Conservatoire cornet professor Jean-Baptise Arban (1825-1889); and Olivier Métra (1830-1889), conductor at the bal Mabille, Opéra-Comique, and l’Opéra de Paris. These prominent men often supplemented their conducting and composition activities by arranging popular piano waltzes for

97 “Toute femme qui lira ce livre est une femme sauvée.” - Each woman who reads this book is a woman saved. Houssaye, Les courtisanes du monde II, i; iv.
orchestral performance at their own balls, including a number of the works composed by women that constitute the musical basis of this study.\textsuperscript{101}

On the whole, waltz music seemed to escape many of the types of criticisms that were levelled at dancing, with the former considered almost an “extra-sexual,”\textsuperscript{102} albeit frivolous joy. The music critic Eduard Hanslick remarks that “[the waltz composers] have filled the waltz form with an undreamt-of musical charm and poetic life,”\textsuperscript{103} though adds that problems arise when one actually danced to this spellbinding music: “this sweetly intoxicating three-quarter time, to which heads as well as feet were abandoned, rendered listeners steadily less capable of intellectual effort.”\textsuperscript{104} Hanslick’s attitude is in line with the common nineteenth-century view that waltz music could be beautiful, uplifting, even inventive, but definitely lowbrow in relation to more intellectually stimulating “classical” music. In Dwight’s Journal of Music, published in 1858, the author explains the distinction between the two:

We hear “classical” opposed to “light” music, as if it were a thing more solid, serious, earnest, of deeper import, dealing with greater subjects, stirring deeper feelings, taxing higher powers of appreciation, than the mere music of an hour’s amusement, the waltzes, polkas, variations, trifling or weakly sentimental songs, light opera, &c. [..] Again, we hear classical opposed to popular music, as if it were something not meant for the many, but for the few - for cultivated tastes - for the “appreciative” - for those in whose life-plan music holds so serious a place that they have deemed it worth their while to learn to love what there is best in it, and not remain content with what is easiest, or what it is the fashion of the day to like and be amused with.\textsuperscript{105}

A common theme in pitting ‘light’ against ‘serious’ music was to point out a perceived difference in the amount of intellectual effort required to appreciate the two, as Hanslick implies in his backhanded description of waltz music. These opinions were inextricably tied with the mass consumption of musical forms created for financial motivation, an accusation firmly and distastefully levelled at Strauss and his ilk.\textsuperscript{106} Towards the latter half of the nineteenth-century, critics began to regard the word ‘popular’ as a stylistic term, rather than an evaluation of a work’s social presence, and any music bearing features regarded as “fashionable and facile” risked being

\textsuperscript{101} See in particular the discussion of Laure Micheli in chapter 3.
\textsuperscript{102} Yaraman, Revolving Embrace, 10.
\textsuperscript{106} Scott, Sounds of the Metropolis, 87.
condemned as ‘popular’ regardless of commercial success, with many considering dance music the main offender.\(^{107}\)

Recently, scholars have reconsidered the waltz’s place in the debate between so-called light and serious music, ultimately questioning the usefulness in categorising a musical form which was, and still is, fluid in its function and meaning. In an article discussing the music of Alan Berg, for example, Peter Burkholder expresses the difficulty in placing the waltz into neat categories, explaining “in the realm of the popular music, style is associated with genre: a waltz is likely to be closer in style to all other waltzes than to a march, even one by the same composer. In classical music, style is associated less often with genres than with composers and with periods of history, as a comparison of the classical concert waltzes of Chopin, Brahms, Schoenberg, and Babbitt makes perfectly clear.”\(^{108}\) It is this resistance to categorisation that leads Derek Scott to embrace the waltz as part of a new popular music revolution in Western tradition, that was “driven by social changes and the incorporation of music into a system of capitalist enterprise,”\(^{109}\) while Yaraman eschews classification altogether, preferring instead to think of the waltz as a “dynamic musical genre” which is adaptable in style and function, rendering questions of ‘popular’ or ‘art’ as moot in our current understanding of the repertoire.\(^{110}\)

A recognition of the versatile nature and general popularity of waltz music and the subsequent issues in clear classification led Robert Schumann to define waltzes by alternative means, preferring to settle on character rather than function or style. In 1834, Schumann explored his theories in an analytical essay about music and value in which a hypothetical machine - the Psychometer - has the ability to critically evaluate both a musical text and its composer. When given a waltz to analyse, however, the machine is stumped, with Schumann concluding that dance music must be categorised according to its own unique criteria. Schumann’s solution is to posit a distinction between three different waltz types: head-waltzes (Kopfwalzer), foot-waltzes (Fußwalzer), and heart-waltzes (Herzwalzer). While head-waltzes were formulaic, unimaginative, and “disposable,” foot-waltzes were those composed with a creativity and flair capable of entrancing performers musicians, dancers, and audiences, such as the popular works of Lanner and Strauss.\(^{111}\) Finally, heart-waltzes were not written for, but inspired by, waltzing, and were stimulated by the romantic visions of “evening flowers, twilight shapes, and

\(^{107}\) Ibid., 88.
\(^{109}\) Scott, Sounds of the Metropolis, 4.
\(^{110}\) Yaraman, Revolving Embrace, 16.
memories of long-gone youth and a thousand loves.” Schumann’s own *Trauerwalzer* fall into this final category, as do the sentimental piano waltzes composed by Frédéric Chopin, or Maurice Ravel’s 1920 orchestral apotheosis *La Valse*. Significantly, although fictional literature describing the romantic associations with waltzing exists long before this point, Schumann’s essay is perhaps the earliest example of the conscious attachment of sentimental status to waltz music in its own right, and an acknowledgement of the genre’s spectrum of function and meaning.

### 1.3.2 Music for the Piano

Weber’s 1819 *Invitation to the dance* is one of the earliest, and perhaps most famous examples of a concert waltz for listening rather than dancing, weaving the hitherto separate forms of waltz music and narrative together. The piano score, written for Weber’s new wife, comes with a phrase-by-phrase description of a gentleman asking a lady he admires to dance; she brushes him off at first, but warms to him after he perseveres, in an exchange which illuminates social values that prefer and reward the insistent man; Berlioz would transcribe Weber’s *Invitation* for orchestra 22 years later, which featured as one of the ballet numbers in his reworking of *Der Freischütz* for the Paris Opéra. Indeed, the nineteenth-century Parisian stage saw a shift towards a ‘theatricalisation of the city,’ of which Stephanie Schroedter notes the inclusion of social dances was a central and defining feature. Within opera, drama, ballet, and lighter repertories, staged dances were iterated as a reflection of both their danced characteristics, and of French society itself, and the waltz served as an important cultural vessel for communicating certain shared aesthetic values between the author and audience. In theatrical productions, dance was also frequently incorporated into scenes that [led up] to moments of crisis or disaster, and the the waltz’s associations with moral decline and licentiousness, as discussed previously in this chapter, made the style especially ripe for dramatic manipulation to this effect on stage, as well as in orchestra and piano composition. Giacomo Meyerbeer’s *valse infernale* in Act III of *Robert le diable* (first performed in 1831 at the Paris Opéra), for example, posits the waltz in a crucial passage of diabolical celebration at the corruption of the opera’s protagonist, Robert. This scene, in turn, inspired Franz Liszt’s piano transcriptions *Réminiscences de Robert le diable: grande fantaisie due des motifs de l’opéra de Meyerbeer* (1841), as well as the demonic references found in his four *Mephisto Waltzes* from 1859-1885; the latter was also partly influenced by Camille

Saint-Saëns’s own tone-poem waltz, the *Danse macabre* (1874). Waltz rhythms also feature heavily in lighter stage works, such as the *opera bouffes* of Jacques Offenbach and Gaetano Donizetti. In the latter, the evocation of the waltz particularly in the celebrated production *Don Pasquale* (1842), is the driving musical force behind scenes of joy, celebration, sexual proclivity, social climbing, and femininity, in each case designed to “bring the setting, the plot, and the characters of the opera closer to the cultural and social milieu of its listeners.” In this sense, waltz music on the Parisian stage presented what Carl Dalhaus termed as ‘fragments of reality’—devices designed to blur the lines between drama, and the lived experiences of its audience.

Stage music was also the basis for piano arrangements, and transcribing the latest and most admired opera and ballet themes into waltz tunes became a popular method of disseminating music from the stage among the general public through the mass keyboard music market. Original piano waltzes specifically geared towards concert repertoire rather than being crafted to accompany dancing began to appear with more frequency around 1840; interestingly, early publications capitalised at first on the so-called frivolous nature of waltz music, and attempted to attract sales with waltz titles like *Les Fashionables* (Joseph Labitzki, 1840), or *Les Amusemens de Soir* (Charles Baudiot, 1840). In a possible attempt to distance waltz music from its apparently unsophisticated associations, other composers started to shift attention away from the popular and towards the performative, commonly titling their piano works as ‘valse de concert,’ ‘grande valse de concert,’ or even more ambitiously, ‘grande valse brillante de concert.’ Editors also liked to exploit versatility where they could, and the promotion for Chopin’s *Grande Valse Brillante in E-flat major* (1834) reads:

We recently announced a production of Mr. Chopin, his four latest mazurkas, a work which, despite all the richness of its ideas, and all the freshness and novelty that we admire in it, nevertheless distinguished by great simplicity and contains few or no difficulties.

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We must again praise the same qualities, so rare nowadays, in the waltz when we recommend to our readers. We think it sufficiently proven that when this artist writes difficult passages he is not driven to it by a vain wantonness, but rather by the sense and the character of the piece, such as it always ought to be in an art creation.

This waltz is among the most brilliant, even though it is particularly suitable for dancing. It deserves to be found soon upon the pianos whose racks have not the habit of bearing vulgar music.

Even the amateurs who prefer a beautiful sonata by Beethoven to the variations and fantasies of certain fashionable authors... even these amateurs, we say, will play with pleasure and satisfaction Mr. Chopin's waltz.¹¹⁹

This review for Chopin's first published keyboard waltz (a number of earlier piano waltzes composed by Chopin were never published in his lifetime) betrays a number of nineteenth-century preconceptions surrounding popular music. Acknowledging the link between dance music and lack of taste, the editor cannily attempts to raise the status of Chopin’s waltz by attesting to both its character, which is worthy of artistic merit, and its semblance of difficulty, while simultaneously appealing to the enormous market for non-professional, but nevertheless competent pianists. Indeed, 'brilliant but not difficult' is a phrase that finds its way into advertisements for piano waltzes¹²⁰ as well as titles from the period, as a marketing method designed to appeal to bourgeois culture and values of appearing cultivated, with little effort.

One of the benefits of producing waltzes for a single instrument such as the piano was the potential for these works to be performed in a variety of settings and venues, from soirées in public and private salons, to grander concert halls such as the salle Herz, or the salle Pleyel. Keyboard waltzes could also easily be performed in one’s own home when entertaining guests, and/or for spontaneous informal dancing; since many middle-class salons in Paris already had their own piano by the time keyboard waltzes became fashionable, it was relatively straightforward to spontaneously break into a waltz for the party to enjoy. Salon waltzes could also provide music from which to learn dance steps, and a number of score-covers from the


¹²⁰ Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos*, 291-2. French keyboard music titles from the period that are marketed in this way are usually worded as “brillante et facile.” An article from 1864 in *Dwight’s Journal of Music*, Dwight laments both the abundance and the appeal of ‘brilliant but not difficult’ keyboard music that is fashionable among young women. See “Fashion versus Music,” *Dwight’s Journal of Music* XXIV (Boston: 25 June 1864), 258.
nineteenth century depict children or young women practising in their home, usually accompanied by a female pianist (figure 7).

The scores for both *Le Premier Pas* by Gabriel Baille and *Les Enfants Joyeux* by P. Bodojra illustrate a number of social conventions at play at the time of their publication in the 1850s. Tellingly, both are marketed specifically towards the practice of learning steps independently from a dance master, and women play active roles as both musicians and dancers in this diverting task. The first, for example, shows three young women taking their ‘first steps’ in the privacy of a typical middle-class drawing room, where an older girl guides a younger girl through the basic motions of waltzing, accompanied by another young lady on the piano. The second score is from a set of four dances - a mazurka, schottische, polka, and a waltz - with women’s names for their titles, and depicts a livelier affair with a number of young children dancing together; one little girl, not wanting to be left out of the fun, even chooses a doll for her partner. The act of spectatorship is also demonstrated by the only two gentlemen in the scene, who stand and watch rather than involve themselves as musicians or dancers. Interestingly, though understandably, neither score shows any hint of the less desirable medical and moral implications that waltzing apparently provoked, its taboos having been neatly swept away by the innocence of youth, and the simple pleasures of dancing.


For a young, middle-class girl, the piano was an especially important instrument for social mobility. An instruction in piano also ticked the boxes of accomplishment: propriety - with legs
are nicely tucked away under the keyboard, delicate wrists and fingers on show, and no unseemly blowing into or straddling the instrument - and crucially, eligibility. The prospects for making a good match through one’s musical endeavours is expressed by a correspondent for the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung in 1800, who observes “every well-bred girl, whether she has a talent or not, must learn to play the piano or to sing: first of all, it’s fashionable; secondly, it’s the most convenient way for her to put herself forward attractively in society and thereby, if she is lucky, make an advantageous matrimonial alliance, particularly a moneyed one.” Such stories are well-documented in some of the most popular women’s literature of the century, including Jane Austen’s classic texts Sense and Sensibility (1811), when Colonel Brandon falls in love with the incorrigibly romantic Marianne at the sound of her voice and fingers at the keys; Emma, in which the self-professed matchmaker namesake bemoans her lack of skill at her exhibitions in a party the previous night; and Pride and Prejudice (1797). In the latter, Mary Bennett works at her musical accomplishment to make up for the lack of beauty possessed by her sisters. This sentiment is not limited to fictional literature, and is preceded by concert pianist Joséphine Aurnhammer, who was rather practical in her outlook for making a desirable match: “I’m not pretty, on the contrary, I’m ugly; I don’t care to marry some office hero with a salary of three or four hundred gulden, and I won’t get anybody different. So, I’ll stay as I am and live by my talent,” which was playing the clavier. Poor Mary Bennet’s earnest efforts at the keyboard, however, end up working against her, and her musical performance is unfortunately regarded as “conceited,” rather than socially advantageous. Far more desirable, in fact, was for a woman to perform in a way that was “pleasing but by no means capital,” so as not to outshine and thus emasculate any gentlemen present; Elizabeth Bennett was one such a performer, and snags one of the most eligible men in the country. The appeal of ‘brilliant but not difficult music’ becomes ever clearer, and is a strong advertising and musical feature of keyboard waltzes published throughout the long nineteenth century.

1.3.3 The Woman’s ‘Voice’

A significant proportion of the literary and musical extracts examined thus far have originated in a male perspective, in which waltzing seems to be almost inextricably linked with feminine beauty, love, and amateurism. Waltz literature has contributed greatly to a sustained romanticisation of the genre unlike any other dance form, and its synonymy with sex and romance is thus a creation rooted in patriarchal experiences and assumptions, whose meanings still persist to this day in

121 Author unknown, in the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung (Liepzig, 1798-1814); in ibid., 137-38.
122 Joséphine Aurnhammer in an unattributed source; in ibid., 123.
music, film, and social practices related to waltzing. A further danger of relying so heavily on sources written (in music or words) by men, is that any opinions on women’s experiences will in reality, only be from male experience, i.e. conjecture. In short, women’s experiences of social dancing in the nineteenth century are largely a product of the male imagination. Yet women did write about the physical and social practicalities of waltzing, and indeed, wrote waltz music; current research on the waltz’s social and cultural history nonetheless reflects the pervasive male-orientated view, removing the woman’s voice from a narrative that, in many ways, places the female at the centre of the discourse.

One of the means by which the situation can be ameliorated is by examining what, for example, the nineteenth-century woman thinks about waltzing, in her own words? Does she corroborate or contradict men’s experiences, and what they have assumed to be her experiences too? Does including women’s literature materially change our current perspective on the purported realities and histories of social dance and waltzing in the nineteenth century? The undesirable physical effects of waltzing in women’s accounts certainly contradict later romanticised stories of balls and social dance by male authors that became standard in fiction, and a more realistic report from a young woman’s diary penned in the eighteenth century provides crucial insights into the female perspective:

I was now scarce [sic] able to move; I did however force my Feet to hop 2 or 3 Dances, but with great pain to myself, being more fit for Bed, for indeed I was very indifferent, & fatigued to Death; yet the spirit which every Body supported, as well as the extreme alacrity of Captain Bloomfield, made me ashamed to sit still.124

Despite her obvious physical discomfort, the author Frances Burney describes a need to please her partner, who is ignorant to her condition. Yet women consistently found dancing in public not only tiring and uncomfortable, but potentially frightening and emotionally draining:

The girl must dance till her feet ache horribly, the room swings round, and the pink dawn comes creeping in behind the drawn blinds; but still she must go on till that music stops, the swaying, voluptuous, heartrending music which draws her feet round and round. The violins with their navrant tones, the human, dolorous strains of the cornets, the brilliant, metallin, artificial sounds of the piano, all act powerfully on the young girl’s nervous system. Then comes the stifling crowded supper-room, with its indigestible

food and sweet champagne; the young men who move nearer and look at her with strange eyes, after they have eaten and drunk. It is all new and intoxicating, and a little frightening; but it is life, or the nearest approach to it that a young girl, gently nurtured and carefully looked after, can know.125

Like Burney, the text’s author Ella Hepworth Dixon discloses a female burden to perform one’s duties at a socially crucial stage of her life as the culture demanded, and moreover, appear as if she was enjoying it. The negative physical effects experienced by both Dixon and Burney are compounded in the former by emotional factors such as the intensity of the male gaze, which is tangibly predatory, as well as the strains of waltz music she feels she should find beautiful and passion-inducing, but instead, is overwhelming, and even disquieting in its contrivance of joy and pleasure. That the piano - as the most accessible instrument for women to learn, perform on, and compose for by nineteenth-century standards - is regarded by Dixon to be the most “artificial” sounding of all the instruments in the ensemble is rather ironic, and implies women are complicit in their own social, physical, and emotional distress.

French literature of the period written by female authors echoes English sentiments, implying that these social issues had a degree of universality. In her 1891 novel Temps d’épreuve, Mme Jules Samson crafts a particularly awkward scene in which a young and rather naïve woman tries to invent excuses not to dance with the husband of an acquaintance, who has been making designs on her throughout the evening. When the wife, unaware of her husband’s motives, presses the young woman to dance, the situation becomes even more uncomfortable:

The dance began immediately after. The dancers were numerous, so no young girl had to stand and watch, with the exception of Hélène, who repeatedly refused to dance. Several times, Monsieur Dupuy had approached her to ask for a waltz, but in vain [...]. Without knowing it, Mme Eve furthered the secret designs of her husband -

- Why do you not want to dance? She asked Hélène.
- I do not like dancing, replied the latter, thinking to escape M. Dupuy's entreaties.
- Act your age a little then, said Eve, smiling. Dance at least once, to please me. A waltz with my husband? I warn you he's a very good waltzer ..
- I do not doubt it Madame, said Hélène, embarrassed; but it is hard for me to waltz now after refusing everybody.
- But, on the contrary, my dear, the exception you will make in favor of my husband is all natural and does not signify a thing.

125 Dixon, The Story of a Modern Woman, 45; in Wilson, Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain, 2.
During this exchange Monsieur Dupuy remained standing with his mouth in his heart, awaiting a solution which he felt ought to be favorable to him. Hélène finally yielded to be agreeable to Madame Eve, and, not being able to do otherwise, she went to M. Dupuy's arm; which dragged her among the dancers. Eventually, the situation does work out in Dupuy's favour, Hélène having been compelled to put her feelings aside to perform her social duty. As in Dixon's account, Hélène is also subject to predatory male behaviour, and monsieur Dupuy is quick to use to the familiarity afforded by waltz dancing to prey on his unwilling partner.

Since nineteenth-century literary sources so clearly expose women’s relationships with waltzing as problematic on multiple levels, present research might therefore be forgiven for assuming that very few female composers, if any, produced waltzes for keyboard in this period. And yet in Paris alone, a little over 500 women navigated the various social tensions surrounding the waltz to publish nearly 1000 scores. These documents supplement the current, exclusively male canon of works with a multitude of women’s voices, and their efforts to contribute materially to this potentially divisive genre have up to now lain in wait of acknowledgement.

The story of the nineteenth-century waltz is one of various twists and turns, and the dance was unsurprisingly championed most strongly by those who made a living off the new social sensation - dance masters, conductors, composers, music editors, and the like. In light of the familiarity the waltz encouraged, however, it was perhaps inevitable that numerous objections were raised on an assortment of grounds. Chief among the concerns was the waltz’s potential to encourage moral indecency, and since women were generally regarded as responsible for upholding the ethical standards of society as a whole, the female sex received the brunt of the censure and social restrictions for waltz dancing. Nevertheless, women were not deterred from

126 “La danse commença aussitôt après. Les danseurs étant nombreux, aucune jeune fille n'eut à faire galerie, à l'exception d'Hélène, qui refusa constamment de danser. Plusieurs fois, M. Dupuy s'était approché d'elle pour lui demander une valse, mais en vain [...]. Sans le savoir, Mme Eve favorisa les secrets desseins de son mari. - Pourquoi ne voulez-vous pas danser ? demanda-t-elle à Hélène. - Je n'aime pas la danse, répondit celle-ci, pensant échapper ainsi aux instances de M. Dupuy. - Soyez donc un peu de votre âge, fit Mme Eve en souriant. Dansez au moins une fois, pour me faire plaisir. Une valse avec mon mari? Je vous préviens que c'est un très bon valseur. - Je n'en doute pas, madame, dit Hélène embarrassée; mais il m'est bien difficile de valser maintenant après avoir refusé tout le monde. - Mais, au contraire, ma chère, l'exception que vous ferez en faveur de mon mari est toute naturelle et ne vous engage à rien. [...] Pendant ce colloque, M. Dupuy restait debout, la bouche en cœur, attendant une solution qu'il sentait devoir lui être favorable. Hélène céda enfin pour être agréable à Mme Eve, et, ne pouvant faire autrement, elle partit au bras de M. Dupuy; qui l'entraîna au milieu des danseurs.” Mme Jules Samson, Temps d'épreuve: épisodes de la vie d'une jeune fille (Paris: A. Hennuyer, 1891), 289-290.
dancing, be it through a sense of obligation, or genuine desire.

The sum of what we know about women’s own experiences of waltzing has been garnered through the accounts of men, resulting in misrepresentation, as well as skewed versions of widely-held truths; yet women did write about waltzing, and women also wrote waltz music. Diary extracts and fictional literature by female authors reveal mixed-feelings on the subject, and women frequently found it necessary to navigate the dilemma between not wishing to appear prudish or hurt male pride by refusing to dance despite an obvious discomfort, and the dangers of appearing too available; this quandary is largely missing from male-created discourse.

Waltz music faced its own particular criticisms, essentially originating from the same low-brow associations that stemmed from the dance’s origins. Undeniably uplifting, entertaining, and even inventive at times, waltz music and those who composed it were largely disdained for their obvious commercial motivations. This attitude had widespread implications for the women who were limited in their compositional choices to keyboard dances and romances through institutionalised discrimination towards women and their social, educational and professional potential, as discussed in the following chapters.
Chapter 2    A Question of Class

Waltzing allowed men and women from distinct social backgrounds to dance the same dance, frequently in the same space, in a way that had not been conceivable in European cities before the nineteenth century. Yet egalitarianism was not limited to waltzing, and for the first time, individuals from a variety of social circumstances could share in a heightened cultural mobility, nurtured by the lofty beliefs of romanticism which encouraged freedom, autonomy, and an active engagement with the arts.¹ This social progress is visible from the variety of backgrounds of the women who wrote waltzes for piano, who communicate a shared cultural experience across the classes through musical composition to an unprecedented degree, galvanised by an ever-increasing access to musical education and opportunities. This chapter reveals what types of women published keyboard waltzes, and how their social backgrounds affected their compositional motivations. In addition, this chapter attempts to understand how women’s relationships with the men in their lives affected the types of music they composed, and how their works were valued.

2.1   Women Composers, Waltzes, and Class

For many female composers in the nineteenth century, a piano waltz was either their first published work, or one was produced within the first five years of their careers. The waltz genre was a recognised potential stepping-stone to a profession in music for many women in nineteenth century Paris. The waltz’s universality, coupled with a post-enlightenment interest in individual artistic expression also gave women a chance to prove themselves like never before,² which was particularly appealing for musicians struggling to resist patriarchal views on the limits of feminine musical ability. This turmoil, culminating in a woman’s own self-doubt in her abilities, is succinctly expressed by a young Clara Wieck, who berates herself in 1839 that “I once believed I had creative talent, but I have given up this idea; a woman must not wish to compose - there never was one able to do it.”³

Among the women who published piano waltzes in Paris, members of the French elite appear frequently, and although the princesses, countesses, and other aristocrats comprise a

² Ibid., 374.
small proportion of the total number of female waltz composers, their presence suggests that the desire to publicise compositional works existed for women regardless of social status, even, in these cases, when the financial gains were presumably less important. Unfortunately, not even nobility guaranteed the survival of a woman’s compositional legacy, and like so many others, the physical evidence required to build a meaningful picture of these composer’s lives - regardless of class or status - is lost or unavailable.

The majority of upper-class women published only one or two waltzes, yet they were frequently represented by the most reputable Parisian editors such as Challiot, Flaxland, and Choudens. Among them were Mme la Princesse de la Tour d’Auvergne (1809-1889), born Heloise Louise Joséphine ‘Aurelie’ de Bossi in Bourg-en-Bresse, who married the cavalry captain Maurice Cesar Prince de la Tour d’Auvergne d’Apchir in 1854.4 Although de Bossi is best known for financing a nunnery on the ruins of a fourteenth-century church on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem,5 she evidently did not find religious devotion incompatible with a love of dance, as her handful of published compositions include two waltzes - La pondeuse and Jardeltina6 - as well as polkas, romances, and music set to secular verse. The princess of Spain Josefa Fernanda Luisa de Borbon also composed dance music: she produced a single piano waltz published by Jourdain in 1858,7 as did Louisa de Caraman-Chimay (1837-1890), countess of Mercy-Argenteau through marriage, who was a gifted pianist, musicologist, and a friend of Liszt;8 Caraman-Chimay’s first published composition at the age of 22 was a short salon waltz called Mélusine.9 None of these women, however, invited more criticism in her lifetime than the intriguing and outspoken Marie Bonaparte-Wyse (1831-1902), socialite, author, and composer.

2.1.1 “A Peculiar Princess:” Marie Rattazzi

The great-niece of Napoleon I, Rattazzi was born Marie Bonaparte-Wyse10 in Ireland and brought up in Paris, where she married Frédéric Joseph de Solms at 17, and was in contact from a young age with nobility and the artistic world. Her composition career was punctuated by several publications, including works for piano and orchestra. Among her compositions, two waltzes stand out: La Pondeuse, published by G. Brandus et S. Dufour in 1867, and Jardeltina, also published by the same publisher in 1868. Her music was well-received, and she received commissions from notable figures of the time.

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5 David Rapp, Churches and Monasteries in Jerusalem (Israel: Apogee Press, 2016), 139.
7 S. A. R. la Infanta de España Josefa Fernanda de Borbon, Vals (Paris: Jourdain, 1858).
8 Caraman-Chimay published a critical essay on Cesar Cui, as well as translations of Russian songs into French.
10 Rattazzi was also known by various additional pseudonyms and married names at different periods in her life, including Marie de Solms, and Madame de Rute, but published her compositions and a number of literary works under the surname from her second marriage to Urbano Rattazzi.
age with prominent literary figures who frequented her mother’s popular salon, including Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, and Eugène Sue. Rattazzi would later continue her friendships with these influential writers, and become a prolific author herself; she initially contributed to Le Constitutionnel under the pseudonym Baron Stock,11 which concealed her identity as a woman, but interestingly not as an aristocrat. Rattazzi, who was by many accounts uncharacteristically spirited and head-strong for a woman of her time,12 was no stranger to damaging gossip which frequently shaped the course of her life. So too did her literary and musical publications: in 1853, Rattazzi was expelled from France based on unsubstantiated reports that she was a pretender to the name Bonaparte, apparently rooted in the jealous accusations of Empress Eugénie after the latter allegedly discovered her husband, Napoleon III, had been paying secret visits to his relative.13 While it is impossible to verify this account, and it is just as likely that her friendships with suspected revolutionaries may have been the catalyst, Rattazzi subsequently settled in the spa town of Aix-les-Bains (at that time part of the Kingdom of Sardinia) with her lover Count Alexis de Pommereu, and their illegitimate one-year-old son.

After establishing her own salon in Aix-les-Bains and in the Sardinian Kingdom’s capital Turin, Rattazzi continued to upset members of the social elite with her reluctance to conform. Her subsequent marriage to the diplomat Urbano Rattazzi in 1863 (her first husband having died that year, and her love affair with Pommereu by now fizzled out) reportedly raised eyebrows because of her already infamous reputation, and was “pronounced absurd.”14 At this point, Rattazzi had turned to writing poetry and novels, whose unflattering characters were frequently and rather blatantly based on the society gossip-mongers whom she openly loathed, further creating scandal in the process. One of these texts, L’Ennemie Commune (1865), is a 14-stanza poem dedicated not so mysteriously “to the habitants of the town of...,” and describes gossips as “sad and cold spectres,” “tigers,” and “snakes,”15 waiting to strike at unsuspecting and innocent young women, who are just out for a bit of fun. The scene of the poem is set largely at a ball, and it is during the waltz specifically that, piqued by jealousy, Slander personified waits to strike “beauty, youth, and purity.”16 “The snake bites,” Rattazzi warns, “even at the ball,”17 and once a girl has fallen victim to

13 Ibid., verse 7.
16 Ibid., verse 8.
17 Ibid., verse 6.
malicious gossip, she will forever be tainted by it: “the worm leaves its mark on the leaves of the rose.”

Floral imagery, nature, animals, and poison are major components of the poem, and in the final verse Rattazzi questions the misguided romanticisation - in her words, the “bloody irony” - of comparing women’s lives to an “eternal spring,” when they can make each other so miserable, with such ease. It is interesting that where the texts by Byron and Faulkner discussed in chapter 1 attribute the loss of a woman’s virtue to simply dancing the waltz, Ratazzi’s feminine opinion, born out of personal experience, contradicts the established patriarchal narrative by placing the blame squarely on the malicious intent of individuals, specifically other women. Rather than censure dancers and ball-goers, she calls on her fellow poets to “wither this cowardly enemy,” and “chastise [the gossips] at every hour, in every place.” In short, for Rattazzi, waltzing does not ruin a woman - other people do.

The themes of greenery, youth, and innocence in L’Ennemie Commune are reflected in the title of Rattazzi’s single published waltz La Tremesina (1866), which roughly translates as a young, green sheaf of wheat, and hints at the naivety of young women when entering the critical arena of the ballroom for the first time. Rattazzi’s additional compositions, all published in Paris by E. Gerard in 1866, consist mainly of songs and two piano dances - a Mazurka piémontaise (Urbano was originally from Piedmont), and the La Tremesina waltz. Despite apparently calling herself an ‘eagle’ of a woman, Rattazzi was apparently easily hurt by even the smallest slight, and tellingly, the titles of many of Rattazzi’s musical works are frequently based on deeply personal subjects, such as La Cascade de Grezy: Souvenir d’Aix-les-Bains; L’Entrée à Florence; and Souffrances de l’Exile, treading the line between personal introspection and public availability.

After Urbano Rattazzi’s death in 1873, Marie returned to Paris and was married for a third and final time to the Spanish diplomat don Luis de Rute y Ginez, who was nearly twenty years her junior; together with de Rute, Marie adopted two daughters, Marie-Louise and Marie-Thérèse. It was at this point that Marie began to contribute to the Nouvelle Revue internationale and Le Constitutionnel disguised as ‘Baron Stock.’ Salacious gossip and rumours continued to follow Marie even in her later years, and included numerous accusations in the French press of lesbianism only two years after her widowhood from de Rute in 1891; Marie was forced to

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18 Ibid., verse 12.
19 These are also all major themes in the titles and iconography for many waltzes written by female composers; see chapter 5 of this thesis.
20 Ibid., verse 13.
publicly deny these claims.\textsuperscript{24} This woman of self-Professed contradictions, who so frequently made trouble for herself - and for those around her\textsuperscript{25} - with her refusal to conform, who was staunchly anti-marriage,\textsuperscript{26} yet was married (and widowed) three times, and who answered the slander of her critics by writing caricatures of the very same individuals in her published texts, has not yet been the subject of any significant scholarly attention. Further, none of Rattazzi's many literary works have ever been translated from their original language, despite their potential insights into what life was like for a woman who was openly reviled for her unapologetically revolutionary attitudes towards the social expectations of her sex, and yet who admitted to the many cultural constraints and their stifling effects on feminine behaviour in her time.

While Rattazzi may have identified more easily as a writer rather than a composer, some aristocratic women pursued a musical career more earnestly. Louise Haenel de Cronenthal (1839-1896\textsuperscript{27}) was the daughter of the Austrian piano maker François-Jules Haenel de Cronenthal (1804-1871), and came to Paris around the age of 16 to attend the Paris Conservatoire, where she studied the piano with Camille-Marie Stamaty, as well as the cello with Auguste-Joseph Franchomme and flute with Jules Demersseman. Cronenthal became a countess when she married Gabriel Léonce du Trouset, comte d'Héricourt (1822-1889), 17 years her senior.\textsuperscript{28} In the two years leading up to the union, her self-published compositions - initially dance music for piano including waltzes, polkas, and varsoviennes - began appearing, though it is likely she started to write music well before this date.\textsuperscript{29} Nevertheless, in her new position as a countess, Cronenthal would go on to produce around 100 instrumental compositions in a wide range of genres,\textsuperscript{30} and her transcriptions of Chinese music were met with success at the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris, winning Cronenthal an Exhibition medal. These transcriptions, which may predate Debussy

\textsuperscript{24} Catulle Mendes, \textit{La maison de la Vieille: roman contemporain} (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2000), 90-93.
\textsuperscript{25} Rattazzi famously stirred up a political nightmare for her husband Urbano Rattazzi when in 1867 she published a thinly-veiled attack on the city of Florence - then the new capital of Italy - in the guise of a book, \textit{Le Chemin du Paradis}, which was set in a fictional, vice-ridden city she called “Bicheville;” Urbano was Florence’s prime minister at the time. The Marchese di Pepoli (Gioacchino Napoleone Pepoli, 1825-1881) even demanded a duel with Rattazzi after recognising himself as an unflattering character in the text. Sourced in Peter Bridges, \textit{Pen of Fire: John Moncure Daniel} (Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2002), 231.

\textsuperscript{26} Browne, “A Peculiar Princess,” 350.

\textsuperscript{27} Though Jann Pasler’s article on Cronenthal in Grove Music Online (see footnote 29) has her year of death as c.1876, both the BnF’s index and Cronenthal’s family tree information on geneanet gives the year 1896. https://gw.geneanet.org/barbierd?lang=en&iz=43465&p=louise+augusta&n=haenel+de+cronenthal, accessed 25 November 2017.


\textsuperscript{29} Cronenthal’s earliest dated compositions in the BnF are from 1860, but have titles such as \textit{Salut au printemps: 12e morceau de salon} (Paris: l’auteur, 1860), and \textit{Frantsizka: 4e valse pour piano} (Paris: Flaxland, 1860).

in their harmonic configurations,\textsuperscript{31} did not escape the attention of the press, who congratulated Cronenthal on her ability to render the “bizarre” Chinese arrangements with a “sweet harmony,” and recommended the pieces be arranged in a “more powerful orchestration.”\textsuperscript{32} In addition, although Jann Pasler notes that many of Cronenthal’s compositions take pastoral themes for their subject, this is not true of the waltzes, which are given women’s names for their titles.\textsuperscript{33}

Since a life of privilege was not afforded to the majority of women, many female waltz composers had to rely on talent rather than social advantage. Talent was often judged in the public sphere through regular performances in the concert halls and salons of Paris, and many women from more humble origins who composed with a degree of success first made a name for themselves as performers. The pressure to perform was often intense, however, and for one particularly nervous student of Chopin - Marie Roubaud de Cournand - the anxiety experienced during her 1852 debut became so powerful that an “excess of emotion”\textsuperscript{34} forced her to leave the stage, leaving her concert unfinished. Although the French press was complimentary towards Cournand’s musical talents at this particular recital, she rarely performed after the incident, although she did later accompany her daughter Adelaide-Marie Roubaud (1844-1897),\textsuperscript{35} who was said to be an able singer, at various Parisian soirées; the two performed together, for example, at the Salle Pleyel in 1866 alongside musicians from the Paris Conservatoire and the Théâtre-Italien.\textsuperscript{36} For Cournand, however, publishing her compositions - the majority of which were dance pieces including eight waltzes - was a much safer bet than performance for pursuing an interest in music, and she produced 19 piano works in her lifetime.

2.1.2 “A Habitual Devotion:” Anna Karl

A significant proportion of women who composed keyboard dances were from middle-class social backgrounds, and some were born into even less fortunate circumstances. The composer Anna Karl was one such woman, who nevertheless found a way for her musical career to work

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{32} Unsigned, \textit{L'Exposition populaire illustrée} (Paris: 1867), 79.
\textsuperscript{33} For a more detailed discussion of waltz titles, see chapter 5.
\textsuperscript{34} “Aussi rien ne justifie la trop vive émotion qui lui a fait abandonner le piano, au moment même ou elle ravissait l’auditoire par son jeu expressif et délicat, en exécutant de charmantes études de Chopin, qui fut son maitre.” R., \textit{La revue et gazette musicale de Paris} (1 February 1852), 7.
\textsuperscript{35} In 1897, Adelaide-Marie was one of the fatalities at the fire in the Bazar de la Charité in Paris. The fire killed 125 other people, who were mostly aristocratic women involved in raising money for charity, or who were there to admire the bazaar. A short biography of Adelaide-Marie can be found in Felix Charmant’s commemorative booklet \textit{Livre d’or: des martyrs de la charité, hommage aux victimes de la catastrophe du 4 mai 1897} (Paris: Bureau des oeuvres d’Orient, 1897), 205.
\textsuperscript{36} Aristide Lafage, \textit{Le Courrier artistique: beaux-arts, exposition, musique, théâtre, arts industriels, ventes} (Paris: 25 March 1866), 166.
alongside, and even gain opportunities from her working-class background and strong political interests. Born Anne Amélie Victoire Melkior on 30 May 1851 in Brussels, Karl was the only child of a locksmith, and though little is known of her early life, she grew up in one of the smallest yet most deprived and densely populated districts of Brussels, Saint-Josse-Ten-Noode. At some point before 1871 Karl met Alfred Forest (1844-1918), the son of an attorney at the court of appeals in Paris and a radical socialist, who had fled the city in 1869 to avoid conscription to the army. In Brussels, Forest had become actively involved with communist revolutionary groups, and was present in Paris for a few months during the Commune uprising. On his return to Brussels in August 1871, Forest fell out with members of the Association International des Travailleurs (International Working Man’s Association), and was subsequently expelled from the organisation. In retaliation, he published a pamphlet denouncing the International in a newspaper called En Avant!, which Forest himself seems to have set up expressly for this purpose.

This was the man that Karl fell in love with, and around this period, the couple’s first child Alfred jr. was born. By 1877, Forest had turned his attentions to running a café-concert in Brussels under the pseudonym Armand Karl (possibly in a nod to his Marxist beliefs). Interestingly, there is nothing to indicate Forest had any musical ability or education whatsoever, and though there is no information on Anna Karl’s role at the establishment, as a talented pianist it is likely that she may have performed there from time to time. The family eventually returned to Paris permanently after the French government granted amnesty for communards, and their fifth (and final) child, Marie, was born at an address in the rue Lacondemine in 1879. This was also the year that Karl began publishing her compositions for the first time using the surname of Forest’s old pseudonym, in a possible ironic defiance of an establishment that would not officially recognise the pair unless they were legally married, which they refused to do until much later in their lives. Now under the guise of Anna Karl, the first piece she published was a waltz called Gervaise, named after the protagonist of Émile Zola’s popular new novel l’Assommoir, a tale of poverty and the descent into alcoholism in nineteenth-century Paris; Zola effectively endorsed Karl’s waltz by accepting the dedication for the music. Following the success of her first work, Karl published a
Further waltz the same year, in addition to two polkas, and one mazurka, each with the publisher Chatot.\textsuperscript{42}

The following year, Chatot began publishing orchestral arrangements of Karl’s dance compositions alongside new piano works, while Forest’s continued political interests are evident in his regular contributions to the French socialist periodicals \textit{Le rappel}, \textit{Le radical}, and \textit{La lutte sociale}; these papers also followed Karl’s burgeoning musical career closely, and reported on her various concerts and newest releases. Karl published dance music regularly with Chatot, then Provost and Sciers,\textsuperscript{43} for the next four years, adding keyboard romances to her repertoire from 1882. A substantial number of Karl’s dance pieces were orchestrated for military band and performed at various daytime and evening concerts around the city, and she published between three to five pieces a year at this stage in her musical career. Six of these scores were arranged and/or reissued, with reviews in the press calling her a “virtuoso pianist,”\textsuperscript{44} and a “composer of real talent;”\textsuperscript{45} one of her waltzes, \textit{Tout en rose}, continued to be printed and performed 14 years after its original composition date in 1880.\textsuperscript{46}

For unknown reasons, despite the public success of her dances, Karl published no new music between 1885-1887, and yet she must have continued composing during this time, for 1888 marked a number of changes in the Forests’ situation that allowed Karl greater freedom and artistic control than ever before to publish her compositions with more freedom. Forest, now directing an agency of theatres and concerts, had also set up a music publishing business under his name, and in its inaugural year Karl published no less than 14 romances - her preferred genre of choice from this point on - as well as a piano polka and mazurka with the new family publishing firm. Karl would cease producing dance music for piano altogether a year later, and on 22 April 1889, Forest sold the agency to Karl for 10,000 francs,\textsuperscript{47} enabling her to continue publishing her songs under her own initiative until 1891, advertising her music in the pages of Parisian newspapers and music journals.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{44} Dom Blasius, \textit{L’intransigeant} (Paris: 9 June 1882), n.p.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid. (6 May 1882), n.p.
\textsuperscript{46} Anna Karl, \textit{Tout en rose} (Paris: J. Hiélard, 1880). The last documented edition of this score in the BnF’s catalogues was published in 1904 by A. Noël.
\textsuperscript{47} Devriès and Lesure, \textit{Dictionnaire}, 2:172.
\textsuperscript{48} See for example \textit{Le radical} (14 February 1891).
Despite a rejection of consent from Karl’s father,\textsuperscript{49} the Forests legitimised their five children in 1893 by marrying after over twenty years of partnership. This was a difficult year, however, brought about by Forest’s failed candidature in the Paris second district parliamentary elections,\textsuperscript{50} and the death of his father. In 1894, the couple sold the music editing business to Voiry (with whom Karl had already been publishing her songs for a year) and moved away to Neuilly-Plaisance, Plateau d’Avron in around 1895. Here, Forest continued working as a journalist and writer, while Karl ceased publishing new music from this point on.

Figure 8. Alfred Forest and Anna Karl’s son Armand Forest (second from right, standing) age 20, in the violin class at the Paris Conservatoire. Picture taken as part of a set for Le Monde musical’s celebration of the Conservatoire’s centenary, 1895. Photographer: Eugène Pirou. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique.

Though Karl had by now ceased publishing her compositions, her musical activities were far from over, and in the early part of the twentieth century she performed her most famous pieces on the piano - particularly her waltzes Paris-Murcie, Tout en Rose, and Tristesse et Joie - at political party gatherings of which Forest was a member, as well as for socialist fundraiser events. Indeed, for the Forests, music, family, and political activism went hand-in-hand, and at a ‘concert familiale’\textsuperscript{51} in 1903 held in aid of the socialist journal Le Lutte Sociale, their daughter Marie performed Karl’s most famous pieces; earlier that year, at a ‘conference-concert’ organised by the Ligue des droits


\textsuperscript{50} Le XIXe siècle: journal quotidien politique et littéraire (Paris: 10 August 1893), n.p.

\textsuperscript{51} Z, La lutte sociale de Seine-et-Oise et des cantons de Pantin et Noisy-le-Sec: organe de la Fédération socialiste révolutionnaire de Seine-et-Oise (Livry: 5 December 1903), n.p.
de l’homme at the Salle des fetes d’Avron, Karl accompanied her violinist son Armand on the piano with what the press called her “habitual devotion,”\(^{52}\) witnessed proudly by Forest who presided at the conference. In the last decades of their lives together, the Forests settled at 4 place Dancourt in the Montmartre district (above Henri Selmer’s wind and brass instrument shop), and Alfred spent his time between Paris and his native Cluny, continuing to write acclaimed poetry, critical essays, and text for music well into retirement; Karl, by contrast, produced no new music in the last 37 years of her life.

Marie Rattazzi and Anna Karl occupied vastly different social worlds, and yet both women wrote and published waltzes for piano for their own distinct purposes. For Ratazzi, composing dance music was a diversion in the midst of a number of talents, including writing, art, and dramatic performance, enabled by a privileged upbringing and education; for Karl, whose circumstance obliged her to rely more heavily on her relationships with powerful men, music was a career as well as a vessel through which she could communicate her socialist beliefs at a time when women were generally excluded from political discussion. Indeed, all too often in the course of biographical research, the women in the list of waltz composers are referenced in both contemporary and modern texts as secondary to their more famous husbands, brothers, or fathers, appearing almost as afterthoughts when compared to their high-profile male relations, or are simply not mentioned. Yet these women did exist, and they composed prolifically in the face of widespread social, political, and economic prejudice. The following section explores the careers of two such musicians - Laure Dancla and Isabelle Marotte - and examines how their relationships shaped their critical reception in their lifetimes, and beyond.

### 2.2 Family Matters

On the whole, musicological men in the nineteenth century were uninterested in the study and promotion of women as professional musicians, though there were some attempts to address the issue. At the time of its publication in 1902, Otto Ebel’s biographical dictionary *Women Composers*\(^{53}\) was arguably one of the most influential texts to attempt to legitimise women’s accomplishments in composition.\(^{54}\) However, while Ebel’s volume provides an extensive list of

\(^{52}\) ‘Un auteur,’ *La lutte sociale* (20 June 1903), n.p.


female composers past and present across “all civilized countries,” as an American reviewer puts it, there were some glaring omissions for French musicians, as Arthur Pougin lamented in 1910:

How many others who [...] the author has forgotten in his book! It is here especially that we see that he has studied France but little. He does not mention [...] the diverse compositions of Madames Mel-Bonis, Filliaux-Tiger, Renée Eldèse, Hélène Fleury, Nadia Boulanger, Ménard-Tissot, Louise Bert, Laure Micheli, Claire Bertou, Elisa Boch [sic], Laguerre, etc., etc.! If I were to quote them all, I would not finish.

Pougin goes on, however, to express his hopes that Ebel’s work would be the launchpad for a more comprehensive, even empowering study of women composers:

I am helping enough to show the insufficiency of the small volume of Mr. Otto Ebel. Nevertheless, however incomplete it may be, this modest text can serve as a useful starting point for a more important work, or it will be a thorough treatment of this interesting question of women composers, which has hitherto never been touched upon and deserves attention, especially in a time when, quite rightly, woman claim their place in the spotlight more and more, with the possibility of emancipating themselves at least in a reasonable way.

Women are even excluded in specialist music reference works prepared in their own lifetimes, including François-Joseph Fétis’s *Biographie universelle des musiciens*. Concert pianist and composer Laure Dancla (1824-1880), for example, was eclipsed throughout her life by the highly successful careers of her more famous siblings Jean-Charles (1817-1907), Arnaud (1819-1862), and Léopold (1822-1895). In Fétis’s bibliography, the Dancla brothers each receive at least a paragraph’s worth of biographical text detailing their musical exploits and achievements, while Laure is not even given her own entry; instead, she is relegated to a single line tacked on to the end of Léopold’s profile, and her life’s achievements are described by Fétis with just one sentence.

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56 “Combien d’autres, qui [...] l’auteur a oubliées dans son livre! C’est ici surtout que l’on voit qu’il a peu étudié la France. Il ne mentionne [...] les compositions diverses de Mmes Mel-Bonis, Filliaux-Tiger, Renée Eldèse, Hélène Fleury, Nadia Boulanger, Ménard-Tissot, Louise Bert, Laure Micheli, Clair Bertou, Elisa Boch [sic], Laguerre, etc., etc.! Je n’en finirais pas si je voulais tout citer.” Arthur Pougin, *Le ménestrel* (10 September 1910), n.p. Of the women in Pougin’s list of forgotten composers, Mel Bonis, Louise Filliaux-Tiger, and Laure Micheli are mentioned both in this chapter, and throughout this thesis in general, and all except Filliaux-Tiger (who does not appear to have composed any waltzes) receive a biographical profile in appendix J.
57 “J’en ai dit assez pour démontrer l’insuffisance du petit volume de M. Otto Ebel. Néanmoins, et tout incomplet qu’il soit, ce modeste écrit peut servir d’utile point de départ pour un ouvrage plus important, ou l’on traitera à fond cette question intéressante des femmes compositeurs, qui jusqu’ici n’a jamais été qu’effleurée et qui mérite l’attention, surtout en un temps où, fort justement, la femme réclame de plus en plus sa place au soleil, avec la possibilité de s’émanciper au moins d’une façon raisonnable.” Ibid.
that is typical of most of the contemporary historical accounts that comment on her life and music: “sister of the preceding, [she] is a distinguished pianist.”58

2.2.1  “The Sister is Worthy of her Brothers:” Laure Dancla

Frequently praised for her talents as a pianist yet constantly in the shadow of her brothers’ varied achievements, it is perhaps inevitable that Dancla’s name is consigned to a tagline in someone else’s biography. Born ‘Lore’ in 1824 as the youngest and only girl of four children from a musical family, her father, Bernard Dancla, was invested in instilling musicality into his offspring from an early age. A keen violinist himself, Dancla senior employed the finest local music teachers to instruct his young children, before selling the family home in Bagnères-de-Bigorre to fund a move to Paris so that all four could attend the Conservatoire in 1834.59 Though all the Dancla children had received early instruction in stringed instruments, and Laure was admitted to the preparatory violin class at the school when she was 10 years old, she was soon encouraged to focus on her studies in piano;60 meanwhile, Charles received instruction in the violin, Arnaud in cello, and Léopold in violin and trumpet. At the Conservatoire, Laure was unanimously awarded first prize in Solfège in 1837, but never attained any prizes on the piano; her brothers, on the other hand, all won the premier prix in their respective instruments.61

After leaving the Conservatoire, Dancla taught, composed, and performed in Paris for a time, and the French press lauded her as a promising concert pianist, heaping praise on her recitals throughout the 1840s.62 Although she does not appear in lists of music teachers active in Paris, we know from the dedications on her scores - which were published throughout the 1850s - that Dancla had a number of students, as well as friendly relationships with fellow female music teachers, including her brother Léopold’s wife Delphine, a voice teacher to whom Laure’s waltz La branche de myrthe (1855) was dedicated.63 Nevertheless, restricted by her sex and her instrument, Dancla could never have the same professional opportunities as her brothers enjoyed, who were meanwhile forging successful careers as members of Paris’s most illustrious

60 Palay, “Une famille Bagneraise de musiciens,” 84.
61 The first prize piano winner in 1837 was Louise Traulé, for whom little information exists. Constant Pierre, Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: documents historiques et administratifs (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), 730.
63 For a deeper discussion of this dedication’s significance, see chapter 5.
orchestras. It would be easy to surmise that perhaps Dancla did not achieve the same level of musical accomplishment as her brothers simply because she was less talented - she undoubtedly did not achieve the same level of distinction or number of prizes during her time at the conservatoire as the three Dancla men. Certain items in the French press, however, contradict this assumption, and J. Martin d’Angers, writing for *Le Nouvelliste* in 1851, recognises that though her brothers have greater musical recognition, Laure is equally talented as a composer at the very least:

> Here come some new combatants, armed from head to toe. Like their predecessors, they attempt at celebrity: Mme George, who hides under the pseudonym of Clotilde l'Hôte, and Miss Laure Dancla. The sister is worthy of her three brothers. If Molière were alive today, he would not dare to write a satirical play against *women composers*, many of them being remarkable in more than one respect. And why, then, should the field of harmony be mercilessly closed to these elite souls, as equally capable of tackling it as the most skilled of us? Women celebrities, who are honored by France, have been superior in the highest regions of social matters in painting, sculpture, literature, poetry, and even in combat! Why should some jealous spirits deny them the power to bear the musical sceptre?65

Despite his best intentions, d’Anger’s defence of Dancla, and of women composers in general, is just one example of journalistic accounts that use condescension disguised as praise, measuring Dancla’s talents against those of the more successful men in her life. One source which does this more obviously is Simin Palay’s ten-page biography of the Dancla family for the Société Ramond in 1938, in which Laure is simultaneously praised as a talented pianist from an early age, yet in the same breath called the “cute *escarret* of the brood;”66 while the boys’ musical achievements on behalf of Bigorre are impressive and numerous, Laure’s one defining accomplishment was

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64 Léopold played in the orchestra de l’Opéra and the Théâtre Italien; Jean-Charles performed in the orchestra de l’Opéra-Comique, and was violin professor at the Paris Conservatoire between 1858-1862; Arnaud played in the orchestra de l’Opéra-Comique before his death at the age of 43. Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 730.


66 Palay, “Une famille Bagnéraise de musiciens,” 84. A direct translation for *escarret* cannot be found.
meeting and marrying her husband in the town;\(^{67}\) and finally, the three brothers’ compositional skills are described as “amiable, correct, classic, and perhaps […] imbued above all with a scholastic spirit,” while Laure simply “tried her hand at composition;”\(^{68}\) when the most comprehensive source for her family history does little to celebrate her as a talented musician, it comes as no surprise that Dancla’s career has been historically undervalued to the point of non-existence.

Contemporary accounts suggest that Dancla maintained a constructive and positive musical relationship with her siblings, accompanying them on piano in their solo concerts, and playing regularly in trios and quartets with them around Paris in the early half of the century. Dancla’s debut performance, for example, took place at a concert in the salons of Monsieur Soufleto\(^{69}\) on the rue Montmartre, which was organised by her brother Charles. The soirée featured a number of musicians from the Conservatoire, and Dancla took part in a trio performing music by Joseph Mayseder alongside Charles and Léopold. In *Le ménestrel’s* review of the evening, Dancla was heralded as a promising young musician with talents that were “rare for her age;” though violinist Charles was undoubtedly the star of the show.\(^{70}\)

By 1862, Dancla had returned to Tarbes, in Bigorre, and married horn-player Jean-Georges Dalifer, who was employed as the local council’s director of music before eventually being awarded the Legion of Honour. In Tarbes, Dancla continued to teach and perform, and was involved in concerts featuring her husband and her illustrious brother Charles when he came to visit. According to Palay’s accounts, Dalifer and Dancla were ‘soul-mates,’ and Laure passed away just a month and a half after her husband in 1880 at the age of 53; her obituary romantically encourages the idea that Dancla died of heartache after the “cruel separation”\(^{71}\) from Dalifer, reinforcing the narrative that she was devoted to the men in her life - first her father, then her brothers, and finally her husband - to the very end.

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\(^{67}\) Ibid., 87.
\(^{68}\) Ibid., 86.
\(^{69}\) François Soufleto was a piano manufacturer by trade, having established his business in 1827 after apprenticeships with Johannes Roller and Érard; it is not clear at what point he opened his own salons, but a number of articles establish that Soufleto the piano-maker and salon host are one and the same. See: *L’illustration: journal universel* (1855), 410; *La revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (1855), 62. A comprehensive profile for Soufleto is available through the online resource *Facteurs de pianos en France: 1800 à 1829*: [http://www.lieveverbeeck.eu/pianos_francais_1800_1829.htm](http://www.lieveverbeeck.eu/pianos_francais_1800_1829.htm). See also: See Constant Pierre, *Les facteurs d’instruments de musique: les luthiers et la facture instrumentale; précis historique* (Paris: E. Sagot, 1893), 192.
The prevailing cultural attitudes towards women as musicians in each report that deals with Laure Dancla attempts to suggest that in the early part of the nineteenth century, for the majority of women music was more a hobby than a serious pursuit, and this social prejudice had a direct effect on Dancla’s professional life in limiting her world of musical possibilities by implicitly and consistently undermining her as a professional musician; this crafted narrative has reverberated through her lifetime to the years after her death. To a certain extent, it was also necessary for Laure to appropriate her brothers’ fame to advance her musical activities, and she is not unique in this endeavour; a number of women waltz composers who were married to eminent musicians used their husband’s names, as well as businesses, to publish their works, including Mme Alexandre Bataille.

2.2.2 “Femme du facteur de piano:” Madame Alexandre Bataille

Madame Bataille - or Isabelle Marotte - relied heavily on her husband’s resources as a music publisher in order to disseminate her compositions, and attract a more prestigious clientele of students in her piano teaching; in fact, the commercial link between Marotte and her husband was so strong that she is never referred to by her own name in the French press, or even on the covers of her own music.

Alexandre Bataille was already in business as a piano manufacturer by the time he married Marotte, and his father had been head of piano-maker Pleyel’s workshop for 15 years. Following in his father’s footsteps, Bataille had been a student of both Ignace Pleyel and Jean-Henri Pape before embarking on a business partnership with a Monsieur Gronvold in 1851. Bataille quickly built a reputation for himself as a gifted craftsman, entrepreneur, and inventor, while Marotte taught piano from the couple’s home and business address in the fashionable and aristocratic Marais district in Paris. In 1854, Marotte produced her first composition - a waltz entitled Fleur des salons - with the family publishing firm A. Bataille, and by 1855, Bataille’s business had expanded sufficiently to require separate premises for the workshop, headed by his father and located in Belleville, and for two salesrooms on the Boulevard Saint-Martin, and rue Meslay; from this year until the mid-1860s, Marotte’s profession as a piano teacher is listed in the city of Paris’s annual commercial survey under the Saint-Martin address.

In the following years, riding the wave of the increasing popularity for pianos as a fashionable domestic commodity for middle-class families, Bataille’s keyboards enjoyed commercial success - partly due to being marketed and at sold at extremely competitive prices - and a reputation for quality was undoubtedly boosted by public endorsements. In an open letter to the editor of *Le Luth français* penned by the négociant-commissionnaire in New Orleans in 1856, for example, the craftsmanship of Bataille’s instruments and his influence as a piano-maker both at home and abroad were openly praised, and Bataille himself became so assured of his product that he began offering customers a ten-year guarantee. Though for some years he had already dabbled in inventing patented musical accessories - including a mechanised page-turner - Bataille truly began gaining notoriety for the introduction of his newest innovation, the *piano-billard*, to the public in 1859. *Le ménestrel* leapt at the opportunity to review the instrument, with its editor Henri Heugel declaring that Bataille had filled an important gap in the keyboard market, and that the *piano-billard* had the potential to bring the sexes together in their leisure pursuits, proclaiming “[...] thanks to the *piano-billard*, the ladies, from now on, will be able to safely play with their friends or family, and thus give themselves a healthy exercise in wellbeing, then at their discretion instantly convert the game of billiards into quadrilles, waltzes, redowas or into musical studies.” The instrument’s design consisted of a billiard table on top of a piano frame, which slid out to reveal the keyboard beneath, and the opportunity for men and women to socialize in the same space in bourgeois fashion, as enthusiastically described by Heugel, is captured in an 1860 caricature by Parisian painter Alfred Darjou for the short-lived periodical *(Le) Diogene* (1860-1862) (figure 9).

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76 “[...] grâce au piano-billard, les dames, désormais, pourront en toute sécurité faire la partie avec leurs amies ou en famille, et se donner ainsi un exercice salutaire à la santé, puis à leur gré convertir instantanément le jeu de billard en quadrilles, valse, rédowas ou en études musicales.” Unsigned, *Le ménestrel* (17 June 1860), 231.
The Parisian magazine *La Dame Blanche*, which aimed at bringing the best current products on the market to its readers, also pondered the social ramifications of the *piano-billard*, and in June 1863 a promotional article for Bataille’s invention appears interweaved into the fictional scenes of a warring couple on their honeymoon who cannot decide whether to buy a billiard table for the gent, or a piano for the lady - the *piano-billard* subsequently, and conveniently, saves their fledgling marriage.77 An additional promotional article in the *Almanach du voleur illustre* from a year earlier features a much lengthier anecdote that publicises not only Bataille’s pianos, but his wife’s skills as a teacher and a pianist: the apparently true story, which is called “Le piano-médecin,” tells of a depressed and reclusive 15 year-old girl who has witnessed the death of her mother in a fall at a quarry. Around a month later, her concerned doctor happens to pass by the Bataille residence in Boulevard Saint-Martin on his way to visit the girl, and after hearing the strains of stirring music through the open window, the doctor realises it is Madame Bataille playing her one of her husband’s excellent pianos. Already a good friend of Bataille, the doctor calls in at the residence, and begs Mme Bataille to help the traumatised girl - who alarmingly cannot cry despite her grief - by playing a piece on the keyboard in order to stir the girl’s emotions. But, he insists, it must be played on one of Bataille’s pianos (such is their quality), and so the Batailles agree to come with the doctor, piano and all, to the girl’s residence. There, in one of the salons, they place the piano, and Mme Bataille begins to play one of her own compositions:

“then the voice of the instrument seemed to be sent from heaven; the performer was inspired by her good action, for her whole thought was reflected in an admirable adagio whose sounds inspires both meditation and prayer.”78 At this, the girl is finally moved to tears and is able to ‘properly’ grieve her mother. In conclusion, the narrator tells us that Bataille’s piano, which was not initially for sale, was bought by the girl, and remains in her salon, with the girl happily proclaiming, “my beautiful piano, it is the voice of my mother!”79

La Dame Blanche presents Monsieur et Madame Bataille as a musical team capable of curing even the most profound heartache, and even summoning the voice of the dead, with their generosity and respective talents, while simultaneously promoting the desirability of Bataille’s instruments, and Marotte’s music. The article is an unashamed promotional exercise for the Batailles, and multiple sources used the exploits of both husband and wife for commercial gain from early on in their respective careers: In 1858, Bataille broke ties with his business partner Gronvold80 and began manufacturing organs and harmoniums in addition to his pianos. Meanwhile, Marotte was thrust into the public spotlight with the production and performance of a waltz written to open the Exposition Universelle held at Dijon, La Dijonnaise, which received positive reviews; H. Benard for L’art du XIXe siècle, for example, predicted that the waltz would be the salon darling of the winter season.81 Later that year, Marotte’s newest works were listed by an anonymous correspondent for the Courrier des chemins de fer, who notes that Mme Bataille, “wife of a piano manufacturer,” has already been mentioned in the press for her talents, and that her compositions are “already on many of the [music] stands in Paris and the provinces.”82 Just one month later, Le figaro-programme provides a review of Marotte’s “ravishing” new polka, Paillette d’or, and yet while the author praises Mme Bataille’s musical talents as a composer, it is her husband who is marked out as a “celebrity in more and more demand every day in the artistic

79 “Mon beau piano, c’est la voix de ma mère!...” Ibid.
80 A. Bataille, Gazette des tribunaux: journal de jurisprudence et des débats judiciaires (Paris: 16 January 1858), 60.
81 H. Benard, L’art du XIXe siècle: revue mensuelle (Paris: 1858), 152.
82 “La maison Schlosser […] vient d’enrichir ses cartons de quatre nouvelles compositions dues à la verve intarissable de madame Alexandre Bataille, femme du facteur de pianos […]. Les compositions musicales de Mme Alexandre Bataille, qui déjà sont sur beaucoup de pupitres de Paris et de la province, se trouvent place des Victoires, 8.” Unsigned, Courrier des chemins de fer et la gazette des étrangers. Contenant: les départs, arrivées, prix de tous les chemins de fer (Paris: 4 December 1858), 2.
world,” and the article ends with a double recommendation for Mme Bataille’s future works, and M Bataille’s pianos.

It is perfectly feasible that the Batailles, as shrewd entrepreneurs, were complicit in crafting and manipulating a public image of the romantically and musically inseparable husband and wife to their advantage, and in the showrooms of Bataille et Cie in Boulevard Saint-Martin, Marotte often reportedly provided impromptu informal recitals of her own works performed on her husband’s pianos to appreciative crowds:

The pianos and organ-harmoniums that leave the workshops of MM. Alexandre Bataille et Cie, 37, boulevard Saint-Martin, still enjoy a vogue equally large as legitimate. The salons of their vast establishment are constantly congested with people of the public and artists. The charming musical compositions of Mme Alexandre Bataille, played by this clever artist on these pianos-models, add a pleasurable attraction to the visitors and the buyers.84

Far from being the passive woman composer relying on the name of her more powerful husband, Marotte was able to actively and personally promote both her talents as a pianist and composer, and financially contribute to the company through her profession to a degree that was relatively unprecedented for a woman in the mid-1800s.

Marotte also performed on some of Bataille’s more interesting inventions in order to promote their accessibility and desirability, even in the face of a critical backlash against his more eccentric creations. Not content with stopping at a piano billiard table, in 1862 Bataille unveiled his newest, and rather more ambitious design: a mechanical piano-orchestra based on a newly-unveiled instrument by Prussian-born inventor Jean-Baptiste Schalkenbach, who had filed a patent for his own ‘Piano-Orchestre Electro-Moteur’ one year previously. After the patent was granted in 1862, Schalkenbach, who had been living in France, relocated to Britain and began performing on his piano-orchestre primarily in London,85 leaving Paris open for Bataille to develop

and publicise his own version; one advertisement placed by Bataille et Cie in *Le Constitutionnel* cheekily boasts a “unique version of the Piano-Orchestra by J.-B. Schalkenback of Trier; patented in France and abroad, perfected by Bataille.”

Unfortunately, surviving descriptions of Bataille’s piano-orchestra model and its reception are limited, though there are one or two valuable accounts. A promotional piece written by A. Delpice in an edition of *L’univers illustré* from 1862, for example, reveals that the instrument was very similar to Schalkenbach’s creation, based on the patent information for the latter, and both consisted of “an amalgamation of a reed harmonium, a second smaller accordion-like harmonium [...], a row of bells, tam-tams, triangles, drums, cymbals and whistle pipes - all operated by keys or stops;” each instrument was also apparently able to produce sustain and tremolo effects.

Delpice’s article, which is more of an advertisement than a review, also praises Bataille’s innovative design as “charming and marvellous,” whose special qualities include “the richness of its harmony, its beauty, [...] the lowness of its price, with which any person with the slightest knowledge of the piano or the organ may make use of the piano-orchestra and execute all the most popular classical works or fantasies, either in a salon, or in a concert hall.” Crucially, the sales pitch promotes an increased accessibility to the world of orchestral music and repertoire for those limited in ability, finances, and/or exclusive knowledge of keyboard instruments - namely non-professional musicians, the lower and middle classes, and women, and Mme Bataille began offering low-priced lessons on Bataille’s piano-orchestra at 2 francs a time.

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88 Wilson, “‘Electric Music’ on the Victorian Stage,” 79.
Ultimately, however, the piano-orchestra may have been rather too ambitious for the Parisian public and critical press. At least playing the piano-billard required no special additional study, and was rather less off-putting than the contraption consisting of tubes, keys, buttons and pedals that would have confronted anyone brave enough to give the piano-orchestra a go. The piano-billard also sounded, unsurprisingly, like a piano; in the (perhaps deliberate) absence of any aural descriptions in the contemporary press, we can unfortunately only imagine what the piano-orchestra must have sounded like. There is also the question of elitism: in an article written for Le tintamarre - a satirical journal which criticised European popular press culture - a journalist named ‘Mercier’ reviewed a recently-released biography of the Batailles, written by H. Maignaud, and cuts to the chase of what is really wrong with Bataille’s piano-orchestra, sneering:

The claim on Maignaud’s part has only one goal, to prove that the piano-orchestras of Mr. Alexandre Bataille leave nothing to be desired. This is not our opinion. Mr. Alexandre Bataille’s serinettes do not resemble an orchestra nor a piano. […] We would prefer the piano-orchestras of Mr. Alexandre Bataille, the man who plays seven instruments at a time, to begin with Pan’s flute and finish with the triangle. There is the

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90 The text by Maignaud to which Mercier’s article refers resists identification.
true inventor of piano-orchestras. Loisel, the owner of the grand Café du XIXe siècle, tried Mr. Alexandre Bataille’s piano-orchestra; but his musical taste and his love for l’Africaine - by Meyerbeer - have led him to replace this instrument with a real orchestra. Mr. Alexandre Bataille may speak well and do well, printing and singing each tone for a fee of 1 franc and less, but he will never persuade men of good taste that the piano-orchestra is the final word in the instrumental art.\footnote{91 “La réclame en partie de H. Maignaud n’a qu’un but, c’est de prouver que les pianos-orchestre de M. Alexandre Bataille ne laissent rien à désirer. Ce n’est pas notre avis. Les serinettes de M. Alexandre Bataille ne résument ni un orchestre ni un piano. [...] Nous préférons aux pianos-orchestre de M. Alexandre Bataille, l’homme qui joue de sept instruments à la fois, à commencer par la flûte de Pan et à finir par le triangle. Voilà le véritable inventeur des pianos-orchestre. Loisel, le propriétaire du grand Café du XIXe siècle, a essayé du piano-orchestre de M. Alexandre Bataille; mais son goût musical et son amour de l’Africaine - de Meyerbeer, - l’ont porté à remplacer cet instrument par un orchestre véritable. M. Alexandre Bataille aura beau dire et beau faire, faire imprimer et faire chanter sur tous les tons à 2 francs le cachet et moins, il ne persuadera jamais aux hommes de goût que le piano-orchestre est le dernier mot de l’art instrumentiste.” Mercier, “Vie des facteurs illustrées,” in Le tintamarre: critique de la réclame, satire des puffiste: journal d’industrie, de littérature, de musique, de modes et de théâtres (Paris: 30 August 1863), 6.}

Not only did Marotte offer lessons on the piano-orchestra, as Mercier hints, she also performed on the instrument in public, and in 1862, Marotte and fellow composer Georges Lamothe duetted in a Grande fantaisie sur le pré aux clercs\footnote{92 Jules Duval, L’orchestre: revue quotidienne des théâtres (Paris: July 1862), n.p.} - based on the 1832 opéra-comique by Ferdinand Hérold - on the piano-orchestra. The short concert took place at the Théâtre de l’Ambigu-Comique (demolished in 1966), which was a popular performance venue located along the infamous “boulevard du crime” - the Boulevard du Temple - known not for its crime levels, as the name suggests, but for its many theatres which put on melodramas, vaudeville acts, and sensational dramas. Bataille’s piano-orchestra was more likely viewed as a novelty act, rather than a serious breakthrough in the development of the keyboard, and yet neither Bataille nor Marotte ever seemed to pretend it was anything more. Compellingly, however, only two years after the critically panned debut of his piano-orchestra, Alexandre Bataille vanished from public listings as a keyboard manufacturer, though in the absence of any further press or biographical information, it is impossible to know whether this is due to the demise of himself or his business.

Marotte stopped producing any new compositions the year after Bataille’s disappearance, and no trace can be found of her for the next five years. It is likely, however, that she continued to teach to support the family, as in 1870 her name re-emerges in the Annuaire-almanach du Commerce as a music teacher living at 48 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière; interestingly, a business agency specialising in “litigation, recoveries, sales of residential and commercial properties, loans, association, etc. etc.”\footnote{93 Annuaire-almanach du commerce (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1871 ), 645.} is registered at the same address under the name Bataille et Cie - the old
name of Bataille’s piano manufacturing company, and yet there is still no mention of Bataille himself. From 1875 both Marotte and the business agency relocate to 12 rue Richer, and here Mme Bataille, who is also now advertised as a “pianist-composer, editor of her own compositions, professor of piano and singing,”⁹⁴ starts appearing as a piano manufacturer until 1883, and the final commercial trace of Marotte is a record of her living alone, the business agency in rue Richer having been sold in 1884 to Doudoux et Cie, yet still teaching music to support herself from an address in Nanterre from 1884-1894.⁹⁵

Although the last years of her professional life and personal circumstances are difficult to piece together, the depth of Marotte’s support throughout her husband’s passion for manufacturing keyboard instruments, from the mainstream to the marvellous, and the Batailles’ cohesion in marriage and music is evident in the number of documents that cannot refer to one without the other. Though it was by no means uncommon for a woman to publish her music under her married name, especially when that name carried some sort of prestige, the extent to which Marotte is referred to simply as Mme Bataille in contemporary accounts as well as on her own music is significant, particularly since the majority of what is written in the press about the pair seems to lean more heavily towards advertising rather than a true, objective critique of the couple’s products. It may follow, then, that Bataille and Marotte had some hand, and thus some choice, in how they appeared in public promotional material as an inseparable unit.

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The study of female composers through the lens of their waltz compositions reveals women from a variety of social circumstances engaged with dance music composition in the public domain, for a variety of reasons. The waltz’s association with bourgeoise cultures and ideals is undeniable, and yet the study of waltzes with female authors reveals that women represent a range of classes, from royal to working-class backgrounds. Many women, for example, were members of the French aristocracy, but privilege did not necessarily guarantee the positive reception of women’s works. Marie Rattazzi, for example, was able to exercise her social advantage to cultivate her interests in literature, music, and the arts, but was also chastised for her outspoken nature. As a result, Rattazzi poured her disdain for the hypocrisy of her critics into her creative works - including poetry about waltzing - and a nostalgia for the innocence of youth is reflected in the title of the single waltz she published. Cronenthal used her elevated social position after marriage to experiment with music more openly, but as a single woman, she played it safe with waltz pieces.

⁹⁴ Ibid.
⁹⁵ Ibid. (1884), 731.
On the other end of the spectrum, Anna Karl’s waltz compositions were seemingly at odds with her socialist values, and yet she, like Isabelle Marotte, harnessed the waltz’s popularity to pave the way towards an involvement in the music business and a contribution to the household income.

Although Karl and Marotte were supported by their spouses, female composers were dogged by the consistent practice of comparing their abilities to men, ultimately damaging their musical ambitions. This narrative has undoubtedly contributed to the historical devaluation of female composers, their works, and their professional involvement in nineteenth-century Parisian musical society. The following chapter thus discusses the further musical occupations women undertook alongside composing dance music, and how female composers and performers played a significant role in shaping music education in the face of persistent discrimination on the grounds of sex.
Chapter 3  Female Waltz Composers and Music

Professionalism

3.1  A Good Education: Waltz Composers and Conservatories

A biographical review of the women who published keyboard waltzes reveals that female musicians in nineteenth-century Paris pursued a variety of interests, often practised alongside waltz composition. While women in this period were generally dissuaded from professional occupation, learning and composing music could potentially unlock the doors to a career in pedagogy, particularly if a woman had studied at a prestigious institution like the Paris Conservatoire. The educational and professional experiences of female composers of the period was distinct to those of men, and as such, a consideration of how and why women came to compose waltzes - as well as the implications of dance music composition on their lives and careers - is crucial to a fuller understanding of the repertoire, and how women fit within it. This chapter will thus assess what kinds of formal musical training women waltz composers had, focussing especially on their experiences at the Conservatoire de Musique et Déclamation in Paris,
which was attended by a significant number of published female composers. Attention will also be paid to how women’s ambitions as composers and/or music teachers were viewed by the educational establishment both during and after their studies at the Conservatoire. Through the study of their waltz publications, this chapter will also shine a spotlight on the women who did not accept the status quo, and were instrumental in raising educational standards and opportunities for a new generation of female composers, performers, and music pedagogues. Finally, this chapter will assess the alternative musical professions female composers occupied, and the single documented example of a nineteenth-century female composer-conductor operating in Paris - Laure Micheli - is presented in the third section. In particular, the ways in which Micheli’s specialism in producing dance music, including numerous waltzes for keyboard, will illuminate how composing within this repertoire aided her professional accomplishments.

3.1.1 Female Students at the Paris Conservatoire

Established in 1795, the Paris Conservatoire came to shape elite Parisian musical culture throughout the nineteenth century, with its impressive roster of professors and students, prestigious performance and composition prizes, influential music methods, and internationally renowned orchestra who performed in the school’s own Salle des Concerts. Despite its glittering reputation, however, the institute’s relationship with the women who passed through its doors as performers, composers, and teachers has been troubling almost from its foundation.

For men and women alike, admission into the Paris Conservatoire was highly competitive, and the audition heats, or concours d’entrée, took place every autumn. Once accepted, students were required to regularly take part in public concerts, and it was necessary to win prizes at the annual distribution des prix to keep their place at the school - failure to do so risked being dropped from the school’s rolls. Despite tuition being available for a range of orchestral instruments, the only real options for women who wished to compete for places at the Conservatoire were in voice, piano, organ, or harp, and if they passed the entrance examinations, female students found themselves segregated into women-only classes, conducted at first in a separate building. Parents and guardians of daughters at the Conservatoire had the option of

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3 In response to allegations made by the *Courrier des spectacles* in 1802, the Conservatoire explicitly states that the women’s classes take place in a separate building to those of the men’s in 1803, and continue to
staying in a neighbouring waiting room while the women’s classes took place, though relatives could also sit in on the class itself with the administration’s authorisation. The constraints did not stop there; separate entrances for male and female students were in place to avoid the mixing of the sexes, and when one encountered the other, male and female students were not permitted to converse without a teacher present, or the express permission of the general inspector. When women did eventually join classes with the men, they were required to sit on separate sides of the room, and were only allowed to enter after the men had been seated.

Life for female students at the Conservatoire was thus markedly different from their male peers, and countless restrictions implemented by the administration, dictated by the social expectations of the time, had ramifications for a woman’s career in music once she left the school. Being effectively barred from the harmony and composition classes until late in the nineteenth century, for example, meant that the attitude towards women who wished to write music was systematically unsympathetic, and not a single woman achieved first prize in the Académie de Beaux Art’s coveted Prix de Rome composition award until Lili Boulanger’s triumph in 1913; the exclusion of women from composition at the Conservatoire is all the more ironic considering its first female professor, Hélène de Montgeroult (teaching from 1795-1798), was a respected composer in addition to being an accomplished pianist and pedagogue.

Writing for Le Temps in 1882, Auguste Nefftzer observed that many students at the Conservatoire - particularly the girls - were known for their very young age, and a musical maturity beyond their years could be an attractive feature which set women apart in a competitive environment. Yet none were quite so precocious as little Jeanne Blancard, who sat down one day in 1893 to play the piano and demonstrate her musical talents to Conservatoire professors Jules Massenet and Raoul Pugno. Her leg in a custom-made device so that she could reach the pedal, the seven-year-old was then still too young even for admission into the school’s preparatory classes, yet this did not stop the illustrious professors from earmarking her for future

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4 Pierre, Le Conservatoire national, 143; 227; 233; 239; 252; 257; 262.
5 Ibid., 246. The women’s entrance was located in the rue Bergère, while the men entered via the rue du Faubourg-Poissonnière.
6 Ibid., 313.
success based on her extraordinary gifts, while simultaneously casting doubt on her ability to achieve greatness due to her sex. Over the course of an afternoon with the child, Massenet and Pugno grilled Blancard on her ability not only to rapidly learn and proficiently perform challenging repertoire, but also to sight-read and improvise, the latter of which she skilfully executed in styles from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Both stunned at Blancard’s “premature” virtuosity, Pugno declared that “in four years, when she reaches the age of 12, Blancard will be able to win the prix de piano and the prix d’harmonie,” as he himself did at the same age. “If not,” Pugno warns bleakly, “She is lost. It is not that I believe musical genius can exist in a woman, but how do we know? It would be a shame to see such rare and miraculous artistic gifts wasted on useless exhibitions.”

Figure 12. The Carte de Visite of a young Jeanne Blancard, 1894. *Boston Public Library, Philip Hale Collection.*

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Figure 13. Jeanne Blancard (bottom row, second from left) in the 1899 prize-winners’ photo for piano, harp, and accompaniment at the Paris Conservatoire. Photographer: Eugène Pirou. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, EST CONSERVATOIRE 083.

Although Pugno declares that a prize from the conservatoire could be decisive for Blancard, it did not guarantee the winner a successful career, even if their talents manifested from surprisingly early on. Still just a child, the press revelled in the contrast between Blancard’s innocent, girlish youth and her “disturbing precocity,” and yet at this tender age, the young pianist already faced the widespread prejudice against women in music, which is littered throughout the 1893 article that appears in *Gil Blas* featuring Massenet and Pugno’s reactions to Blancard’s capabilities. The final word in the piece goes to the music critic Alfred Bruneau, who questions the possibility of musical genius in women at all: “My God,” exclaims Bruneau, “[…] I have always been wary of little prodigies. They are more frequent than one thinks, especially among little boys. […] I’m sure this little girl is, as they say, a miracle, but that does not matter. What we’re interested in knowing is what is to come. […] As Pugno says, I do not believe in a female genius in the musical art.”

In suggesting that raw talent is perhaps less important than how a person harnesses their gifts, Bruneau fails to acknowledge the role that social barriers played in hindering a woman’s progress in a musical career, regardless of her skill. This attitude is summed up by the composer Augusta Holmès, who wrote, “do not believe […] that the artistic career is more accessible to my

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12 “On se trouve en présence d’une inquiétante précocité.” Pugno, in ibid.
13 “Mon Dieu, nous dit-il, je me suis toujours méfié des petits prodiges. Ils sont plus fréquents qu’on ne croit, surtout parmi les petits garçons. […] Je suis sûr que cette fillette est, comme on le dit, un miracle, mais qu’importe cela. Ce qui nous intéresse c’est de savoir ce qu’elle sera par la suite. […] Comme le dit Pugno, je ne crois pas non plus à une femme de génie dans l’art musical.” Alfred Bruneau, in Ibid.
sex. This is a grave error. The steps are infinitely more difficult, and the good fellowship, which helps so many artists, is in a way shut out from a woman who has the good - or the ill-luck to be born a musician!” However, Holmès went on to achieve a successful career as a composer, she was effectively forbidden from entering the male-dominated world of the Paris Conservatoire by her mother, who thought studying music to a professional level was unacceptable for a respectable young woman.

Jeanne Blancard was luckier. Championed by her grandmother (the composer Célestine Blancard) and father, she went on to study at the Conservatoire under Pugno at the age of 13, winning first prize in piano, as the professor predicted, two years later in 1899. After leaving the school, Blancard toured France and Europe before settling in Paris and enjoying a rich performing career, while teaching music at the prestigious École Normale de Musique, co-founded and directed by Alfred Cortot. At the school, Jeanne published a text on piano technique for beginners based on Cortot’s methods in 1938 which was reprinted many times into the 1990s, and from 1941-1944 she began contributing fingerings to piano editions of pieces by Brahms produced by Salabert, including the Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 1, Ballades Op. 10 No. 1-4, and Rhapsody Op. 79 No. 1-2. As well as performing and teaching music, Blancard had a keen interest in composition from an early age, and by 1896 she had published nearly 30 piano works with Philippe Maquet (a mix of mainly impromptus, mazurkas, and waltzes), many of which were dedicated to respected musical personalities active in Paris at the time, such as Camille Saint-Saëns, and her music teacher Alfred Josset, the founder and director of the music course at


15 For further detail on Célestine Blancard, see her biography in appendix J.


l’Institution de Saint-Jean-de-Dieu in Paris; the Méditation from this particular piece was performed at the Notre Dame in 1893.\textsuperscript{20} Blancard continued to write music consistently between 1893-1900, and 55 years after her death in 1972, a special concert of her works was held by the concert pianist Jacques Greys at the salle Cortot, located at the École Normale de Musique, in his former teacher’s honour.\textsuperscript{21}

### 3.1.2 Female Professors at the Paris Conservatoire

Teaching at Conservatoire level was a privilege awarded to few women despite their talents and status, and though the numbers of female students enrolled in the vocal and keyboard classes at the Conservatoire in Paris increased year by year, women professors at the institution were systematically underrepresented.\textsuperscript{22} In fact, between its inception in 1895 and the turn-of-the-century in 1900, only five women had ever held the position as fully-fledged piano teachers for the female-only classes at the Paris Conservatoire: Hélène Montgeroult (1795-1798), Louise Rey (1795-1797), Émilie Michu (1819-1820; 1822-1825), Louise Farrenc (1842-1872), and Louise Massart (1874-1877); of these women, only Montgeroult held the illustrious title as professor of the superior piano class. Indeed, even though less distinguished posts were sometimes available for women as solfège professors and répétiteurs, the Conservatoire’s administrative records show that these roles were often significantly underpaid compared to men in the same position,\textsuperscript{23} as well as being hard to come by: between 1798 and 1815, there were in fact no women teaching at the Paris Conservatoire at all, despite a fluctuating number of between 35 and 111 men employed as professors between these dates.

Women bemoaned the lack of access to high ranking teaching positions, and the composer Marguerite Canal regarded her failure for promotion from solfège teacher to professor of harmony at the Conservatoire, even after being awarded the Prix de Rome in 1920, as based on widespread prejudice against her sex.\textsuperscript{24} The gender disproportion in teaching staff also did not go unnoticed in nineteenth-century publications aimed at female readerships, and one particularly dismayed source identifying as ‘Wilia’ laments the lack of progress for women in the arts, naming professorships at the Paris Conservatoire as a particular example:

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\textsuperscript{21} Pierre-Petit, \textit{Le Figaro} (27 November 1997), n.p.

\textsuperscript{22} See appendix B for the ratio of male/female teachers and professors at the Paris Conservatoire between 1795-1900.

\textsuperscript{23} Appendix C lists all female teaching staff and their relative pay at the Conservatoire between 1795-1900.

\textsuperscript{24} Laura Hamer, \textit{Female Composers, Conductors, Performers: Musiciennes of Interwar France, 1919-1939} (London: Taylor and Francis, 2018), 32.
A long time ago, I expressed my regret that at the Conservatoire there have been so few mistresses and so many masters. So few! I do not think there is one even now... I do not know if Mme Massart has been replaced. Many female musicians, however, are talented pianists, composers, and teachers, and I quote, in support of my assertion, Madames Chaminade and Kryzanowska. Well, this injustice, so easy to repair, is hardly a concern [...]. When people say to me: “France is in decadence,” I am insulted. [...] We are not in decadence; we are in eclipse.

Kryzanowska and Chaminade, two high-profile performers and composers, are cited as examples of women who, despite their obvious abilities, have been overlooked - or eclipsed, to use Wilia’s words - by the patriarchy of the society they were born into, where women could be hailed as virtuosì, but not actually treated as such when it came to instructing the next generation of France’s very best musical talent. Far from being progressive then, protests Wilia, France was regressing in its failure to recognise women and put them in positions of leadership or authority to match their widely-recognised intellectual and musical capabilities. One solution for such women was to set up their own music schools, which was a highly competitive industry in nineteenth-century Paris, but was unlikely to match the prestige of the Conservatoire. Another answer to the problem, as Kryzanowska found, was to compete for positions in conservatoires elsewhere, quitting Paris altogether.

3.1.3 Hélène Kryzanowska: Paris and Rennes

After being accepted into the Paris Conservatoire’s preparatory classes in 1879, Halina ‘Hélène’ Kryzanowska’s aptitude for music quickly emerged when she won third prize in solfège at the age of 12, then first in the same category one year later. The young pianist began to generate serious press attention, however, in her inaugural year of moving into Félix Le Couppey’s highly competitive adult class, when at just 14 she was placed first runner-up for her performance of Frédéric Chopin’s Ballade No. 1, op.23. This was a significant achievement, and the reputation of the Conservatoire was such that the student competitions for prizes attracted the attendance of

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25 After Louise Massart’s death in 1887, the vacant position of piano professor to the women’s class went to Alexis-Henry Fissot. Pierre, Le Conservatoire national, 433; 444.
26 “Il y a longtemps, je vous exprimais mon regret que l’on eut au Conservatoire si peu de maîtresses et tant de maîtres. Si peu! Je crois même qu’il n’y en a pas une... Je ne sais pas si Mme Massart a été remplacée. Nombre de musiciennes sont cependant pianistes, compositeurs et professeurs de talent et je cite de rechef, à l’appui de mon assertion, Mmes Chaminade et Kryzanowska. Eh bien, cette injustice, facile à réparer, ne préoccupe guère [...]. Quand on me dit: “La France est est en décadence,” je m’insurge. [...] Nous ne sommes pas en décadence; nous sommes en éclipse.” Wilia, La jeune fille: journal hebdomadaire dirigé par des femmes du monde (Paris: 1 August 1900), 341.
27 See section 2 of this chapter.
both the Parisian elite and the press, with excellent opportunities to gain a reputation as a promising young performer; according to one review in *Le ménestrel*, Kryzanowska in particular stood out among these gifted musical children as “one of the most brilliant students of monsieur Le Couppey.”

In 1883, Kryzanowska proved herself again with a rendition of Saint-Saëns’s *piano concerto en sol mineur* (op. 17 no. 2), which won her second place, then in 1885 her performance of Ernest Guiraud’s *Allegro de concert* snagged the coveted first prize. These early accomplishments did not go unnoticed, and in a special column about the Conservatoire’s most talented students, *L’Europe artiste*’s Jeanne Telliet enthuses:

This brilliant first prize-winner of Le Couppey’s class is a ready-made artist. A sparkle shines all around this frail and graceful exterior, and illuminates it with a wonderful reflection!! Strength, finesse, [and] sweet charm is each placed one by one in this captivating performance. Unless I am very much mistaken, we will hear again about this young virtuoso…

Kryzanowska’s musicianship was admired not only by the critics, but also by her illustrious professor Le Couppey, who chose her as one of the pianists to perform at the 1886 inaugural concert of his new salons in rue Lafayette. Kryzanowska also maintained positive professional relationships with her peers, who regularly invited her to perform at various high-profile soirées around Paris, mostly held at the salles Érard, and Kriegelstein. Specialising in interpreting music by Chopin (who was a distant relation through his mother’s Polish line) and Liszt, Kryzanowska also began organising her own concerts at these venues from approximately 1888, which is also the time that she began to gain a reputation as a gifted young composer.

Kryzanowska began publishing music in 1887, and her education at the Paris Conservatoire could be considered both a blessing and a curse in terms of musical composition. The constant pressures to win prizes entailed rigorous practice and performance schedules which did not leave a great deal of time for composing; and yet, when Kryzanowska published her earliest works two years after leaving the Conservatoire and gained some semblance of musical freedom, her music’s positive reception was preceded by her reputation as one of the school’s most successful, and

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28 At a concert held by Laurent de Rille of the Sorbonne, Kryzanowska is praised as “l’une des plus brillantes élèves de M. Lecoupey.” J.-L. Heugel, *Le ménestrel* (18 May 1884), 199.
youngest virtuosos. In Léon Masseron’s review of Kryzanowska’s first published compositions - a set of seven romantic songs based on poetry by Jean Chassa - Kryzanowska is hailed as a “revelation” for being a young female composer - “elle n’a que vingt ans!” - whose time at the Conservatoire had somehow unlocked in her “all the secrets of musical composition”\(^{31}\) despite having received no official tuition or support in composing during her time there. Thus, while Kryzanowska’s first commercial attempts at composition garnered praise for both her youth and talent, the credit does not all go to her, but is ironically directed in part towards the institution that systematically restricted women from exploring the full extent of their musical abilities.

Masseron’s review, while overwhelmingly positive, is also somewhat back-handed in its generally accepted opinion that the list of women worthy of the title of composer is limited.\(^{32}\) In Masseron’s view, Kryzanowska is one who deserves the title, and in this elevated status Kryzanowska assumes what Maja Trochimczyk refers to as the “exceptional woman,” who by transcending the limitations of her sex, simultaneously “confirms the inferiority of her kin.”\(^{33}\) Martin d’Angers recognised and attributed the lack of women recognised by their peers as composers not due to a deficiency in skill, but a systematic failure to recognise women as capable of the same musical abilities as their male counterparts, damning the field of music as particularly backwards within the arts;\(^{34}\) nevertheless, Kryzanowska evidently did not consider social prejudices a barrier to a career, which, in her own words, she describes as “devoted to composition”\(^{35}\) from early on.

In the face of widespread incredulity at their ability to compose any music of value, women had to get creative. Like many others who already had established careers as performers (or indeed, teachers), one of the most effective ways for women to ensure their compositions reached the ears of the discerning public was by playing their own works in self-organised concerts, and in March 1891 Kryzanowska arranged a beneficial event at the salle Érard featuring performances by a variety of musicians, including the Swiss alto Marcella Pregi, and a young Polish tenor named Pless Pol. At this recital, Kryzanowska was “warmly applauded for the execution of works by the great masters, and in her own new compositions.”\(^{36}\) The pianist further


\(^{32}\) “À la liste assez restreinte des femmes dignes du titre de compositeur, il faut ajouter […] le nom d’une toute jeune fille, la brillante pianiste Hélène Kryzanowska.” Ibid.


\(^{34}\) See citation 66, page 63.


\(^{36}\) *Le ménestrel* (5 April 1891), 112.
fostered her public identity as a virtuoso-composer on an international scale in 1894 by embarking on a successful European performance tour to Dieppe, Lemburg, Vienna, Warsaw, and Krakow. Kryzanowska continued to showcase her own compositions alongside standard concert repertoire, including a Rhapsody by Liszt; in a 1900 interview with L’ouest-Éclair, the composer recalled the tour as one of the high points of her musical career to date.

In addition to Kryzanowska, a number of like-minded female performer-composers in nineteenth-century Paris recognised a need to bring contemporary women’s music to a wider public audience. This endeavour culminated in a ‘soirée confraternelle’ organised in 1897 by Louise Filliaux-Tiger (1848-1916), a virtuoso performer, Officier d’académie, prominent public figure, and working composer. The special concert, which took place at the Salle Pleyel, was openly dedicated to women’s work in music, and featured compositions by musicians including Kryzanowska (who had been named an Officier d’académie the previous year); her old Conservatoire classmate and fellow laureate Hélène Collin, who was teaching piano at L’École Classique de la rue de Berlin (run by fellow conservatoire alumnus Edouard Chavagnat); and Marguerite Balutet, the founder and director of the Ecole Beethoven, a respected music school for women seeking professional careers as teachers. Interestingly, the pieces on the concert programme - a mix of dances, romantic songs, and chamber works including piano sonatas and string trios/quartets - were performed on the keyboard by the composers themselves, and the recital was opened by a talk about “les femmes-compositeurs.”

Kryzanowska, Filliaux-Tiger, and Balutet continued to organise these kinds of concerts well into the early part of the twentieth century, with Balutet heavily involved in the Union des femmes professeurs et compositeurs de musique, “a society that organised concerts, competitions, and other events to promote women musicians.” Investing in exposing women’s composition was thus at the forefront of many female musicians’ minds, and if they wanted their music to be heard, female composers recognised a need to collectively find solutions for lacking the very opportunities that men in music were automatically afforded simply because they were men.

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37 See Le ménestrel: 5 August 1894, 248; 18 November 1894, 368.
39 Le ménestrel (9 May 1897), 152.
40 An accent aigu has not been added to the ‘Ecole’ in references to Balutet’s Ecole Beethoven throughout this thesis, as the school name appears without the accent in much of the relevant contemporary press and advertisements. See, for example, the full-page advert for the school on page 97 of this thesis.
41 For a detailed discussion on Marguerite Balutet and her music school, see section two of this chapter.
42 J.-L. Heugel, Le ménestrel (9 May 1897), 152.
44 Citron, Gender and the Musical Canon, 60-61.
For many women, the reduced prospects in a musical career on the grounds of gender extended to teaching, as discussed at the outset of this chapter. By the turn of the century, not a single female professor had directed the top-level men’s piano class at the Paris Conservatoire since Montgeroult in 1795-1798, either unable or unwilling to participate in the well-documented patriarchal structures of the Paris Conservatoire, Kryzanowska took her talents elsewhere, beating eight candidates to be appointed as the new piano professor at the music Conservatoire in Rennes.

A clear picture of life at the Conservatoire de Rennes when Kryzanowska entered as the first female professor of the piano superieur class in November 1900 is difficult to ascertain, though it is clear that the school went through a number of changes in the years around her appointment. The conservatoire’s first director, Swiss conductor André Tapponnier-Dubuot, had led the school since 1881, and was also head of the piano class from 1890. After resigning from his position when he left Rennes in 1899, Tapponnier-Dubuot was replaced the following year by Blaise Carboni, a Corsican native who had won first prize in saxhorn, harmony, and solfège from the Paris Conservatoire. Carboni’s position at the conservatoire was unfortunately short-lived, and after his death in March 1903, Émile Boussagol took the helm. Like Carboni, Boussagol was a graduate and laureate of the Conservatoire in Paris, earning first prize for harp in 1874 and 1876.

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45 Pierre, Le Conservatoire national, 584.
46 Émile Mennesson, Revue musicale Sainte-Cécile (Reims: Émile Mennesson, 16 November 1900), 29.
47 Two further female professors, Mlle Duchesne and Mme Fabre, had been teaching the lower-level classes previous to Kryzanowska’s appointment.
Though Boussagol had both experience and vision, his time as director of the Rennes conservatoire was fraught with internal disagreements between himself and the professors, and when he attempted to reform the Concerts du Conservatoire programme early in his tenure, the ongoing conflict with his own teaching staff forced Boussagol to abandon his post as director of the school’s orchestra;\(^49\) one of the key protagonists in the musical fray was, according to Étienne Jardin’s research, the new piano professor Kryzanowska.

As a pedagogue, Kryzanowska’s skills were undeniable, and her extraordinarily positive impact on the quality of teaching and pupil attainment in the superior piano class was all the more remarkable when considering that at the start of her tenure, the school’s piano programme had been struggling for over a decade. Reports based on initial visits from external inspectors in 1886, for example, note that the piano classes were “insufficient,” and should even be scrapped if they could not be improved or a better professor could be found.\(^50\) Later inspections undertaken in 1892-1894 by Charles-Henri Maréchal, Gabriel Fauré, and Theodore Dubois did not find any substantial improvement, and only confirmed “the extreme weakness of the piano classes.” The assessors agreed, however, that the standard was raised significantly after Kryzanowska’s

\(^{49}\) Ibid., 526.

\(^{50}\) “Il y aurait lieu de [la] supprimer […], comme ne rendant aucun service, ce qui serait fâcheux, ou de pourvoir au remplacement du professeur.” Ibid., 448.
appointment as lead professor to the level that was generally expected of a music school with conservatoire status,\textsuperscript{51} and under their new teacher’s tuition, the piano students at the conservatoire began to thrive, winning prizes from the ministry of education and the arts three years in a row.\textsuperscript{52}

In 1902, Kryzanowska was named as an Officier de l’instruction public in recognition of her pedagogic skills, and in 1908, a review in Paris journal 	extit{Comœdia} explains that in the concert season of the Rennes Conservatoire’s students, Kryzanowska’s pupils stood out as particularly exceptional.\textsuperscript{53} Unfortunately, despite these achievements, Kryzanowska’s disputes with Boussagnol - officially based on disagreements over the teaching syllabus for piano studies - led her to resign in protest from her role in 1908.\textsuperscript{54} At this point, it seems that staying at the conservatoire may have become very much like being trapped in an unhappy marriage; in the end, Kryzanowska may have found that she could not reconcile the financial and employment stability at a recognised music conservatoire with the sacrifice of her own artistic independence and values.

After her resignation from the Conservatoire, Kryzanowska remained in Rennes, teaching privately from an address at 19, avenue Bois-Rondel, and composing music for voice, violin, and piano solo, including two waltzes. In the years that followed she became an active promoter of Franco-Polish music in France and Europe, giving numerous performances of her own compositions in addition to works by both established and up-and-coming Polish composers. Kryzanowska also occasionally returned to Paris to take part in recitals alongside her colleagues from her pre-Rennes days, including in concerts held by the Société des Compositeurs de musique, where her old Conservatoire classmate Hélène Collin also performed.\textsuperscript{55}

In 1918, Poland achieved international recognition as an independent state, and in late June of the following year, Kryzanowska was responsible for the official placement of a Polish flag on the façade of the town hall in Rennes, marking the occasion as the star performer at a special concert organised by the French Union of the Amis de la Pologne, of which Kryzanowska was the founding member of the Rennes branch.\textsuperscript{56} In the following years, Kryzanowska received glowing

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\textsuperscript{51} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{52} Le ménestrel (26 July 1903), 240.
\textsuperscript{53} Unsigned, Comœdia, (21 July 1908), 3.
\textsuperscript{54} Jardin, “Le conservatoire et la ville,” 487.
\textsuperscript{55} La Rampe, Le Petit journal (Paris: Clermont-Ferrand, 31 March 1913), 3. As well as Kryzanowska and Collin, composer-performers who featured in the 1913 programme were Falkenberg, Mingaud, Cellier, and Lacroix.
\textsuperscript{56} Bulletin polonais littéraire, scientifique et artistique (Paris: Association des anciens élèves de l'école polonaise, July 1919), 215.
reviews for her seemingly tireless promotion and cultivation of an improving relationship
between France and Poland through music, organising and guest performing at numerous
concerts held on behalf of the Amis de la Pologne; at one point, Poland’s new Prime-Minister and
respected musician Ignacy Jan Paderewski hailed Kryzanowska as “one of the leading
contemporary Polish musicians.”

Perhaps in recognition of her achievements, Kryzanowska returned to the Rennes
Conservatoire as professor of the superior piano class just after the Franco-Polish military alliance
was signed in February 1921. A year later, she organised a series of concerts honouring French
music in Warsaw, featuring works by Hahn, Vidal, Fauré, Ravel, Saint-Saëns, Debussy, and
Chausson. The tour was a great success, and for the final performance, Kryzanowska received a
parchment filled with signatures in gratitude for her Franco-Polish activities, and was presented
with a laurel wreath adorned with ribbons in national colours and bearing the inscription: “To
Hélène Kryzanowska, her grateful fellow citizens.”

On returning to Rennes in 1923, Kryzanowska began recruiting her colleagues at the Conservatoire to perform at her concerts, including the
school’s voice teacher Esther le Pork, and the violin professor Monsieur Magadur, Kryzanowska
also continued to work alongside the Amis de Pologne (of which she was an important influence
in the eventual founding of the Paris branch in 1925) organising and playing piano at events
cultivating France and Poland’s relationship for at least the next five years, featuring music by
Opienski, Poldowski, Szymanowski, Paderewski, and Chopin, as well as Massenet, Fauré, Ganaye,
Pierné, Debussy, and Chaminade; advances in technology enabled Kryzanowska to reach a wider
audience than ever before by performing for Radio-Rennes in the early 1930s.

Kryzanowska was enterprising, and found the only way to escape the stifling positions
surrounding women in the music profession that were prevalent in the Paris Conservatoire was to
leave the capital altogether. Other female performer-composers used their talents, ambition, and
tenacity to set up music schools to rival the elitist and patriarchal attitudes propagated at the
conservatoire, revelling in the autonomy to develop their own teaching practices, curriculum,
competitions, and appoint staff in a way that would have been impossible at the Conservatoire, or
even independent music school led by a male director, displaying an unprecedented degree of
female entrepreneurship through music teaching.

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57 R. Bailly, L’Ouest-Éclair (13 January 1920), 3.
58 Edmond Bernus, Bulletin polonaise litteraire (October 1922), 79.
59 Monsieur le Doyen Turgeon, “Pour la Pologne, Conférence de M. le Doyen Turgeon,” Travaux juridiques
et économiques de l’Université de Rennes (Rennes: Bibliothèque Universitaire, 1925), 400.
60 Kryzanowska performed the finale of Debussy’s Petite Suite, and her own Bourrée on Radio-Rennes.
L’Ouest-Éclair (24 March 1931), 12.
3.2 Pianists and Pedagogues: Female Music School Owners in Paris

For women in the nineteenth century, private music teaching could be a convenient way to contribute to the family income or support oneself in the private space of the home. Female teachers could market their services through word of mouth, in specialist publications such as the *Annuaire des artistes*, on the advertising pages of music journals, or - significantly - through published piano music which could be dedicated to students, and these source materials reveal that a significant number of women who composed piano waltzes - and dance music in general - taught music privately, though with varying degrees of financial gain.

Teaching music was one of the few respectable professions available to women in Paris, and if she was a graduate of the Conservatoire, professional music instruction could be a lucrative and relatively stable career choice, increasing a woman’s social status as well as her prospects for personal and financial independence. In addition to attracting a higher calibre of fee-paying private students, an education at the Conservatoire could reward women with the contacts and skills to gain professional positions at the numerous private music schools in Paris, like premier prix winners Hélène Collin and Jeanne Blancard (as discussed in the previous section). However, women with teaching appointments in private music schools could potentially encounter similar undesirable prejudicial conditions to those at the Conservatoire, from underrepresentation, unequal pay and clashes with male colleagues, to teaching only the most privileged students in Paris, at the expense of those from less fortunate backgrounds with equal talent. For a handful of forward-thinking women, an alternative solution to working under an institution was to establish

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61 See chapter 5, section 1 for music dedications, including those to and from teachers.
their own music schools, organised and run according to their own principles and policies. In the competitive world of music teaching, the endeavour carried risk of financial ruin, and left little time for family life, but the rewards could also be manifest for the women with the talent, vision, and doggedness to succeed. As with many nineteenth-century female composers, dance music was a potential springboard into a relatively independent career in pedagogy, with additional implications for her compositional ambitions and subsequent music publications.

### 3.2.1 Hortense Parent and the École Préparatoire

Born in London in 1837 to a Parisian father and a mother from Strasbourg, Charlotte Francès Hortense Parent spent her childhood years living in England and Scotland, before the family moved to Paris in around 1850. Here, she studied piano with Le Couppey from around the age of 13, before gaining entry to the Conservatoire’s top women’s piano class under the tutelage of Louise Farrenc from 1853-1857. An outstanding student, Parent won an array of prizes, including first in harmony and accompaniment (1854; 1855), first runner-up in piano (1855), second in piano (1856), then finally the coveted first prize in piano in 1857. While at the Conservatoire, Parent also published her first two compositions with J. Maho - a nostalgic waltz reminiscent of her childhood in Scotland (Souvenir d’Ecosse), and a polka called Emily. An outstanding concert pianist, Parent’s post-Conservatoire international performance debuts took place in Strasbourg in 1858, where she played works by Henri Herz and Julius Schulhoff, and at Cambridge House in London, at the invitation of then Prime Minister Lord Palmerston and his wife. After returning to Paris, Parent accepted an invitation to teach piano on a course led by her old professor Le Couppey, and from this point on she was devoted “exclusively to teaching,” publishing her first (of many) instructive texts, l’Étude du piano: manuel de l’élève in 1872. For the next ten years, Parent developed her own innovative teaching techniques that would play a major role in the success of her music school.

As a first-hand observer of teaching practices in Paris, Parent became concerned by what she detected as a generally low standard in private music tuition by women who all too often turned to teaching elementary piano as the only means of supporting themselves and/or their families, particularly after the death of a father or husband. Feeling the need to address the

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63 The two subjects of this section - Hortense Parent and Marguerite Balutet - do not appear to have ever married. Their respective biographical profiles can be found in appendix J.
64 Fétis, Biographie universelle, supp. 2:310.
65 Pierre, Le Conservatoire national, 823.
66 Annuaire des artistes et de l’enseignement dramatique et musical (1905), 466.
67 Ibid.
situation, Parent was compelled to write a manifesto in 1882,\(^6\) outlining in detail her innovative concept for a school that would provide women with a thorough and comprehensive education in music and pedagogy, and consequently raise both their professional prospects, and the quality of music teaching in general. After applying to the newly-formed Association pour l’enseignement professionnel du piano for funding,\(^7\) Parent was able to make her concept a reality, and the École préparatoire au professorat du piano opened its doors that year on the rue des Beaux-arts in the centre of Paris, just south of the Seine; two years after founding the school, Parent was named an Officier d’académie.

By the final decade of the nineteenth century, a plethora of music schools, private courses, and low-cost lessons were available to the general public, bringing a greater accessibility of learning music to a wider variety of social and economic backgrounds than ever before. One issue, which Parent recognised from early on, was that a lack of regulation and qualification in private music teaching was partly responsible for anybody being able to “buy sheet music, put a brass plate on his [or her] door and become a professor.”\(^7\) This draw to earn ‘easy’ money was particularly appealing to women, who were systematically restricted in education and employment. Teaching piano to beginners was also thought to be particularly suited to women’s personalities at a time when the female intellect was considered to be significantly inferior, due to their almost innate ability, according to Parisian composer and music editor Henry Blanchard, to “conceal the boredom that the incapacity, the unintelligence, often even the stupidity of his pupils cause him to feel. This last part of his functions is easier for the lady professors.”\(^7\)

A survey of the 27 music schools and independent courses run by individual music teachers advertised in the Annuaire des artistes (1895) demonstrates the range and number of lessons young students in Paris could choose from, offering tuition in a variety of subjects including keyboard, orchestral, and military instruments, harmony and composition, voice and dictation, dramatic arts and theatre, dance, and even complimentary school subjects such as languages, history, mathematics, and geography alongside musical and/or artistic training. As well as

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promoting an emphasis on the diversity of learning available, the credentials of the staff at an individual’s establishment were touted, and many of the music schools advertised in the *Annuaire des artistes* employed professors who were currently teaching at or graduates of the Conservatoire; even being a former student of a Conservatoire professor could act as proof of one’s musical value, as a monsieur A. Beer, “disciple of Fauré,” boasts in an advert for his singing course.73 A greater degree of autonomy for the directors of independent music schools also meant that women found a much higher rate of comparative representation to men as directors and teaching staff than at the Conservatoire, or any of the other leading government-owned establishments in Paris. Of the 12 music schools advertised in the 1895 *Annuaire des artistes*, for example, six founders/owners were female, and at the *Institut Mac Lean*, run by Madame Mac Lean, all eight professors (including herself) were women.74

In terms of music pedagogy, Parent’s *École préparatoire* was not in fact the first music school proposing to improve the quality of piano teaching among young women in Paris at this time. In the *Annuaire des artistes* (1897), an advertisement for Mme Douaisse-Masson’s *École normale de piano*, founded in 1873, offered “complete and free courses of classical music for young women destined for teaching,” elaborating that “the purpose of these courses, the first of their kind in Paris, is to offer young teachers, through theoretical and practical instruction in piano and solfège, the basis of a good musical education.”75 Similarly, a Mme M. Masson running a course of classical music, singing, piano, solfège, and exam preparation classes for the Conservatoire offers free piano lessons for young women wishing to teach, but no actual teacher training classes.76 Yet while both schools clearly recognise a desire for women with limited means to enter the music teaching profession, neither appeared to offer women dedicated classes in pedagogical development or techniques, sticking instead to the standard courses in piano and solfège.

The *École préparatoire* bridged the gap between learning music, and learning to teach music, and for Parent, this distinction was key. Hoping to equip her pupils with a more realistic set of tools to embark on their own careers within music on completing their education, Parent pioneered ground-breaking techniques for women in music education, and part of her course included the provision for her students to gain practical teaching experience in the homes of their...
allocated students. In the pursuit of promoting equal access to education, Parent offered reduced-fee or fully-funded, merit-based places on her course, and also funded and built a library for her students to access teaching texts free of charge. Thus, while many privately established schools in the period appeared to train teachers, Parent’s was almost unique in fulfilling this promise; only one other school at this time, inspired by Parent’s example, officially offered women dedicated tuition in music pedagogy in a thorough and comprehensive capacity: Marguerite Balutet’s Ecole Beethoven.

### 3.2.2 Marguerite Balutet and the Ecole Beethoven

Like Parent, Paris native Balutet was also a graduate of the Conservatoire; unlike her peer, however, Balutet did not exactly excel in her time in Le Couppey’s class, and the highest accolade she achieved was joint first runner-up for a performance of Hummel’s *Piano Concerto no. 3 in B minor* (op. 89) in 1872 at the age of 19. Laure Collin suggests that for those who did not manage to snag the top prizes, teaching was a more realistic pursuit than carving out a career as a concert pianist. This did not stop women, however, from working on the performance circuit as well as teaching privately, and after leaving the Conservatoire, Balutet was hailed by the French press as a virtuoso pianist for concerts she took part in mainly at the salle Pleyel, including a performance at the annual concert of the society of symphonists in April 1876; from here on, Balutet gave annual recitals at the performance venue.

After establishing herself as a capable performer, Balutet began publishing compositions for keyboard with the editor Durdilly in 1886-1888. Many of these early piano romances are dedicated to her numerous, mostly female students, and in 1890, Balutet was given the opportunity to explore her instructive talents further by taking part in a “cours parisien de musique et de déclamation” held in the salons Flaxland, where she was jointly announced along with Hélène Collin and Edouard Chavagnat as one of the course’s piano teachers. However, while Chavagnat went on to found and direct his own music school (the *École classique de musique et de déclamation* on rue Charras), appointing Collin as a piano professor, Balutet took the relatively bold step of opening her own establishment in 1893 in direct competition with Chavagnat,

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77 Paech, “Hortense Parent.”
79 Collin, quoted in Stanton, *The Woman Question in Europe*, 194. In fact, only one of the 10 women who achieved first and second prize in the two years Balutet won runner up is listed in the Conservatoire’s administrative documents as a concert pianist (Berthe Marx); five are registered as teachers in Paris, one is a performing operetta singer, and three have no careers noted.
80 *Le ménestrel* (23 April 1876), 167.
81 Ibid. (15 February 1880), 87.
82 Ibid. (9 February 1890), 48.
located in nearby rue Blanche. With the help of a government grant in 1894 and a flashy, memorable name, Balutet’s *Ecole Beethoven* needed to stand out from the crowd. Taking inspiration from Parent’s syllabus, Balutet offered teaching programmes exclusively to “artistes femmes,” though with an important difference: her students could choose whether to specialise in performance, pedagogy, or both, and her curriculum included courses in piano, solfège, harmony, composition, and accompaniment in addition to teacher training. Those who were enrolled in the superior piano class could also take advantage of free teaching courses with Balutet, thus ensuring the most talented pianists at her school were also capable teachers. In 1894, Balutet expanded her programme further by introducing innovative classes in music history, then singing, violin, and English in 1911.

Balutet furthered the *Ecole Beethoven’s* desirability by using her contacts and reputation to establish an impressive list of patrons, which by 1899 included Théodore Dubois, Élie-Miriam Delaborde, Gabriel Fauré, Vincent d’Indy, Antoine François Marmontel, Pauline Viardot, Paul Vidal, and Charles Widor, a number of whom also served on the school’s examination committee. With a varied syllabus, established professors, and well-respected sponsors, the *Ecole Beethoven’s* students soon began to shine in public exhibitions as virtuosos, who were showcased annually at the salle Pleyel, where Balutet exhibited as a regular performer in the early days of her career. After one examination recital in 1902, Marmontel Sr. reportedly congratulated Balutet by writing “Mademoiselle Marguerite Balutet, the young women who emerge victoriously from their exams and tests are a true merit and deserve the title of artists. I offer you my compliments.” Yet these occasions were more than simply performance assessments, and, often packed out with public concert-goers and the Parisian press, the student exhibitions acted as advertising opportunities to study with Balutet, and they worked - the *Ecole Beethoven* quickly established a reputation for the quality of its instruction and the talent of its pupils, and a string of personal and professional awards followed: in 1897, the school earned Balutet recognition from the Legion of Honour as an Officier de l’instruction publique, then an Officier d’académie in 1899. Just a year later, exhibiting at the Exposition Universelle in Paris, The *Ecole Beethoven* was awarded a bronze medal for didactic works.

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84 *Annuaire des artistes* (1899), 28.
85 *Le ménestrel* (15 July 1894), 223.
86 Ibid. (7 October 1911), 319.
87 *Annuaire des artistes* (1899), page 28. See figure 16, following page.
88 *Le ménestrel* (29 May 1892), 175.
89 Marmontel père, in *Annuaire des artistes* (1902), 480.
ECOLE BEETHOVEN
Ecole Normale libre, préparatoire au Professeur du Piano
Sous la Direction de Mlle Balutet A.D.
80, rue Blanche, PARIS

MEMBRES DU COMITÉ DE PATRONAGE

Présidente : Madame l'Amitié BOURGOIS
MM. Théodore DuBois (Membre de l'Institut); Charles de Bériot; Ch. Bordes; Paul Braud; Romain Bussiès; E.-M. Delaborde; Charles Delilou; Jules Delart; Louis Diéker; Gabriel Faure; Alexandre Guilmant; Eugène d'Harcourt; Georges Hue; Vincent d'Indy; Albert Lavignac; Charles Lefebvre; Xavier Leroux; Gustave Lyon; Édouard Mangin; Henri Maréchal; Martin Marmier; Georges Marty; Georges Préfaut; Gabriel Pirrot; Charles Rezé; Paul Rougono; Samuel Rousseau; Paul Tappan; Paul Viardot; Paul Vital; Ch. M. Widor.

Nomenclature des Classes

PIANO
1ere Degré
(Préparant à l'Examen élémentaire)
Professeur : Milé M.-S. PRÉVOST.
Deux classes par semaine. 15 fr. par mois
Examen mensuel par Mlle BALUTET, A.D.

PIANO
2e Degré
(Préparant à l'Examen supérieur)
Professeur : Milé BALUTET, A.D.
Deux classes par semaine. 15 fr. par mois

TRANPOSITION ET LECTURE
à 2, 4, 6, 8 mains
Une classe par semaine. 10 fr. par mois

SOLFÈGE
(Préparant aux examens des certificats d'aptitude à l'Enseignement du Chant, dans les Ecoles normales de l'État, et dans les Ecoles de la Ville de Paris)
Professeur : Milé BALUTET, A.D.
Une classe par semaine. 10 fr. par mois

ACCOMPAGNEMENT
Professeur : M. Georges PAPIN, A.D.
Violoncelle Solo à l'Opéra
Une classe par semaine. 15 fr. par mois

HARMONIE & COMPOSITION
Professeur : M. Henri MARÉCHAL, A.D.
Une classe par semaine
(Pour les conditions, s'adresser à Milé BALUTET)

COURS PRÉPARATOIRE À L'ENSEIGNEMENT DU PIANO
Pédagogie, Théorie, Histoire de la musique, Analyse et Auditions d'œuvres anciennes et modernes, etc.
Professeur : Milé M. BALUTET, A.D.
Deux séances par mois. . . . . . 25 Francs par Trimestre
(Ce Cours est gratuit pour les élèves de Piano du degré supérieur)

MEMBRES DU COMITÉ DES EXAMENS
MM. Alexandre Guilmant (Président); Ch. Bordes; Paul Braud; Charles Delilou; Gabriel Faure; Eugène d'Harcourt; Georges Hue; Vincent d'Indy; Albert Lavignac; Xavier Leroux; Édouard Mangin; Georges Marty; Gabriel Pirrot; Charles Rezé; Paul Rougono; Samuel Rousseau; Paul Viardot; Paul Vital.

Des Brevets de Capacité à l'Enseignement du Piano (deux degrés) sont décernés à la suite d'Examen jugés par un jury composé de 5 membres, dont 3, au moins, font partie du Comité des Examens.
(Consulter le programme des Examens)

L'École étant fondée exclusivement pour les Artistes femmes, se destinant au Professeur du Piano, les élèves amateurs, moyennant certaines conditions, peuvent passer les examens mais ne sont pas admis à faire partie des classes.
(Una exception est faite pour le Cours préparatoire à l'Enseignement du Piano)

Des bourses sont mises au concours pour les classes de piano.

Renseignements : le lundi de 11 h. à midi, chez Mlle BALUTET, 80, rue Blanche, Paris

Figure 16. The full-page advertisement for Marguerite Balutet's Ecole Beethoven and its courses in the Annuaire des artistes (1899), page 28.
Like Parent, owning a music school gave Balutet the power and the freedom to choose her own students, teachers, curriculum, and methodology. However, unlike Parent, Balutet capitalised on this freedom musically as well as commercially by establishing the *Ecole Beethoven* as a site of various concerts and intimate soirées where the students, along with Balutet, other teachers, and special guests, were often responsible for giving debut performances of new small-scale works by respected composers, such as Conservatoire professors Marmontel and Dubois;\(^{91}\) Claude Debussy’s *Petite Suite* was also premiered by Balutet’s pupils at her school in 1894, alongside the second ever performance of his *Arabesques*.\(^{92}\) These performances received positive criticism in the French music press, who enthused, “The old master [Marmontel], so touched at the delicate attentions of Miss Balutet, was delighted with the performance of the young students, who all executed those salon pieces with such taste and in excellent style that the audience found them too short and asked to be repeated.”\(^{93}\)

Around this time, Balutet began composing more frequently, and with greater ambition in ensemble and style, regularly publishing works for organ, harp, violin, and cello, as well as character pieces for piano for four hands. Further, Balutet’s newest music was no longer exclusively dedicated to students, but also to fellow composers, teachers, and friends, and was performed in her school’s salons by her students or herself. Thus, as well as exposing her to working relationships with current prominent male composers from which other women were all too often restricted, owning a successful music school which doubled as a thriving performance venue additionally gave Balutet unique marketing opportunities for her own music to be premiered alongside that of some of the leading composers (and fellow teachers) working in Paris at that time. Doubtlessly aware of her relatively privileged position, Balutet also used her assets to encourage other musical women in her consistent promotional concerts featuring works by other female composers and performers.

Balutet continued to take part in various well-received recitals at the salle Érard,\(^{94}\) and to host concerts at her own school showcasing her students from 1900, regularly featuring compositions by her friend Filliaux-Tiger, up until around 1914.\(^{95}\) As a composer, however, Balutet’s output had become more sporadic by 1902, with a number of her published pieces now

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\(^{91}\) *Le ménestrel* (5 April 1896), 112.


\(^{93}\) “Le vieux maître, très touché de la délicate attention de Mlle Balutet, s’est montré enchanté de l’exécution des jeunes élèves qui, toutes, ont exécuté avec gout et dans un excellent style ces pièces de salon que l’auditoire a trouvées trop courtes et a fait répéter.” Henri Heugel, *Le ménestrel* (10 May 1896), 152.

\(^{94}\) *Gil Blas* (14 May 1900); *Le ménestrel* (2 February 1902), 40.

\(^{95}\) *Le ménestrel* (7 April 1901), 112; (2 April 1910), 112.
dedicated to various doctors indicating her ailing health; no new pieces appear after 1911. Press reports of staff and student concerts at the Ecole Beethoven additionally suggest that Balutet’s passion for teaching continued until she was no longer physically capable, and her obituaries in the *Journal des Debats* and *Le Figaro* detail how she eventually died in 1928 after “a long and grave illness.”

Unfortunately, since records for the *Ecole Beethoven* are either unavailable to the public or no longer exist, it is not clear how long Balutet’s beloved school survived after its formidable founder’s death.

Though Parent also wrote music, her identity as a pedagogue rather than a composer is represented in the fact that the overwhelming majority of her publications are made up of music exercises and teaching methods, and unless a large amount of her music is missing or in private hands, Parent only composed a handful of pieces that we know of: a polka and a waltz for piano from 1856, four melodies for voice and piano in around 1870 (the scores for these are lost), and a minuet not published until 1971. In fact, in a display of the widespread respect for Parent as an influential professor, far more music was dedicated to her than she herself composed, and the list includes a piano arrangement of an opera by Henri Cramer (1873), a waltz by her cousin Isaac de Camondo, a piano solo by her student (and eventual Paris Conservatoire professor) René Baillot, piano duets by Chavagnat (1886) and Blas Maria Colomer (1887), and a nocturne by music critic, *Le ménestrel* contributor and fellow music school owner Oscar Comettant (1888). Dedications also indicate a level of admiration from her fellow women musicians, and a number of female composers devoted works to Parent, including Chaminade (*Minuetto pour piano*, 1883), Emmeline Darolle (*Separation; romance sans paroles*, 1883), and Hélène Ciolac (*Caprice pour piano*, 1886).

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97 For a full list of published works, see Paech, “Hortense Parent.”
It is no coincidence that Parent’s seven compositions date from the earliest part of her career, and after producing her first published set of student exercises dedicated to Le Couppey, the *Manuel d’élève* in 1872, Parent committed herself exclusively to producing teaching texts, including *Rythme et Mesure, exercices pour piano en quatre parties* (1887), *25 Mélodies populaire, transrites pour le piano* (extrêmement faciles, très faciles et faciles) (1889), and *Répertoire encyclopédique du pianiste: analyse raisonnée d’œuvres choisis pour le piano* (1901; 1907). The latter of the three was an analytical and bibliographical tour de force in two volumes, in which Parent selected repertoire from ‘classical’ and ‘modern’ composers that she believed every competent pianist should be familiar with, analysing each work for its degree of difficulty, and the best ways to approach it. The creation of Parent’s encyclopaedia was inspired, as usual, by educational methods in the classrooms of her school, where she reportedly once a week gave her student teachers a lecture in which they would “analyse a piano piece on the basis of its pedagogical aspects.”

98 Parent’s musical exercises continued to be influential for teachers and

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98 Paech, “Hortense Parent.”
learners alike well after her death, and the 20th edition of *Rythme et Mesure* was printed in 1920, while the 5th edition of *Répertoire encyclopédique du pianiste* appeared in 1930.

In addition to exercises for learners, Parent published several manuals exposing some of the innovative teaching methods she used at her École Préparatoire. In the *Lecture des notes dans toutes les clés* (1885) and *Exposition de ma méthode d’enseignement pour le piano* (1888) for example, Parent showcased her approach for learning to read music through a system of colours, and her unusual but reportedly effective methodologies were included in a series of six lectures at the Sorbonne in 1896 and 1897, which were accompanied by explanatory essays revealing the mechanisms of her work. Three years later, Parent participated in the Congres International de l’Histoire de la Musique, which took place during the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris, where a talk on her school and her methods won Parent a silver medal for didactic achievement.

Located on opposite sides of the Seine, Parent’s École Préparatoire and Balutet’s Ecole Beethoven recognised an emerging desire to raise the quality of music teaching in Paris for the general public rather than privileged elite towards the end of the nineteenth century; evidence outlined in this section further suggests that it was women who took the significant steps in improving music teaching standards and opportunities for other women. Crucially, both Parent and Balutet’s schools provided female learners with a standard of musical training that was arguably more realistically tailored to their needs than the Conservatoire, or any mixed private music institution, could offer. Significantly, both Parent and Balutet were also able to award scholarships for places at their schools to women without the financial means to improve their own prospects, gifting talented female musicians with the opportunity for financial independence, stability, and autonomy in a competitive trade, and contributing to the cultural emancipation for women through music education.

### 3.3 The Glass Ceiling: Female Dance Music Conductors in the Nineteenth Century

If female creators, performers, and teachers of popular music forms are underrepresented in both history books and modern research, women conductors of any music at all are virtually absent. This dearth is partially owing to the widespread restrictions in education that limited women in

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instrumental study until the last few decades of the nineteenth century (which Balutet’s *Ecole Beethoven* in particular aimed to address), but is also due to the social and cultural discrimination that saw female musicians, however capable, effectively barred from orchestras on the dubious grounds of ‘tradition’\(^{101}\) until relatively late in our musical history. As such, the modern critical discourse that has emerged on the subject since the 1990s has focused mainly on women composers and their experiences in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries;\(^{102}\) little, if anything, is known about European women leading orchestras before this period, and yet the nineteenth century was responsible for seeing the epic rise of the conductor-composer as a celebrity figure through the performance of dance music, as explored briefly in chapter 1.

Dissuaded from leading large-scale orchestras, women who demonstrated an inclination towards conducting were often encouraged, either explicitly or implicitly, to seek out alternatives. As such, a growing number of women began directing choral groups, which were frequently made up of other women and/or non-professionals. Crucially, women were significantly less likely to encounter hostility and ridicule when conducting other women, and female-only orchestras began cropping up in London, Paris, and Vienna towards the end of the nineteenth century. An early example of this type of ensemble was the “Viennese Ladies Orchestra,” which rose to popularity in the 1880s with tours to London and New York. Led by Madame Marie Schipek, who forewent the podium by acting as both first violin and conductor, the orchestra limited their repertoire to dance music, which they played “in a far more captivating fashion than their male rivals” on account of an apparently innate “feminine delight in dancing.”\(^{103}\) As for their conductor, Bernard Shaw writes after attending a performance at the Albert Palace in Battersea in 1885 that Schipek, who used a bow in place of a baton, “is not conducting in the Richterian sense: there is no reason to suppose that she could use a baton, so as to produce an original interpretation of a classical work; but she marks time in the boldest and gayest Austrian spirit, and makes the dances and marches spin along irresistibly;”\(^{104}\) in his back-handed compliment, Shaw failed to recognise that Strauss too doubled as conductor and first violinist in his early days leading his orchestra at

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104 Ibid., 22.
various balls and assemblies. Almost inevitably, the positive reception of a ladies orchestra was overwhelmingly based on their novelty value, rather than an ability to perform so-called ‘serious’ works in the classical canon alongside male players, and Derek Scott reports that women were not permitted to audition for the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, established in 1842, until 1997.

Owing to the prevalent cultural bias against women as capable conductors of large-scale orchestras that still plagues musicians to this day, finding a woman who led standard (i.e. exclusively male) orchestras in nineteenth-century Europe is akin to finding a needle in a haystack. Yet since women participated in the production of dance music so abundantly, as this project has revealed, the study of this repertoire is perhaps one of the most likely sources to find active female conductors in this period; indeed, it is within this musical culture that we find Laure Micheli, whose ten-year career as a conductor began with a debut in 1857 as the first women to lead Musard’s orchestra in concert at Paris’s hotel d’Osmond. Before astonishing French audiences by wielding a baton, however, Micheli and her dance compositions had been popular in Parisian ballrooms, salons, and public concert life for a number of years, and the exposure she gained from these early experiences, as well as her own family background and contacts, gave Micheli a chance to do something unprecedented for a woman of her time as the first recorded example of a professional female conductor in Paris.

3.3.1 Laure Micheli: Composing and Conducting Music for Dance

Laure Micheli was born into a musical family, with two brothers, Louis and Jules, occupying positions as the conductors of various orchestras in Paris and around France at different points in their careers. Though nothing is known of Micheli’s formal education, she does not appear to have passed through the Paris Conservatoire, though she did teach piano and singing in the city before she began publishing her dance music. As a composer, Micheli spent her career attached to the influential music editing firm Heugel, and her first piece - a piano waltz called La peur - was released in 1847. Micheli continued teaching and producing dance music for the editor for the next seven years, but got her first significant break when Le ménestrel (owned by Jaques-Léopold Heugel since 1840) included the piano score for Micheli’s schottische Les Abeilles as part of its musical supplement in November 1854. The following year, Micheli’s dances began appearing on the programmes of various balls, public dances, and concerts around Paris, thanks to their arrangement by a number of influential conductors who heard promise in Micheli’s tunes.

106 Scott, Sounds of the Metropolis, 23.
107 Le ménestrel (12 November 1854), 1.
The first to single out Micheli’s work for orchestration was Narcisse Bousquet, a flagelot player, prolific dance music composer, and conductor of the Orchestre Élysée-Montmartre as well as his own Orchestre Bousquet at the Ranelagh Theatre. As a prominent figure in Parisian musical society, Bousquet’s arrangement of Micheli’s scores brought the young composer significant public recognition, and his orchestrated version of her polka Carnaval des fées was a success in the summer ball season of 1855; soon after, the original piano version was featured in Le ménestrel’s annual album of the most popular dance hits of the year. After the craze of the waltz, the polka was then the newest and most fashionable ballroom darling, and two further dances of this type composed by Micheli - Juana l’Espagnole and Le clairon des zouaves - were arranged for orchestra by Antony Lamotte, who conducted orchestras at the Château-d’Eau ballrooms, salle Barthelemy, salle Valentino, and the Argyll rooms in London. Lamotte’s version of Le clairon des zouaves seemed to enjoy particular success, and could be heard in the salle Valentino in the winter of 1855, at the salle Saint-Cécile the following year, and during the February Mardi Gras ball at the Jardin d’Hiver. By spring of 1856, Micheli’s current catalogue of dance music was being featured alongside that of Strauss in Le ménestrel’s commercial back pages.

Figure 18. Laure Micheli’s dance music advertised underneath that of Johann Strauss in Le ménestrel (6 April 1856), page 4. On the right is the music of Narcisse Bousquet, who arranged a number of Micheli’s scores for orchestra.

Partisanship on the part of French music journals in the nineteenth century was common, and served Micheli and her career well. With Le ménestrel/Heugel’s backing as lifelong and exclusive publishers of her piano music, and conductors like Bousquet, Lamotte, and later Charles Fétis, Biographie universelle, supp. 2:70.

Le ménestrel (6 April 1856), 4.


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Rochefort and the bal Mabille’s very own Olivier Métra regularly orchestrating her works for public performance, Micheli’s music was soon a regular and permanent fixture in the most popular balls around Paris, driving up demand for her piano music. In August, though the exact circumstances and events leading up to her appointment are currently unknown, Micheli unprecedentedly stepped up to replace the ailing Musard as the leader of his famous orchestra for a concert at the hotel d’Osmond, and as her backer, Le ménestrel had a pivotal part to play in Micheli’s initial credibility as the female conductor of an all-male orchestra at her debut. Reviewing the “soirée extraordinaire” for Le ménestrel, its director Jacques-Léopold Heugel enthused:

The appearance of a woman, Miss Laure Micheli, in the place of conductor of Musard’s orchestra, at first excited a very lively interest of curiosity, succeeded then to a real, and almost unforeseen triumph. Miss Micheli held the baton of command with a vigour, a precision, a feeling of nuance that earned her the heated bravos of the whole hall. The overture of La muette especially was conducted and executed marvellously. [...] The musical compositions of Miss Micheli, her waltz Castagnettes, her quadrille Viveurs with chorus, the Clairon des zouaves, etc., were also greatly applauded.¹¹¹

Heugel seems to suggest that there was a certain amount of hype leading up to Micheli’s conducting debut, which by all accounts was played out in front of a packed concert hall; yet her commanding performance reportedly succeeded in winning round any initial doubters in a woman’s ability to lead an orchestra, in this case one of the most reputable and well-established dance ensembles in Paris. Thus, Heugel rather optimistically and prematurely announces that in Micheli’s single performance, “the musical emancipation of the woman is now complete,”¹¹² though the statement implies awareness of the lack of women occupying positions in the highest ranks of the music profession, as explored in the previous chapter. Of course, it may come as no surprise that Le ménestrel would voice such avid support for a composer that they had now backed for a number of years, and who was presumably making them money through the sheet music sales of her highly popular music. The fact that Micheli returned to her conducting role “by

¹¹¹ “L’apparition d’une femme, Mademoiselle Laure Micheli, à la place du chef d’orchestre Musard, a excité d’abord un très-vif intérêt de curiosité, pour aboutir ensuite à un succès réel et presque imprévu. Mademoiselle Micheli a tenu le bâton de commandement avec une vigueur, une précision, un sentiment des nuances qui lui ont valu les chaleureux bravos de la salle entière. L’ouverture de La Muette surtout a été conduite et exécutée d’une façon merveilleuse. [...] Les compositions musicales de Mademoiselle Micheli, sa valse des Castagnettes, son quadrille des Viveurs avec chœurs, le Clairon des zouaves, etc., ont également été fort applaudis.” J.-L. Heugel, Le ménestrel (23 August 1857), 4.
¹¹² “L’émancipation musicale de la femme est désormais complète.” Ibid.
popular demand” for a series of concerts only two months later, however, attests to an overwhelmingly positive public reception possibly even beyond Le ménestrel’s influence, and Micheli afterwards conducted orchestras at the Hôtel des Concerts de Paris, and the Salle Saint-Cécile, before embarking on a music tour to London in December 1857.114

Throughout this time, Micheli had continued to publish her catchy waltzes, polkas, quadrilles, and schottisches, the majority of which were orchestrated, performed, and danced to at public functions around Paris. Her connection with the Salle Saint-Cécile in particular appears to have been made through her brother, Jules Micheli, who was appointed as the venue’s new resident conductor in the same year as Laure’s debut with the baton; Jules regularly featured his sister’s music alongside that of Strauss, Musard, and Bousquet at the Saint-Cécile balls.115 In the summer season of 1858, Micheli’s waltz La Fleur de Tyrol was a hit at the Château des fleurs, the parc d’Asnières, and the bal Mabille. The latter, as mentioned in chapter one, was infamous both in Paris and internationally, and at the helm of its 50-piece orchestra was the influential conductor Olivier Métra, who orchestrated a number of Micheli’s dances for performance at such events.

The fact that a number of arrangements by Paris’s most prominent conductors were released within a year of their piano versions being published116 indicates that Micheli may have composed her dances with public performance at balls specifically in mind.117 This notion is supported by Micheli’s contribution to the development of waltz steps appearing as part of quadrille figures with the release of her Quadrille-valse Micheliana118 in late 1861, which is described in Le ménestrel as a “new genre of dance, which offers dancers the pleasure of the quadrille joint with that of the waltz, and which, without prior study of universally known steps, appears this winter to have been announced a success.”119

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114 Ibid. (13 December 1857), 4.
115 Ibid. (8 November 1857), 4.
116 See appendix E.
117 Some of Micheli’s piano scores are dated after their orchestrated arrangements in the BnF, though it is difficult to say if piano versions were indeed released later, or because the earlier keyboard editions are lost or unavailable.
118 Dancing Micheli’s quadrille-valse would prove popular into the twentieth century alongside newer waltz hybrids such as the Boston. La Vedette: politique, sociale et littéraire (Paris: 2 January 1904), 5.
119 “Ce nouveau genre de danse, qui offre aux danseurs le plaisir du quadrille joint à celui de la valse, et ce, sans étude préalable de pas universellement connus, paraît appelé à avoir cet hiver un vrai succès.” J.-L. Heugel, Le ménestrel (13 October 1861), n.p.
Quadrille-valse Micheliana quickly sold out, the second soon followed, this time with an “explanation-théorique” of the waltz’s place in the quadrille’s modified structure, summarised in Le ménestrel: “the quadrille-waltz consists of three quadrille figures instead of five: the pantalon, the pastourelle, and the finale, each ending with a waltz, polka, and galop. The music, moreover, sufficiently indicates these different steps to the dancers, without it being necessary to give any other theoretical explanation.” Although Le ménestrel emphasises the ease with which the quadrille-valse can be learned, the instructions found on Micheli’s original score go on to offer additional help from the composer herself, who generously “offers to provide playing or dancing to suit the needs of the new quadrille of her creation,” implying that Micheli had personal experience as a dancer, as well as a composer and conductor.

Over the next two years, Micheli continued to lead ballroom orchestras through her own compositions, and her profile as an accomplished conductor was raised significantly in 1863 when she replaced her brother Jules as conductor of the orchestra at the théâtre d’Orléans in a benefit concert for the poor. In around 1865, now with eight years of experience as a respected composer and conductor within social dance circles, Micheli was approached to lead an ambitious (and often controversial) new experiment instigated by instrument maker Alphonse Sax to become the official conductor of his Fanfare féminine. The first of its kind in Paris - and perhaps even Europe - the Fanfare féminine was a brass ensemble made up entirely of women.

3.3.2 Micheli, Sax, and the Fanfare féminine

Alphonse Sax hailed from a long line of brass instrument makers and inventors, and throughout his life, exhibited an uneasy relationship with his brother Adolphe Sax, inventor of the saxophone. Both highly competitive and resentful of the other’s achievements, Alphonse and Adolphe were often involved in public spats and longs periods of disassociation with one another, and both gained a reputation for unconventionality. After achieving modest success on being awarded a

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120 “La première édition de la Micheliana, quadrille-valse par L. Micheli, a été rapidement épuisée. Il vient d’en être fait en second tirage.” Ibid. (8 December 1861), 15.
121 “Le quadrille-valse est composé de trois figures de quadrille, au lieu de cinq: le pantalon, la pastourelle et la finale, chacune d’elles se terminant par un pas de valse, polka et galop. La musique indique d’ailleurs suffisamment aux danseurs ces différents pas, sans qu’il soit nécessaire de donner d’autre explication théorique.” Ibid. (8 December 1861), n.p.
123 J.-L. Heugel, Le ménestrel (8 March 1863), 111.
124 Katharine Ellis, “The Fair Sax: Women, Brass-Playing and the Instrument Trade in 1860s Paris,” Journal of the Royal Musical Association, Vol. 124, No. 2 (1999), 223. Ellis’s article is the single scholarly source I have been able to find which offers insight into the nineteenth-century cultural and critical response to Sax’s project, though little is mentioned of Micheli’s role or musical background.
medal for one of his brass inventions at the London World’s Fair in 1862, Alphonse Sax took his perceived eccentricity to another level when he started working on a project which in many ways was ahead of its time. In the process, Sax sparked in the contemporary press what Ellis identifies as “a rare example of nineteenth-century music critics tackling contentious socio-political issues and examining the relationships between music-making, gender and social progress.”

Galvanised by what he considered to be blind prejudice against women learning and performing brass instruments, Sax set about recruiting 20 willing female students. In return, he advertised that he would offer a six-month course of free lessons run from his shop, the student’s own free instrument, and a monthly salary for five years when the most talented women eventually began playing in concerts as part of an ensemble. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Sax faced considerable opposition from the start, and the variety and intensity of slanderous accusations - one attack proposed that his project was simply a pretext for mass orgies at his house - almost caused him to lose his business, and he was tempted many times to give up. A caricature from the period by Étienne Carjat depicting Sax in a dress holding a tuba sums up the general feelings of Sax’s “enemies,” to use the latter’s own words, as well as the disdain towards women aspiring to learning ‘inappropriate’ instruments, and is proof of the ridicule Sax faced in daring to attempt to address the issue of women’s access to instrument tuition outside the norms of keyboard and voice.

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125 Ibid., 222.
126 The initial organization stages and later reception of the project are outlined by Sax himself in Alphonse Sax, Gymnastique des poumons: La musique instrumentale au point de vue de l’hygiène et la création des orchestres féminins (Paris: L’auteur, 1865).
127 Sax, Gymnastiques des poumons, 36-37.
128 Ibid., 36.
129 Ellis suggests a theory that, to a certain extent, Sax could have been complicit in generating negative coverage towards his image and his project as a way of gaining extra publicity, and may have even commissioned Carjat’s 1862 caricature. Ellis, “The Fair Sax,” 246-248.
Recognising the need to defend the suitability of a brass orchestra made up entirely of women, Sax set about funding and printing self-published articles and pamphlets justifying his motivations from “the triple point of view of hygiene, morality, and art.” In 1862, an open letter titled ‘La musique instrumentale au point de vue de l’hygiène’ appeared in a number of medical and musical journals, sometimes alongside a piece called ‘Orchestres féminins,’ which promoted singing and playing brass instruments as healthier than learning keyboard and strings due to the former’s potential for exercising the lungs. In the constant spectre of tuberculosis, Sax’s theories found support from a number of physicians and musicians who were also working towards dispelling the widespread idea that playing brass and wind instruments damaged the lungs and increased vulnerability to catching the fatal disease. For women, who were generally thought to lack the pulmonary capacity with which to play brass instruments, Sax was at particular pains to counteract a suspected feminine susceptibility to TB among the upper classes due to a comparatively “sedentary existence,” which could “leave the way open to all kinds of

130 Ibid., 35.
132 Sax, Gymnastiques des poumons, 18.
health problems.” As a handy solution, Sax proposed that playing brass instruments could facilitate practising the breathing exercises necessary to warding off illness in women. Once again, the press responded with ridicule and vitriol, and the first illustration in a series of cartoons featured in the November 1862 edition of Le Panurge shows a woman, fearing she is unwell, asking her husband to direct her towards Sax rather than a doctor.

In addition, Sax suggested employing women in orchestras could be a potential solution to the scourge of prostitution, which was thought to be linked to the medical manifestations of licentiousness and excessively sexual behaviour produced by TB. These theories were discussed and published in Sax’s Gymnastiques des poumons of 1865, which was conveniently the year that his Fanfare féminine made their debut performance. Reflecting on the need to protect women’s health based on the importance of their reproductive roles in society, Sax recommended learning wind or brass instruments as a way to avoid both the medical and moral pitfalls that seemed to plague women in particular. To his credit, Sax also laments the injustice of women among the less privileged classes having few employment opportunities that often forced them into selling their bodies to survive, propagating disease and greater hardships. Ironically, what Sax may not have banked on in offering generous financial rewards to learn brass instruments was that he inadvertently attracted a rather less respectable clientele than he had perhaps hoped, requiring him to ‘weed out’ those who would not benefit his campaign when the time came for public performances.

After the stress and near-derailments of his self-styled march towards social progress, in his 1865 book Gymnastiques des Poumons, Sax describes his “first victory” as the moment when a group of students from his course began playing, apparently unannounced, his own compositions for cornet at a concert organized by the Palais de l’Industrie for the Exposition de l’Art Industriel. According to Sax’s account, the women performed so well, and were such a strange sight, that they received enthusiastic applause from the spectators, and positive reviews in the French press. Now that he had a trained ensemble of talented and courageous women, Sax needed a female conductor to lead them. Already with proven abilities as a conductor and social pioneer for female musicians in the face of deeply rooted prejudice, Micheli was perhaps the most obvious choice, and her level of respectability was an important element in potentially elevating the divisive ensemble’s public status. However, though she was undeniably a talented and tenacious musician in a patriarchal profession, Micheli also crucially brought with her the support of the

134 Le Panurge (23 November 1862), 5; in ibid., 225.
135 Sax, Gymnastiques des poumons, 37; in ibid., 231-222.
136 Sax, Gymnastiques des poumons, 38.
powerful *Le ménestrel*. Although Sax already had a number of press sources behind him who were unwaveringly faithful to his cause, many of which he self-servingly listed in the final 49 pages of *Gymnastics des Poumons*,¹³⁷ *Le ménestrel*’s influence as one of the leading music journals in Paris meant that its endorsement brought about an enhanced sense of artistic value to Sax’s campaign.

We may never know how Sax approached Micheli, or how she may have reacted; what we do know is that she was on board by the time the group’s first organized performance took place on 6 August 1865, at the Orphéon contest of Orbec (in Calvados), and she was announced in *Le ménestrel* as the new official conductor of what the journal coined the *Fanfare féminine*. For reasons unknown, however, Micheli did not make it to the concert, which was awarded gold medals by the jury, despite the reported public anticipation to see her.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, the *Fanfare féminine*’s routine of military repertoire received positive evaluations in the French press, including *La France chorale*, *Le ménestrel*, and *La presse théâtrale*, which Sax obligingly provides in the *Gymnastiques des poumons*. The following month, Micheli stood in front of the ensemble for the first time at the salle Herz, leading the group through various compositions including her own arrangement of the *Partant pour la Syrie* to critical acclaim; Sax, who was notably absent, enterprisingly arranged for a pamphlet outlining the motivations for his concept, its inception, and the difficult path towards training and forming the group to be distributed among the members of the audience.¹³⁹

Sax undoubtedly profited from Micheli’s positive reputation, and his group also benefited from the hand of a capable and experienced conductor who understood their needs as both women and musicians. However, Micheli also reaped gains from being the leader of an ensemble that was now the talk of the town, widening her opportunities for composition, arrangement, conducting, and - crucially - column inches. Indeed, with various appointments, appearances, and concerts throughout the city, Micheli’s commanding presence as a conductor in many ways outmatched the intriguing sight of women playing brass instruments on the stage below, and eventually the conductor began to outshine Sax’s group, and even its creator himself.

Unhelpfully, the *Fanfare féminine*’s performers were only fleetingly mentioned by name (if at all) in the press,¹⁴⁰ and never once by Sax. Instead, these women were defined in many reviews by their sexuality and sensuality, with musical talent taking a backseat to objectification. Critics

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¹³⁷ Ibid., 40-89.
¹³⁸ “Toutefois on se demandait pourquoi Mlle Laure Micheli, le chef d’orchestre naturel de cette phalange féminine, annoncée au Pré Catelan et attendue à Londres, n’avait pas, en cette circonstance, pris le commandement de cette fanfare militaire.” Unsigned, *Le ménestrel* (20 August 1865), 304.
seemed particularly fixated with the women’s mouths, describing the vulgarity of seeing female lips around mouthpieces, and the perversion of beautiful faces contorted and reddened by blowing through their instruments. Though other sources sought to defend the musicians by pointing out that from personal experience of watching the women in concert, these reports were greatly exaggerated, the critical emphasis was often placed on the physical features at the expense of musical ability. Micheli, meanwhile, managed to transcend the prevalent sexual denigration by embodying the ‘exceptional woman,’ receiving praise for the masterful arrangements of her own compositions for the ensemble, and her waltz *Le roche qui pleure* was particularly successful at the ensemble’s concert in the Salons du Casino. 

The *Fanfare féminine* continued to make appearances until around 1866, and in the publicity for one of their final concerts, cracks were beginning to appear. Dazzled by Micheli, the incontestable star of the show, it appears there was some confusion from both the public and the press over whether Micheli or Sax was the ensemble’s founder, directly compounded by *Le ménestrel*’s consistent promotional preference towards Micheli. In September 1866, the situation reached a head when *Le ménestrel* was forced to print a lengthy statement following a letter sent to them by a clearly disgruntled Sax, who took issue with the publication’s reference to Micheli as the leader of the group following the journal’s attempt to ensure the *Fanfare féminine*’s appearance in the following year’s Exposition Universelle:

Last Sunday, in welcoming by excess of obligation the letter from Mr. Alphonse Sax (Junior), we submitted this communication to the benevolent solicitude of Baron Taylor, who at this very moment is dealing with the question of brass bands and military music from all countries at our next Exhibition. “The *fanfare féminine* directed by Miss Laure Micheli (we put this purely and simply), cannot fail to have place in the Universal programme of 1867.” We did not know then that there had been a split between Mr. Alphonse Sax and the leader, whose name we had seen shine next to hers on the posters of the salle Herz, the Théâtre des Variétés, the Casino and the Alcazar. Mr. Alphonse Sax thought he saw in this very innocent quotation - for Miss Micheli had not solicited it - the intention of disputing the honour and the benefits of the creation of his brass band. [...] It is certainly not us who opposes it, and we would be amazed by all this cacophony, if it were not a female brass band. Let Mr. Alphonse Sax (Junior) be

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141 Ibid., 235-242.
142 J.-L. Heugel, *Le ménestrel* (4 February 1866), 78. See chapter 6 for a musical and contextual analysis of Micheli’s *La roche qui pleure*. 
proclaimed then, for the last and final time, the only creator, which has never been contested by Le ménestrel, whatever may be said the theatrical press.\textsuperscript{143}

The announcement exposes Sax’s insecurities that Micheli, whom Le ménestrel insists is an innocent bystander caught up in the fray, is beginning to take the credit for the project that has left him vulnerable to ridicule (not least by Le ménestrel itself), ostracisation, and near-financial ruin, and as the paper reveals, both Sax and Micheli parted ways following the dispute. Clearly still under the stress of financial strain despite his achievements, Sax’s outburst, played down somewhat by Le ménestrel as a temper tantrum, was perhaps understandable, and the Fanfare féminine never made it to the Exposition Universelle due to Sax being unable to pay the admission price for exhibitors after an unsuccessful application for the fee to be waived.\textsuperscript{144}

It seems that after this clash, Sax was finally disillusioned enough to give up on the group altogether, and he disappeared from the public eye. Micheli did not assume responsibility for the Fanfare féminine - it was never her labour of love in the first place - and the ensemble presumably disbanded after this point. Interestingly, though Micheli continued to produce new dance compositions which were advertised and printed in Le ménestrel’s supplements, and orchestrated for public balls, she does not appear to have conducted a single further concert after the ignominious end to the Fanfare féminine.

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Despite intense competition to gain entry to the Conservatoire, female students were treated as second-class citizens from the minute they stepped inside the school’s single-sex entrances, reflecting the pervasive cultural attitudes of the time. The preferential treatment towards the needs of male pupils saturated women’s lives at the school on every level, from personal relationships, musical training, employment opportunities, and pay, and the institutional discrimination inflicted by the Conservatoire was clear to those from within and outside of the

\textsuperscript{143} “Dimanche dernier, en accueillant par excès d’obligeance la lettre de M. Alphonse Sax (Junior), nous soumettions cette communication à la bienveillante sollicitude de M. le baron Taylor qui s’occupe en ce moment même de la question des fanfares et musiques militaires de tous les pays à notre prochaine Exposition. La fanfare féminine dirigée par Mlle Laure Micheli (ajoutons-nous purement et simplement), ne peut manquer d’avoir place au programme universel de l’année 1867. Nous ignorions alors qu’il y eût scission entre M. Alphonse Sax et le chef féminin dont nous avions vu briller le nom à côté du sien sur les affiches de la salle Herz, du théâtre des Variétés, du Casino et de l’Alcazar. M. Alphonse Sax a cru voir dans cette citation bien innocente – car Mlle Micheli ne l’a nullement sollicitée – l’intention de lui disputer l’honneur et les bénéfices de la création de sa fanfare. […] Ce n’est certes pas nous qui nous y opposerons, et nous nous étonnerions de tout ce bruit, s’il ne s’agissait de fanfare féminine. Qu’une bonne et dernière fois, M. Alphonse Sax (Junior) en soit proclamé le seul créateur, ce qui n’a jamais été constaté par le Ménestrel, quoi qu’en puisse dire la Presse théâtrale.” Ibid., (23 September 1866), 344.

\textsuperscript{144} Malou Haiene and François Lesure, Adolphe Sax: Sa vie, son œuvre, ses instruments de musique (Brussels: Université de Bruxelles, 1980), 41; in Ellis, “The Fair Sax,” 252.
school. Ironically, an education at the Conservatoire was often credited as the key to success for women whose compositions received positive critical reception. Nevertheless, being a Conservatoire graduate - or better, laureate - propelled many female performer-composers into the limelight, and waltzes could be the ideal breakthrough to a professional career in composition.

Often, performance and/or composing was not enough to support musicians regardless of sex, and many supplemented their livelihoods by teaching. For women, teaching music was one of the only professions that was viewed as acceptable by nineteenth-century society’s standards. Nevertheless, professorship positions at the highest levels were still out of reach for many women, causing talented female musicians to seek appointments elsewhere. Often, women progressed professionally through the relationships they had cultivated in their time at the Conservatoire, despite the restrictions they faced there, and taught in the many private music establishments available in Paris. Not content to grapple with the patriarchal structures of music tuition at Conservatoires and private academies, Parent, Balutet, and a number of other female musicians took back control to establish schools focused solely on teaching other women. In doing so, these entrepreneurs were able to offer other women a significantly more diverse, high quality tuition, crucially driven by the particular needs of their female students.

Through their schools, female directors were able to raise their own profiles considerably, and they continued to perform and compose alongside their teaching duties. For Balutet, her institute doubled as a popular performance venue which gave her opportunities to develop her skills as a composer and teacher, showcase her own works, and expose her students to the crème de la crème of Paris’s musical society. In Parent’s case, the inimitable pedagogue emerged as a tireless campaigner for raising the standard of teaching a new generation of women in music, and some of the methods she developed are still in use today.

While Micheli was also a teacher, her innovations lay in thwarting prevalent cultural expectations by wielding a baton, fascinating the French public and press in the process. Though the positive critical reports on Micheli’s ventures into conducting are sourced from the biased (though influential) accounts of her lifelong editor at Le ménestrel, there is no doubt that dance music played an essential part in crafting Micheli’s public profile as a competent composer and conductor alongside her family connections, and without the popularity of the waltz and other social dances, perhaps Micheli may not have had the opportunity to take the baton as she did. The respectability Micheli gained from conducting even brought her a certain degree of immunity from the derogatory comments that dogged her fellow musicians after her alliance with the Fanfare féminine, though whether Micheli escaped unscathed after the group’s demise is
uncertain. Nevertheless, sexist assumptions within the language that describes female composers in the French press was commonplace, and forms part of the discussion in the following chapter.

For the majority of the women mentioned in these pages, keyboard waltzes were among their first published musical offerings. Regardless of the diverse paths women consequently walked in their professional lives, this compositional trend indicates a mutual recognition for the waltz’s potential as a springboard into a livelihood derived from a passion for making and selling music.
Chapter 4  Women, Waltzes, and Music Publishing

“Fanny, as I know her, possesses neither the inclination nor calling for authorship. She is too much a woman for that, as is proper.”  

In nineteenth-century Europe, technical advances in printing and production methods paved the way for the consumption of music as a commercial commodity, and music was published in large quantities for anticipated sales. The increasing availability of pianofortes to the general public also contributed to a boom in the domestic market with wide-reaching effects on the music industry, and keyboard dance music was a dominating force in sheet music sales. Crucially, women were also able to forge contracts with publishers and editors like never before through the production of this repertoire, yet very little is known of how women published commercial music across this period, and why. Equally hazy is an understanding of women’s relationships with the Parisian publishing industry in the context of musical authorship, and how these connections affected female composers’ professional opportunities and limitations. Armed with the knowledge that a significant number of women published keyboard dances in Paris, their corpus of work provides an ideal vessel for investigating the attraction of the dance music market through the eyes of its female creators, discovering how and why women produced piano waltzes for public consumption, and analysing the implications in their choices for artistic freedom and control.

4.1 Early Keyboard Waltzes

The earliest recorded piano waltzes by female composers that were published in Paris appear in 1814, and 13 scores predate 1840. The majority of these works appear as collections of waltzes, or form sections of dance music albums alongside contredanses, quadrilles, and écossaises. Reflecting the emerging nature of the piano in the consumption of dance music, the production of waltzes for alternative instruments in this early period exceeded those for the keyboard: in 1820, for example, three piano waltzes were published, compared to seven waltzes for instruments as

diverse as violin, flute, guitar, and flageolet. Of these ten works, one - Six walses pour le piano, par Mme Wright - was composed by a woman. By contrast, 43 published waltzes in 1840 were scored for piano, and only seven for other instruments, with a total distribution of 44 male composers to six females.

This leap in the recorded printed waltz scores between the two decades can be attributed in part to the changing French legal requirements around music publication at this time, which coincided with the waltz’s increasing prominence on European dance floors. From 1793, for example, publishers were legally obliged to submit two copies of a musical work to the BnF or the Cabinet d'Estampes; this rule was adjusted in 1814 to stipulate that a primary copy of all music be deposited before its publication. In 1839, the legal deposit number was increased to five copies to include additional submissions to the Conservatoire, the Bibliothèque Royale, and the Direction de la Librairie. Unfortunately, perhaps because of the protracted and shifting nature of the legal requirements imposed upon publishers, the implementation of these laws was erratic, especially when the procedures were first introduced. Nevertheless, the rise in popularity of keyboard waltzes after 1840 reflects the rapidly changing tastes and a preference for dance music for keyboard, spurred on by the growth in popularity of both the piano, and of the waltz.

4.1.1 Parisian Publishing Houses and the Attraction of the Waltz

An eagerness to discover and sell the latest dance hit, spurred on by the potential profitability of dance music, is evident in the number of small-scale (and often, short-lived) editors operating throughout the decade in Paris, set up by entrepreneurs who often had little to no experience in the publishing business, or for whom publishing music was a subsidiary interest. In particular, dance music for piano was significantly less costly to produce than larger-scale repertoire such as operas and symphonic scores, and though the turnover could be rapid, the keyboard market appealed to a powerful and plentiful consumer base of amateurs, which included music students, and young women. Editors often advertised their credentials as the leading producers of specialist

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3 A further five pieces are listed for 1820, though their instrumentation is unspecified.
4 Formerly called the ‘Bibliothèque du Roi’ before it was declared public property in 1792, then the Bibliothèque Royale in 1814; Bibliothèque nationale in 1848; Bibliothèque impériale in 1852; and then the Bibliothèque nationale once more in 1871. Paul M. Priebe, “From Bibliothèque du Roi to Bibliothèque Nationale: The Creation of a State Library, 1789-1793,” The Journal of Library History 17, no. 4 (Fall 1982): 389-408.
music for the domestic and pedagogic spheres; Enoch,\textsuperscript{7} for example, promotes their music “for use by educational institutions, colleges, semi-convents and boarding schools,”\textsuperscript{8} and the volume of waltzes written by women which are aimed at young learners, beginners, and improvers reflects this direction.\textsuperscript{9} Interestingly, women - often the widows of the original owner - were the proprietors of a number of publishing houses in the 1830s-40s, and their businesses produced a significant portion of piano waltzes written by female composers in this period: Mme Launer (est. 1825-1853), Mme Guérin (est. 1839-1842), Mme Cendrier (est. 1839-1859), Mme Tabereau (est. 1841-1851), Mme Dubois (est. 1842-1854), and Mme Excoffon (est. 1844-1855)\textsuperscript{10} were the official publishers of a third of women’s keyboard waltzes in the 1840s.\textsuperscript{11}

Dedicated albums of individual instrumental pieces composed, compiled, and marketed by prominent music publishers show an early attempt to cash in on the increasing demand for dance music. Edme Collinet Sr.\textsuperscript{12} (the editor of Mme Wright’s album \textit{Six walses}), a flageolet player and professor who also owned an instrument shop, published various dance music albums featuring pieces by ‘les bon auteurs’ from 1817. A number of these collections included Collinet’s own arrangements, and bore domestically-appealing titles such as \textit{Les soirées de famille}; a dedicated waltz album called \textit{Cahier de walses choisies} was published in 1820, reflecting the growing demand for keyboard waltzes. Collinet’s investment in dance music is also tangible on the cover of his 1841 catalogue (figure 19), and the two big sellers are quadrilles and waltzes; the popularity of both dances are clearly exploited to lure in potential new subscribers. Offering subscriptions to a catalogue was an innovative marketing tactic used by numerous editors throughout the nineteenth century; in Collinet’s advertisement, patrons are assured that they will receive the newest and most popular dances currently being heard in all the most fashionable balls in Paris, provided by ‘experts’ from a reputable publishing house. In other words: Collinet’s is the place to go for anyone desiring to keep ahead of the latest dance hits, at reasonable prices.

\textsuperscript{7} See the entry for the Enoch publishing family in \textit{Ibidem}, 2:160-2.
\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Ibidem}, 12.
\textsuperscript{9} See chapter 6 of this study for a more detailed discussion and analysis of the waltzes composed by women.
\textsuperscript{10} Refer to Devriès and Lesure, \textit{Dictionnaire}; 2:260-1; 204; 95-6; 407; 112; 168.
\textsuperscript{11} Later decades look bleaker for women’s publishing: in the 1850s, for example, only two waltzes with female composers were published by companies controlled by women, while 115 were produced by men (a further two were self-published). The figures remain similar until the 1880s, in which more women self-published their waltzes than in any other decade (the number of female publishers, however, are still very few). In the final decades of the nineteenth century, women’s representation declined even further, and from 1890-1914, only one waltz by a female composer was published by a female editor, while 18 were self-published between these years.
\textsuperscript{12} “COLLINET, Edme (pere)” in Devriès and Lesure, \textit{Dictionnaire}; 2:112-4.
Figure 20. Front page of Collinet’s 1841 music catalogue, in Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire*, 2:57.
Investment in dance music did not necessarily guarantee success. For example, a substantial collection of dances and lucrative operatic and piano music was owned and published by Bernard Latte, including piano waltzes by Strauss, and famous Parisian ballroom conductors Louis Jullien, Olivier Métra, and Alfred Musard. Despite an impressive catalogue of works, however, the editor’s career was fraught with financial hardships including heavy debts to engravers, publishers, and printers, a lawsuit for counterfeiting filed by Victor Hugo, and eventual bankruptcy, before his floundering business - and all his musical acquisitions, including the annotated manuscript to Gaetano Donizetti’s Lucia de Lammermoor - were sold at auction in 1847. Latte also published a number of waltzes by female composers in his time as editor, and presumably these lots also went to the new buyer, Edmond Mayaud. In reality, publishing was a difficult profession in which to make and maintain a profit, with production costs being one of the largest barriers to success. Nevertheless, a number of major players in Paris achieved real success in their careers as publishers, including Choudens, Benoît ainé, and the previously mentioned Madame Launer, whose success in the industry was partly achieved by her passion for reviving early music repertoire as well as producing newly composed dances, tripling her firm’s value between the time of her husband’s death in 1839, and her own in 1863.

The loss of control over one’s own work was the inevitable risk of being tied to any one publisher, as Liszt found when a number of his piano works were sold at Latte’s auction against the composer’s will, despite the former owning the property rights to his own music. One way to avoid this fate in the frequently unstable world of music publishing was for composers to set up an independent editing firm to sell their own works autonomously (and often, those of their colleagues, too), which is discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter. Alternatively, a composer could independently commission the printers, engravers, and sometimes illustrators required to produce a piece of music, and these scores are often labelled as produced by l’auteur in the place of the editor’s name. Whether through choice or necessity, this latter method is what a number of female composers turned to when publishing their piano waltzes for public consumption; the period before 1840, in fact, has the most self-published piano waltzes by women than any other decade that follows, with only five of the works recorded as published by an independent editor, four self-published, and four unspecified/unknown.

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14 Ibidem., 2:258.
17 Devriès and Lesure, Dictionnaire, 2:258.
indicating that female composers may have experience some initial difficulty in getting their works published with established editors at this early stage.

4.1.2 Printers and Engravers

The processes involved in producing a published piece of sheet music in the nineteenth century included the services of several tradesmen, including engravers, printers, illustrators, and binders. Keyboard waltzes composed by women tend to be relatively short, and generally consist of anywhere between one to six folded pages for an individual score, including a front and back cover. Fortunately, the compact length kept production costs down, since a binder was not necessary, and the economical appeal to an editor for producing such a repertoire must have been tempting. A small number of the larger publishing businesses had their own in-house printers and engravers, which cut costs further - Charles Joly was one such editor. Nevertheless, outsourcing to independent specialists was common practice.

The names of 49 printers and 50 engravers appear on the pages of waltzes by women, usually located on the first or final pages of music. Although printers and engravers worked mostly independently from one another, it could be particularly convenient to a publisher, both in time and money, to use the services of a tradesman who doubled as both, and popular choices were the Crevel Frères, Léon Parent, and C. G. Röder; conversely, having both skills under one roof could potentially attract extra trade to a printer-engraver. Parent seemed to do particularly well out of this exchange, and as well as being one of the most frequently employed professionals in the production of women’s keyboard waltzes, there is only a single case where the company’s printing service was used with an alternative engraver.

Parisian nineteenth-century music printers were concentrated mostly in what are now the 1st, 2nd, 9th, and 10th arrondissements, and engravers in the 9th, 10th, and 18th. For the printers especially, their location near many of the most successful publishing houses greatly benefitted their businesses; two-thirds of the editors that Parent worked with to engrave and print keyboard waltzes by women, for example, were located within 1.5 kilometres of his address in rue Rodier, including Enoch and Prilipp (Boulevard des Italiens), Heugel (rue Vivienne), Gambogi, Maho, and Girod (Boulevard Montmartre), Tellier (Boulevard des Capucines), Hiéard (rue Lafitte), and Brandus (rue de Richelieu). Likewise, the editor Challiot, on rue Saint-Honoré, collaborated most

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19 Madame Isabel Desmarets’s Murmures de Brise (Paris: Girod, 1878) is the only example that used Raimon Parent’s facilities as a printer, but not as an engraver; for the latter, the little-known T. Leblanc was commissioned.
frequently with two printers located on the same street - Dinquel, and Thiébaux - to produce his piano waltzes by female composers in the 1850s-60s.

Similar to the business practices of many music editors, printers and engravers could take over the premises and facilities of those who operated within the same industry, and maintain contacts with the publishers of their predecessors. Turning again to Parent’s example, after initially trading from 35 rue Rochechouart, the printer-engraver relocated to 49 rue Rodier in around 1860, then expanded to number 61 sometime after 1878 under the commercial name ‘Raimon-Parent,’ operating his business from both locations simultaneously for the next six years. Although the occupational distinction between the two premises is unclear, the Parent brand continued to run from the latter after its founder’s death in 1887, albeit focusing on engraving work only. Meanwhile, the illustrator E. Delay established himself at number 49 in 1884 to offer his own music printing works, having himself moved from 41 rue Rodier to do so, followed by Delpiesente in around 1908. Bertauts, who specialised in providing images for both the musical and theatrical arts also worked from 47 rue Rodier, making the street a hub for Parisian music printing and engraving in the nineteenth century.

While the profession of music printing was dominated by men, engraving offered women a chance at earning a livelihood in nineteenth-century Paris, and two in five engravers who worked on women’s waltz composition were women themselves. Although women printers of waltzes were much fewer than engravers, their numbers are without exception made up of widows inheriting the business from their late husbands. On the whole, male printers and engravers monopolised the market for working with the largest editors, though Mademoiselle N. Field, working from the auspicious rue Rodier, seems to have been particularly successful in her vocation, providing services for Colombier, Ber, and self-published female authors including Marie de Pierpont. Field also worked closely with the printers Delay (located on the same street), and Delanchy; indeed, for women in the engraving business, professional relationships with printers may have been just as important as their connections with publishers; although Madame Boutiot, for example, provided engravings for editors Boudin and Ravelet, she worked with greater consistency alongside the printer Maurel.

The music publishing industry exploded in the nineteenth century, and turning a single manuscript into a finished product to sell to the masses took time, energy, and money, passing

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20 See appendix F for a full list of publishers, printers, and engravers affiliated with published keyboard waltzes composed by women in Paris, 1814-1914.
21 See chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis for analyses of Pierpont’s waltz scores and music, and also her entry in appendix J for a more general biography.
through the hands of a variety of skilled specialists. This mass commodification of sheet music, however, made it easier than ever before for an author to seek the specialists required to print and distribute their own music without the need of an editor to cover the costs, and so reap the profits; a number of dance music composers capitalised on these opportunities, as discussed in the section below.

4.1.3 Self-Publishing

Few concrete clues exist as to why women chose to publish their own music at this early stage, though authors’ rights, control over the production, marketing, and distribution of one’s own music, or simply being turned down by established editing houses may have played their parts. The costs associated with personally commissioning the numerous services involved in turning a manuscript into a finished product would also necessitate a woman having sufficient financial means. The reward from self-publishing, however, was not only that a woman stood to gain all the profits (and by extension, losses) of her music’s sales, but perhaps more importantly, she could harness the ability to craft and control her own image, which was of a particular concern for the female author. A note on the cover for ‘Mme Charlotte C…. née M…. ’s self-published album of 12 waltzes and 6 further works for piano provides an intriguing explanation for the composer’s motivations in not only personally funding the publication of her first waltz, but in donating the music’s profits:

The author’s first work has been printed at her expense and only 120 copies are produced including 100 addressed by her to the Paris Philharmonic Committee, to be sold for the profit of Greeks.22

The year of publication is given as 1827, a time when waltzing was reaching the heights of fashion in Paris, and the strains of Lanner and Strauss Sr.’s orchestral works were entertaining the masses in public balls. At this point, however, very few - if any - women would have received instruction

22 “Le premier essai de l’auteur a été gravé à ses frais et tiré au nombre de 120 exemplaires seulement dont 100 adressés par elle au comité philharmonique de Paris, pour être vendus au profit des Grecs.” Mme Charlotte C. née M…. Douze Walses & six morceaux détaches, Composées et Arrangées pour le piano par Mad.me Charlotte C…. née M…. de Lubeck (Paris: l’Auteur, 1827). Reference is made to a Société Philarmonique (also known as the sociétaires du Concert des Amateurs) in the Journal général de France (30 April 1818), page 2, which is giving its final concert at the rue de Grenelle-Saint-Honoré. However, the group still appears to be operating from the same venue five years later, as reported in Le Courrier (8 May 1823), page 2. Le Corsaire also refers to a société philharmonique de Paris, co-founded by cello professor M. Demay, in the same year (Le Corsaire, 22 July 1823, page 4). In terms of her magnanimity towards Greeks, Mme C. née M. is likely referring to the Greek War of Independence (1821-1829), which France joined in 1827 after signing the Treaty of London alongside Britain and Russia.
in composition and/or orchestration, and the only means by which they could produce and perform music would have been via the pianoforte. Perhaps Mme C. née M, in her de facto dedication of the set of waltzes to the committee members of the Paris Philharmonic, hoped at least one patron might be impressed enough to orchestrate the suite, increasing the chances of the music’s dissemination into the ballrooms of high society. Mme C. née M. also clearly had the financial means to fund the limited production of her scores, and could have considered eschewing the profit of her waltzes to be worth the social gains, simultaneously raising her public profile as a philanthropist as well as an able composer of dance music. In short, it appears that the publication of Mme C. née M.’s waltz set amounts to an exercise in self-promotion under the guise of charitable work.

Figure 21. Mme Charlotte C. née M.... *Douze Walses & six morceaux détachés, Composées et Arrangées pour le piano par Mad.me Charlotte C.... née M.... de Lubeck* (Paris: l’Auteur, 1827), front cover.
4.1.4 The Self-Published Waltzes of Marie-Louise Caussinus

Four self-published piano waltzes by sisters Marie-Louise and Sophie Caussinus\(^2\) that were produced much later in the decade offer a complete contrast to Mme C. née M.’s example, in that rather than endorsing herself, Marie-Louise’s music seems an exercise in promoting the career of an enterprising relative: her father. Born in Montelimar in 1809, Joseph Louis Victor Caussinus was a well-respected virtuoso ophicleide player, who was one of the first to study and master the relatively new instrument. Himself the son of a military orchestra conductor, Caussinus was employed as a solfège professor in his hometown’s music college at the age of 14, before being recruited into the army as a musician. When his regiment was sent to Paris, Caussinus took part in numerous concerts to great acclaim, becoming one of the most popular and successful ophicleide players in Musard Sr.’s orchestra, and was declared the instrument’s only proficient player in Paris by Hector Berlioz.\(^2\) Caussinus was later appointed as a professor at the Gymnase Musical Militaire in Paris by the school’s new director (who was also Caussinus’s former chief of music), where he instructed in ophicleide and piano for 16 years. Having studied composition at the Paris Conservatoire under Michele Carafa, Caussinus published around 40 works for his instrument, as well as methods for piano, ophicleide, trumpet, and cornet.\(^2\)

After the death of his first wife in 1848, Caussinus remarried Félicité Lenoir in Paris two years later, and had three daughters; first Sophie (1849-1915), then Marie-Louise (1855-1904), and finally Eugénie (1861-1935). All three of Victor’s daughters went on to have careers in music, though only the compositions of the first two appear to have survived. Marie-Louise was particularly interested in publishing her works, and she produced 17 surviving piano romances, dances, and songs first as a self-publisher, then later with Chatot, and Fromont. It seems Marie-Louise enjoyed some modest musical success, with a number of her piano works arranged for fanfare, in an example of the almost inescapable, perhaps even inevitable association with the specialities of her famous father for musical recognition. This connection suited Marie-Louise particularly well at the start of her career as a composer, and it is possible that her father provided the connections and financial means for his (as yet unmarried) daughter to publish her

\(2\) Marie-Louise published another piano waltz with Fromont in 1889, and a further three (2\(\text{me} \, \text{grande valse de concert}; \, \text{Le retour}; \, \text{Aicha}) are lost, but are documented on the front cover of Sous les tilleuls (Paris: l’auteur, 1880), and the back cover of 1\(\text{re} \, \text{grande valse de concert} \, \text{(Paris: Fromont, 1889). See the biographical entry for both sisters in Appendix J.}

\(2\) Hector Berlioz, Memoirs of Hector Berlioz from 1803 to 1865; Comprising His Travels in Germany, Italy, Russia, and England, trans. Rachel (Scott Russell) Holmes, Eleanor Holmes, and Ernest Newman (New York: Dover, 1966), 405.

first three works - all piano waltzes - in 1880, having self-published his *Solfège-méthode progressif de basse et trombone à 4 pistons* one year earlier: 26 both father and daughter’s works use the services of Monsieur C. Joly, printer and engraver for Fromont, and Marie-Louise was able to commission P. Borie, the respected illustrator of over 600 scores, to provide the cover design for her waltzes.

Victor and Marie-Louise went on to work with Fromont to publish their music from around 1887-1896, and the editor did not miss the marketing opportunity to capitalise on the connection between father and daughter. This business tactic is most obvious in the back cover publicity for the music composed by both Victor and Marie-Louise that featured in the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, including various waltzes, quadrilles, and other dances and romances, comprising 9 works between the two composers. 27 For each score, Fromont includes a full-page advertisement detailing Victor’s credentials as a musician, teacher, composer, and author, placed above a list of his daughter’s current piano works and songs available for sale.

As Marie-Louise Caussinus may have found, although self-publishing had its benefits, the draw in allaying with a major music editor was in many ways preferable for the majority of women who composed piano waltzes after 1840, with around four fifths of individual works published this way. Not unlike signing with a major record label, a reputable editor would likely have had a clientele of widely admired composers and works in their catalogues, as well the contacts necessary to produce scores to a high quality, and a wealth of promotional and sales experience behind them, raising the profile of an individual composer and her works. These editors often published catalogues of piano music categorised by genre - including dance music sections - where a woman’s music could very well appear, further promoting their public personae as composers attached to illustrious publishing houses.

4.2 Publishing Waltzes, 1840-1914

The decades following 1840 witnessed a significant surge in popularity in the popularity for composing piano waltzes among both male and female composers, with women authors

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27 Information on the front covers reveal the works performed at the Exposition Universelle composed by Victor Caussinus were: *Le contrat de mariage: quadrille brillant pour piano*; *Fleur de printemps: mazurka pour piano*; *Les moissonneurs: quadrille brillant pour piano*; and *Pâquerette: valse brillant et facile pour piano*. By Marie-Louise Caussinus: *1re grande valse de concert pour piano*; *L’absence: rêverie pour piano*; *L’églantine: gavotte mignonne pour piano*; *Souvenir de Dieppe: polka brillant pour piano*; and *Souvenir d’un hymne: allegro militaire pour piano a 4 mains* (all Paris: Fromont, 1889). Each score is available to view in Gallica.
representing between 12-15% of works published. Approaching an editor was an important decision, and could potentially shape the types of works a woman produced to reflect the interests, demands, and specialisms of each publishing company, as dictated by consumer taste and the cultural expectations of music composed by women.

Why, then, would a woman in the nineteenth century desire to publish her music at all, and inevitably expose herself to public and musical scrutiny? Quite simply, publishing earned money, not just in the revenue of musical sales, but in attracting potential students and providing a steady income for a composer, particularly for women, to whom most professions were barred. Ironically, in exposing herself to the world of professionalism, a woman could “problematis[ve] her self-identity” by entering a decidedly male domain, facing social judgement for attempting to quit the domestic sphere to which she, as a female, was culturally assigned; in short, a woman risked over-stepping her ‘place’ in society.

If it could be reconciled with tending to her domestic duties, publishing could be less of an issue, and the formulaic, romanticised nature of the keyboard waltz (as well as dance music in general) could provide the perfect outlet for the budding female composer who did not want to compromise the cultural norms accorded to women in the nineteenth century. Still, in a letter to their mother about the possibility of Fanny Hensel publishing her music, Felix Mendelssohn expressed concern over the potentially disruptive nature of publication both personally and domestically, ultimately questioning how realistically publishing and family obligation could be reconciled:

I hope I don’t need to say that if she decides to publish anything, I will help her all I can and alleviate any difficulties arising from it. But I cannot persuade her to publish anything, because it is against my views and convictions. [...] I consider publishing something serious (it should at least be that) and believe that one should do it only if one wants to appear as an author one’s entire life and stick to it. But that necessitates a series of works, one after the other... Fanny, as I know her, possesses neither the inclination nor calling for authorship. She is too much a woman for that, as is proper, and looks after her house and thinks neither about the public nor the musical world, unless that primary occupation is accomplished. Publishing would only disturb her in her duties, and I cannot reconcile myself to it.

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28 Comparative figures for waltzes composed in select years organised by gender are given in appendix G.2.
29 Citron, Gender and the Musical Canon, 109.
30 Letter to Lea Mendelssohn; in ibid., 110.
Mendelssohn’s attitude demonstrates prevalent nineteenth-century social expectations for women and the difficulties they faced in being regarded as neglectful of their social duties, and therefore less of a woman, in the pursuit of publishing professionally. Although it is possible that the composer was simply being protective of his sister in attempting to shield her from the potential repercussions of opening herself to public criticism, his concern is first and foremost for upholding his own beliefs of a woman’s rightful place, rather than Fanny’s personal ambitions and musical desires. What Mendelssohn may have failed to appreciate was that perhaps some women did not publish their music in the pursuit of serious authorship, but rather to seek an additional income for the household (dangerously compromising the male identity as provider in the process); alternatively, perhaps women published because they recognised they loved creating music as much as any man, and believed in their ability, and their right, to confront the accepted social norms of what it was to be a woman making music in the nineteenth century.

4.2.1 Music Editors, Women, and Compositional Freedom

The names of over 244 editors appear on the scores of keyboard waltzes with female composers in the period, yet four stand out as producing the majority of this music. In order, they are Benoît aîné (52 waltzes; 29 composers), Henri Heugel (51 waltzes; 30 composers); Alphonse Leduc (42 waltzes; 13 composers), and the Enoch brothers (29 waltzes; 7 composers). The latter, unofficially founded in 1863 by Charles Enoch,31 is one of the oldest nineteenth-century publishing houses to remain in business to the present day, having been passed down from father to son for many generations. Throughout the 1800s, the Enoch family specialised in publishing piano music (including works by César Franck, Emmanuel Chabrier, and André Messager), educational works, and ‘light’ music,32 and the brand’s influence was instrumental in the direction of two turn of the century female composers on their books - Cécile Chaminade, and Jane Vieu. Both women published a significant number of works throughout their careers, with around 100 original scores by Vieu, and over 400 by Chaminade. While each composer showed an initial interest in writing music outside the popular keyboard idiom, the bulk of their repertoire is mainly made up of piano pieces and chansons (approximately 50 works for Vieu, and 375 for Chaminade); evidence suggests this choice was perhaps motivated by publisher requirement, as well as financial need.

Chaminade is perhaps one of the best known female composers in the present day, thanks in part to writings by Gérard Condé, and research undertaken by Cécile Tardif and Marcia Citron

31 The company was officially registered in 1870. Devriès and Lesure, Dictionnaire, 2:160.
32 Ibidem., 160-161.
in the 1980s and 1990s. Born in Paris in 1857, Chaminade was taught piano by her mother and showed a talent for music, but due to her conservative family’s disapproval for study at the Conservatoire, Chaminade instead received private tuition from the school’s professors, including Félix Le Couppey, Antoine Marmontel, Augustin Savard, and Benjamin Godard. Unlike most of the women in this study, Chaminade’s first pieces (1880-1890) were chamber and symphonic works, and yet a narrowing of her repertoire after 1900 to mainly keyboard music in popular genres is significant, reflecting the likelihood that this music was created purely with publication and subsequent profits in mind; Chaminade’s editor, Enoch was probably instrumental in encouraging this compositional change of direction.

If Enoch’s influence on compositional freedom was decisive for composers in general, it may have been doubly challenging for women, who wielded little social, financial, and industry power. In 1883, Chabrier recognises Enoch’s business acumen in a letter to his friend and composer Paul Lacôme d’Estalenx, when describing some newly-composed waltzes:

I’m writing some pieces for piano for four hands; what for? You’ll ask. I’m damned if I know, my poor d’Estalenx; it’s idiotic, I know that, and the E’s [Enochs] certainly won’t want them [...]. But no time was lost over the third waltz; Baudon took it after he’d only been here five minutes. And, you know, I’ve an idea they may sell well. There’s not much music for two pianos, and the young ladies who play the piano seriously (I don’t need to tell you they’re generally very plain) are bound to ask for them. But when they’ve read them perhaps they won’t be so keen.

Chabrier had only recently achieved some real public success with the publication of his rhapsody for orchestra España, having left the law profession to become a full-time composer only three years earlier, and expresses the need to approach alternative editors to suit the requirements of the repertoire. However, Chabrier also concedes that when it came to piano waltzes, the women’s market could always be relied upon. For both editor and author, knowing the market was thus key for the commercial success of music publication. Indeed, though many composers of either gender found it financially necessary to produce more profitable repertoire to survive

36 Rollo Myers, Emanuel Chabrier and his Circle (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1969), 44.
(some of Erik Satie’s most popular waltz songs, for example, were written in a period of financial difficulty, despite the composer feeling artistically ‘degraded’ by their existence\(^{37}\)), the experience was particularly difficult for women, who additionally had to confront gender discrimination in almost every area of music making.

Despite his misgivings, Enoch did in fact publish the composition Chabrier refers to - his *Trois Valses Romantiques pour 2 pianos* - to great critical and commercial success; the piece had its premiere at the SNM in December 1883 with Enoch’s stars Messager and Chabrier performing.\(^{38}\) However, while Chabrier went on to publish an abundance of keyboard, operatic, and symphonic works with Enoch, composers like Chaminade were encouraged to focus on the popular piano repertoire of dances and character pieces despite her initial interest and promise in composing music outside that genre. The decision to appeal to commercial viability in her compositional output was a double-edged sword in terms of Chaminade’s resulting critical reception both then and now; although an extensive European performance tour schedule showcasing her music helped bolster Chaminade’s already popular piano works as well as her own status, her reputation for composition declined as the twentieth century progressed, which can be “based on assumptions about the relative value of large and small works, complex and simple style, and public and domestic music.”\(^{39}\)

Avoiding the artistic catch-22 of Chaminade’s example required seeking alternative means of publishing music that a mainstream editor may not accept, and it was only when she broke with Enoch to pursue her own publication business that Jane Vieu was able to generate music for public consumption on her own terms. Vieu produced around 100 original pieces in her lifetime, and her earliest works consisted mainly of piano romances, dances, and chansons published by numerous editors including Léon Grus and Ricordi. After being accepted by Enoch in 1902, many of Vieu’s waltzes were then rescored under the editor for alternative instrumentation, including voice, violin, and orchestra. This was an important professional opportunity for Vieu’s exposure as a composer, and ensured consumers had access to her music in a variety of arrangements. The partnership also meant that Vieu’s most popular waltzes could potentially be heard in diverse public spaces as well as in the home, extending the performance life of her works. At some point, however, Vieu may have felt stifled by the narrow repertoire she was expected to produce, and


\(^{38}\) Myers, *Emanuel Chabrier and his Circle*, 44.

\(^{39}\) Citron, “Chaminade, Cécile,” *Grove Music Online*. 
from 1910 she set up a publishing firm in partnership with her brother. This new direction gave Vieu the freedom to release music in a new genre for her - an opportunity she may not have had with the enterprising Enochs - and she published numerous operettas and opera bouffes under her new business, before releasing her music to more established publishing houses who were more willing to take on her works. In short, although Vieu’s name is perhaps less recognisable than Chaminade’s today, breaking free from editors to self-publish her music allowed her greater control over her own artistic direction, in spite of the commercial risks such a move entailed.

4.2.2 Women Publisher-Composers

Vieu found it necessary to turn to establishing her own publishing business, with the help of her brother, to afford herself greater artistic freedom in a world of unforgiving attitudes towards women composers. Founding a publishing house permitted an author a greater degree of control over their music, their image, and their capital, and attaching an official editor name to their score rather than ‘l’auteur’ brought a greater semblance of professionalism to a musical work. To this end, many female composers went into partnership with male relatives and/or husbands, though some had the means to establish their trade autonomously.

Two composers who published under their husband’s editing businesses are already familiar to us from the previous chapter: Madame Alexandre Bataille (Isabelle Marotte), and Anna Karl (Anne Melchior). The former produced all 19 of her piano dances, romances, and chansons with A. Bataille et Cie., and it appears her husband’s publishing brand was open for her music alone, since no other music appears to have been published with his company. Evidently, Monsieur Bataille had connections within the publishing trade, and was able to produce high quality music for his wife using the services of the popular engraver Moucelot, who also regularly worked for Heugel, Legouix, and Petit Aîné. The Batailles also commissioned artist Gustave Donjean to provide the highly detailed illustrations for Madame Bataille’s scores, including each of her piano waltzes, enhancing the commercial appeal of the Batailles, Alexandre’s pianos, and Isabelle’s music.

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40 Devriès and Lesure, Dictionnaire, 2:426.
41 See the following chapter for a detailed discussion of cover images on women’s waltzes.
In contrast, within the space of 22 years Anna Karl had produced around 30 works with as many as 10 different publishers, among them Colombier, Chatot, Hielard, Provost, Benoît aîné, and Brandus. In 1888 however, Karl found support and stability releasing her compositions exclusively through her husband’s new publishing firm, A. Forest, who then, for unknown reasons, sold the business to Karl for 10,000 francs one year later.\textsuperscript{42} The Forests had a solid number of composers on their books from the start, and specialised in publishing songs written by various performers, comedians, poets, conductors, and café-concert artists. Further, the frequent appearance of these artists as the lyricists for Karl’s own songs - such as Émile Duhem, Jean Bonin, Albert Henriot, and Albert Lambert - points to a confraternal, collaborative atmosphere within the company, and the shift in Karl’s repertoire from piano dances to chansonettes reflects the musical world in which the composer involved herself. In the three short years that the Forest family firm operated as publishers, Karl contributed 25 works to the catalogue, making up around a quarter of the publisher’s musical output, and was the only female composer on the books. After ceasing activity in 1891, the business was sold to Georges Victor Voiry two years later for an undisclosed amount;\textsuperscript{43} Karl and a number of her associates continued to publish new songs with Voiry thereafter.

4.2.3 La Comtesse Cécile Marie d’Orni: Music Publisher

Any female composer who published their music with family businesses managed to gain a relative amount of artistic independence and security, and yet these privileged women were still bound by certain conditions brought about by partnering with their male relatives. In contrast, Parisian aristocrat Madame la Comtesse Cécile Marie d’Orni was able to work autonomously to publish her many works for keyboard under her own independently controlled company, C. M d’Orni. Despite Devriès and Lesure’s suggestion that the company stopped trading in 1876,\textsuperscript{44} music continued being published under d’Orni’s name until 1879, and of the 84 known works in d’Orni’s catalogue accrued during this period, just over a third were authored by d’Orni herself. Like Karl, the majority of the 12 additional composers d’Orni represented were living male artists, with one exception.\textsuperscript{45} Owning her own editing company provided d’Orni with an almost unprecedented access to the Parisian music industry, and after her company closed, the Countess followed in the footsteps of Hortense Parent and Marguerite Balutet to found her own music

\textsuperscript{42} Devriès and Lesure, Dictionnaire, 2:172.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibidem., 2:427.
\textsuperscript{44} In their entry for the editor, Devriès and Lesure also refer to d’Orni with a masculine pronoun. Devriès and Lesure, Dictionnaire, 2:144.
\textsuperscript{45} Marie de Pierpont’s song Les bœufs de Maitre Jean! (Paris: d’Orni, 1875) is the single work by a female composer other than d’Orni in the editor’s catalogue.
school in 1881. The institution, *l’Académie libre de musique*, was located at the same address as d’Orni’s home on the rue Chabanais, and offered classes in solfège, piano, singing, diction, and literature for 20 francs per course. According to a correspondent for *L’intransigeant*, d’Orni’s school was so successful that it was even regarded as a serious competitor to the Paris Conservatoire and the Académie des Beaux-Arts.

In 1888, with her music school now well-established, d’Orni began composing again in earnest. However, instead of resurrecting her career as an editor in her own right, d’Orni chose to publish her keyboard dances and romantic songs with Colombier, almost immediately, Colombier began producing full-page advertisements for d’Orni’s music and educational exercises, and arrangements of the aristocrat’s dances became popular for military orchestras; these could be heard throughout Parisian pleasure gardens for the next ten years, including the Tuileries, Jardin du Luxembourg, the Jardin d’acclimatiation, and the Ranelagh. Like her fellow directrices, d’Orni was a great advocate of furthering women in music, taking part in concerts organised by the Palais de la femme celebrating female composers and their works. These recitals, which also included appearances by Chaminade, Gabriella Ferrari, and women-only ensembles such as Monsieur Ciampi’s Société chorale des femmes du monde, relied on prominent women in music to attract audiences.

As her health deteriorated, d’Orni published less and less, staying with Colombier until 1893, then finally settling on working with Gallet, producing only a handful of works with the editor between 1895-1899. In total, during her rich career as pianist, composer, editor, pedagogue, and socialite, d’Orni published just over 50 original works for keyboard, with 31 pieces produced autonomously under her own publishing company, and the period in which she was an editor in her own right was also when she was most active as a composer. Interestingly, being in both a financial and social position to exercise a relatively unprecedented degree of control over her own works did not stop d’Orni from releasing keyboard waltzes, indicating a desire to be involved in the commercial world of music production.

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46 See advertisements for Balutet’s school in *Le Figaro*: 20 September 1881; 26 September 1881; 4 October 1881; 11 October 1881; 18 October 1881; 25 October 1881.
47 “Déjà, c’était une concurrence au Conservatoire de musique; ce va devenir une concurrence à l’École des beaux-arts.” Unsigned, *L’intransigeant*, 2 April 1883, 3.
49 d’Orni’s compositions appear in concert listings printed by *L’intransigeant* and *Le Figaro* between 1888 and 1897.
50 *Le Figaro*, 14 June 1900, 3.
Composers who managed to work with publishers like Schlesinger or Heugel were in an especially advantageous position when it came to the publication, promotion, and distribution of their music, since each owned two of the most popular and influential music periodicals of the nineteenth century, *La revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, and *Le ménestrel*, respectively. The
private ownership of one’s own periodical was a relatively new marketing tactic for music editors in the nineteenth century, and one woman who benefitted immensely from the publicity such journals could generate was the conductor and composer Laure Micheli, as discussed in chapter three. Repeatedly reviewed and championed by Jean-Louis Heugel at the height of her popularity in the 1860s, Micheli’s name and most popular works were consistently advertised right beside those of Johann Strauss. Heugel even defended his best-seller vehemently in the misunderstanding over the rightful founder of Adolphe Sax’s fanfare féminine, offering Micheli a degree of protection from the possible scandalisation of professional female composers which so worried Mendelssohn.

Although sensationalism in newspapers and journals was commonplace, it seems women composers were particularly prone to gender-based hyperbole: in the previous chapter, we saw how Gil Blas juxtaposed the young Jeanne Blanchard’s prodigy against her feminine precocity. The concert series for the Palais de la femme featuring performances by Chaminade, Ferrari, and d’Orni were celebrated in the press for their originality, and yet women’s musical accomplishments were still belittled through the use of adjectives such as “amiable” and “pretty”53 in reviews. Micheli’s premiere appearance as a female conductor was hailed as not only a curiosity, but also as successfully accomplishing the emancipation of women with a single sweep of her baton, and her editor J.-L. Heugel used this novelty of a capable female conductor to his commercial advantage in Le ménestrel’s reviews. Disabled women were also fertile ground for exploiting female achievement: Claire Bertou, a blind virtuoso pianist, began publishing piano waltzes with Mayaud in the 1840s, then expanded her repertoire to include keyboard quadrilles, polkas, mazurkas and chansons for Heugel in the 1850s-60. In 1854, her editor leapt at the opportunity to use Bertou’s disability as a major selling-point when promoting her newest works:

Permit me to place here a name that is yet unknown, but which will shine before long: Claire Bertou is a young girl of the world, blind since birth and therefore, a musician sent from heaven. The one who dispenses everything here below has given her the most charming harmonies for her companions in her eternal darkness. Deprive Claire Bertou of her piano, and you will have separated the body from the soul. [...] In her, the feeling of rhythm is so innate that, under her fingers, all she produces appears in living contrast to the sad immobility of her eyes. Claire Bertou writes studies [and] melodies, which she executes herself with a precision that only a blind person can grasp. Her works for four and six hands are those she loves the most, because they render in her imagination the

52 See chapter 3, section 3.
53 “Très amiable, très coquet, ce théâtre.” Arthur Pougin, Le ménestrel (10 March 1901), 76.
effects of harmony and orchestration for which she has a natural feeling. In this way, her waltz “Hydia” for six hands, and her quadrille “Concertant” for four hands, are veritable little masterpieces, and as such they leave far behind them all our dance pieces of today. [...] Mme Claire Bertou: compose, publish, the future is yours!”

According to Heugel, Bertou apparently succeeds in transcending the limitations of her sex through her handicap, yet we do not hear how the young composer felt about her own situation, though a frustration with the limitations of composing music only for keyboard is implied in her preference for writing repertoire for four and six hands. Bertou’s image as a woman simultaneously blessed and cursed, worthy of both sympathy and admiration, is thus carefully crafted through Heugel’s words, rendering Bertou mute - like so many female musicians in the nineteenth-century music press - as well as blind.

Whilst the path of music criticism was open to and frequently exploited by many male composers, women were blighted by an assumed lack of education and specialist knowledge required for success in the critical arts. Although conceding women could be witty, for example, music biographer John F. Runciman, writing in 1895, explains that women’s tongues are only sharp in the context of indulging in frivolous gossip; within the musical sphere, however, women “lacked an ability to differentiate greatness when faced with vastly different works such as a Palestrina mass and a Strauss waltz,” and an innate femininity made the fairer sex “more likely [...] to resort to banal adjectives such as ‘beautiful’ and ‘charming.’”

The dearth of women journalists within music and theatre did not go by unnoticed by other women, including Frances H. Low, who in 1910 lamented the dominance of male critics as responsible for “an interesting though limited field for a cultivated writer’s taste, imagination, and knowledge.”

54 “Permettez que je place ici un nom encore inconnu, mais qui ne peut tarder à briller: Claire Bertou est une jeune fille du monde, aveugle de naissance et par cela-même, musicienne de par le ciel. Celui qui dispense tout ici-bas lui a donné pour compagnes de ses éternelles ténèbres les plus suaves harmonies. Privez Claire Betrou de son piano, et vous aurez séparé le corps de l’âme. [...] Chez elle, le sentiment du rythme est tellement inné que, sous ses doigts, toutes ses productions apparaissent comme un vivant contraste de la triste immobilité de ses yeux. Claire Bertou écrit des études, des mélodies qu’elle exécute elle-même avec la précision qu’un aveugle seul peut arriver à saisir. Les morceaux à quatre mains et à six mains sont surtout de ceux qu’elle affectionne, parce qu’ils rendent à son imagination les effets d’harmonie et d’orchestration dont elle a le sentiment naturel. Dans ce genre, sa valse Hydia à six mains, et son quadrille Concertant à quatre mains, sont de véritables petits chefs-d’œuvre, et tels, qu’ils laissent bien loin derrière eux toutes nos productions dansantes du jour. [...] Mlle Claire Bertou: composez, publiez, l’avenir est à vous!” J.-L. Heugel, Le ménestrel (3 February 1850), n.p.
4.2.5 Marguerite Casalonga: Composer and Critic

In the first decade of the new century, Marguerite Casalonga—a singer, pianist, and member of the Société national des compositeurs—had her music published in the first edition of the newly created Comœdia Illustré, an artistic weekly supplement to Henri Desgrange’s bimonthly periodical Comœdia which covered Parisian culture and society, founded in late 1908. The score, a romantic song dedicated to the soprano Felia Litvinne called Extases..., is accompanied by a full two-page profile on Casalonga written by Charles Malherbe, the Opéra’s bibliothécaire, whose help Casalonga had sought eight years earlier for including her manuscripts in Malherbe’s project for compiling music by prominent French female composers. While Malherbe’s efforts in collecting and preserving the work of female authors is significant for the recognition of women’s contribution to nineteenth- and twentieth-century composition, the language used to describe Casalonga, her physical appearance, and her musical achievements in the Comœdia Illustré is typically charged with gendered overstatements: already an adept pianist, composition was Casalonga’s “secret desire;” her music-writing process was to simply pluck out the ideas “that thronged around her young head;” her aura is “natural; she charms and moves without artifice, by the mere effect of the musical intelligence which guides her;” and the credit for her achievements can be attributed in part to the true “masters” Gounod and Saint-Saëns, who, like “good prophets,” initially predicted her success.

The level of Malherbe’s hyperbole can be attributed in part to the nature of the periodical his piece appears in—which specialised in reviewing the theatre, literature, and the visual arts including cinema, music, dance, art, and illustration—to appeal to its readership interested in a variety of cultural and artistic media, and many of the articles found within display similarly florid descriptions. Unlike the majority of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century journals, however, the Comœdia Illustré crucially gave other women a relatively uncommon opportunity to add their own voices to the creative process, including Casalonga, who provided a profile for Litvinne. In her own writing, Casalonga is equally expressive, but interestingly more focused on Litvinne’s

57 For a general biographical profile of Casalonga, see appendix J.
58 Casalonga’s letter to Malherbe can be viewed in the BnF’s archives, and online through Gallica. See: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53092831d.
60 Marguerite Casalonga, “Felia Litvinne,” Comœdia illustré (15 December 1908), 514-516. In the same issue, Casalonga also contributes an article on the recent winners of the Prix de la Maison Erard on pages 433-434.
professionalism, rather than personality, at least at first: as well as being an “incomparable”
performative interpreter of numerous high profile dramatic roles, Casalonga describes Litvinne as
an accomplished singer, and yet laments the fact that the actress has not had an opportunity to
compose her own musical works; Casalonga also notes the “considerable labour” of undertaking
various roles in opera and theatre, and Litvinne’s tours across Europe. Towards the end of her
piece, however, Casalonga falls into the old tropes of attaching female personality to musical
achievement, noting that Litvinne’s character can be “summed up in one word: kindness,” which
“ignores all jealousy of a woman or an artist; modest kindness, so rare with genius; the prodigal
generosity of the true artist, combined with exquisite delicacy and gentleness.” Casalonga thus
finds it necessary to downplay a woman’s abilities with feminine virtues in order to make the
artist more appealing, and less threatening to the patriarchal values of nineteenth-century
Parisian society.

For the next 12 years, Casalonga provided regular articles for the Comœdia Illustré,
including reviews of Strauss’s Salome at the Opéra, a performance of Ildebrando Pizzetti’s
Pisanelle at the Théâtre du Châtelet, coverage for the Russian ballet’s 1910 season in Paris
(alongside texts by Maurice Ravel), and a four-page article on the Roman theatre in Arles, among
others. Her experiences covering the Russian ballet were particularly productive, and she later co-
wrote the company’s official programmes for their Paris seasons; in fact, Casalonga’s texts have
been credited in recent scholarship as a leading influence in the crossover between theatre
costumes and French high fashion in the period, in addition to supporting a substantial number
of female stage artists and performers in her reviews.

61 “Le caractère de Felia Litvinne se résume en un mot: la bonté. Mais […] la bonté qui ignore toute jalousie
de femme ou d’artiste; la bonté modeste, si rare avec le génie; la générosité prodigue de l’artiste véritable,
alliée à une délicatesse et à une douceur exquise.” Casalonga, “Felia Litvinne,” 515.
62 Mary E. Davis, Ballet Russes Style: Diaghilev’s Dancers and Paris Fashion (London: Reaktion Books, 2010),
40-44; Davinia Caddy, The Ballets Russes and Beyond: Music and Dance in Belle-Epoque Paris (New York:
An enormous number of music editors, publishers, printers and engravers operated in Paris during the nineteenth century, including a large proportion of composers who self-published their own works. Producing dance music with an established editor versus autonomous publication...
methods carried their own benefits, but also possible risks, and for women, the stakes were often particularly high. Although an alliance with a big-name brand could potentially provide female composers with benefits that included access to a publisher’s resources, a higher quality production value of printed scores, and an assurance that a certain number of works would be published, promoted, and disseminated, editors held significant power over the way women were promoted and treated. Female waltz composers’ associations with editors were also frequently unstable, and it was uncommon for women to stay with one particular publishing house for the entirety of their careers. Although there is little source material to go on aside from the scores themselves, it is likely that creative differences, the ruthless nature of a sales-driven industry, or perhaps the recognition of greater opportunities elsewhere may have been major factors as to why women moved between editors so frequently. An interesting exception to this changeability is Laure Micheli’s relationship with Le ménestrel and Henri Heugel, who apparently maintained their partnership for the entirety of Micheli’s career, and the financial gain was probably rewarding for both parties.

One consideration that requires further investigation is the practice of self-publishing, and its impact on the nineteenth-century music industry. An analysis of the publication of the waltz repertory in general, for example, reveals that this method was a relatively common alternative to publishing works with an established editor for many composers in Paris regardless of sex, but we currently do not know how prevalently self-publication practices existed in other cities, and in alternative repertoires. Further study into self-publication therefore has the potential for enhancing our current understanding of the autonomy of the composer in producing, promoting, and distributing their own works that extends past dance music, with implications for the way scholarship considers the diverse conditions that fed into music production in the nineteenth century.

The challenging conditions involved in publishing music, as explored in this chapter, failed to deter female composers, and waltz composition could be a gateway into creating further works in different styles and genres, or even career changes, just as it could be career suicide in becoming a walking stereotype of what it meant to be a woman and a composer in the nineteenth century. Though a figure for the total number of active female composers in this period is as yet unestablished, over 500 different women succeeded in publishing waltzes alone. This is a significant quantity that exceeds prior expectations in existing scholarship, and including women in the musicological narrative only serves to enhance our understanding of musical culture in nineteenth-century Paris that, until now, has relied solely on the experiences of men.
Chapter 5  Score, Text and Iconography

If a picture is worth a thousand words, what do the images on the front covers of piano waltzes by female composers communicate about contemporary attitudes towards women in nineteenth-century musical and social life? Furthermore, how do we interpret score iconography - one of the most fascinating yet undervalued subjects in musicological study of this period - in modern research? The question is particularly pertinent to nineteenth-century dance music, with rapid advances in printing and publication methods allowing scores to be mass-produced with cover images for the first time, thus informing - and being informed by - a greater consumer population than ever before.

Evidence suggests the popular idiom describing the power of image was first brought into common usage by an advertising journalist in the early years of the twentieth century,1 and yet the iconography on piano waltzes by women a decade earlier show that publishers used the method of image and text to sell music well before the phrase was coined. Through data gathered on the 960 piano waltzes by female composers published between 1800-1914, this chapter discusses the textual and illustrative elements of front covers, revealing how an association between the waltz and womanhood was crafted within this repertoire in nineteenth-century Paris; these deliberately manufactured constructions of femininity in nineteenth-century dance music have implications for the ways both waltzing and women were considered in this period.

5.1  Cover Text and Detail

5.1.1  Bibliographic Elements

A standard for front covers of nineteenth-century piano waltzes by female composers was to display, at the very least, the title, composer, and instrument of the work. The genre was also usually present, and very early waltzes were referred to as ‘walse’ after the Austro-German style, then ‘valse’ from around 1820 onwards. Gradually, ever-more descriptive ways to refer to the waltz style of a particular piece reflected changing tastes towards the waltz as both a physical dance, and a musical work. In the first half of the century, for example, it was not uncommon to find piano waltzes described as a ‘grande valse,’ or with the added adjective ‘grande valse brillante.’ Later, more inventive descriptions exposing an increasing preoccupation with the more

romantic elements of waltzing began to creep in, and from the middle of the century, music styled as a ‘valse elegante,’ ‘valse sentimentale,’ ‘valse romantique,’ and ‘rêverie-valse’ could be purchased in addition to the grander waltz styles. From the 1890s onwards, an influx of ‘valse lente’ piano pieces demonstrated the popularity of the new slow waltz being danced across ballrooms in Paris.  

Though a simple waltz description could suffice as the name of a piece, composers began attaching conceptual titles to their waltz scores from the 1830s, settling even at this early stage on two predominant, feminine themes: flowers and nature, and women. For instance, over 100 scores are given women’s names (Marguerite being the most popular), compared to only four for men - similar trends can be found when analysing cover art, as well as dedicatees, both of which are discussed in more detail below. Further common themes for waltz titles by female composers are travel mementos, as well as anything and everything to do with romance. Titles like “Douce ivresses” (sweet caresses) and “Speranza” (hope) are common, though some of the more imaginative titles in this latter category include “Baisers perdu” (Lost kisses), “Du cœur aux lèvres” (from the heart to the lips), and “Ne m’oubliez pas!” (Do not forget me!); over 100 keyboard waltzes with female authors involve love, romance, and/or emotional states, and as a general rule, the more risqué waltz titles appear towards the end of the century.

In addition to the title and composer, front covers of published waltzes in this period often (but not always) included the name and address of the publisher, the printer and/or engraver, and any available alternative score arrangements. In a bid to enhance a score’s attractiveness, and thus, commercial appeal, a handful of pieces from the latter half of the century additionally display short, romantic poems or verses related to the waltz’s ‘topic’ that often deal with the feminine themes. Rosa Rix’s 1863 waltz Viens nous serons heureux!!.. (Come, we will be happy!!), for example, is headed by a short poem which perpetuates the ideology of a timid young girl coming alive through a love of waltz dancing:

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4 The printer/engraver of a score’s illustration and that of the music were not necessarily consistent.
Young shy girl,
That the fast waltz
Engages us both.
Lulled by the harmony,
A moment in life,
Come, we will be happy!\(^5\)

Though the verse’s author is unattributed, the words echo the sentiment of losing oneself in the pleasure of dancing and listening to waltzes, as described in the numerous fictional accounts that were explored in chapter 1; the presence of a poem of this nature working as a scene-setter for a piano waltz score indicates that emotional abandonment through waltzing was a relatable experience for young women in the nineteenth-century, and could be interpreted and communicated through the musical performance of piano waltzes.

Rix published six piano waltzes with Benoît aîné between 1862-1867, which retailed for between 3-5 francs apiece. Waltz scores that were produced and sold by a professional publisher invariably include a fixed price on their front covers, and waltzes by female composers sold for between 1-9 francs, though 5-6 francs was the average sum. Interestingly, the cheapest of these scores appear after 1900, indicating the changing financial and social value of these works as the decade progressed. Where a printed cost is absent from the score, which occurs most frequently in waltzes with no given publisher, it is possible that the cost may have been changeable depending on the retailer, or even negotiable if bought directly from the author. Most waltz scores published in Paris within this period also include a named dedicatee on their covers, and this was a popular choice for composers of either gender.

5.1.2 Dedicating Keyboard Waltzes

By the time women began publishing keyboard dances in the 1800s, the practise of dedicating printed musical works to individuals had been in use for centuries. However, where in previous years the publisher commonly selected a work’s dedicatee, composers in the nineteenth-century

were afforded a greater degree of autonomy, infusing scores with an increasing level of personal meaning. Eric McKee has already noted, albeit anecdotally, that a significant number of keyboard waltzes published in the nineteenth century were dedicated to, as well as named after women. Previous to this study, however, very little research exists in the study of music dedications to make firm conclusions from, and no quantitative research seems to be available for exploring the link between composer and dedicatee in nineteenth-century repertories. The piano waltzes by female composers with available data analysed for this study reveals that only 44 out of 380 scores do not specify a dedicatee; 11 of these are dedicated either to someone whose gender is unknown, to abstract concepts - including Marie de Cournand’s 1854 waltz Etincelle, which is “dedicated to a memory” - or to generic groups, such as young pianists or women as a whole. Composer Alice Boisnaudouin appeals to the strength of the connection between waltzes and womanhood, for example, by dedicating her waltz La fête des fleurs to the “women of the world,” meanwhile, the ever business-minded Mme Alexandre Bataille recognised the opportunity to further her and her husband’s career and social standing by offering her own composition La Dijonnaise - written for the 1858 world exhibition in Dijon - to the members of the commissioner’s board.

Of the remaining 336 waltzes that are dedicated to individuals, 247 are devoted to other women, while only 78 opt for men; these trends verify McKee’s suggestion that it was preferable to dedicate waltzes to women, at least for female composers. Whether a similar ratio of female to male dedicatees also applies to waltz repertoire by men, or indeed to dance music for keyboard in general, is as yet unclear, though a preliminary analysis of waltzes published by male composers in select years throughout the nineteenth century seems to confirm this pattern. However, A comparison of dedications chosen by two leading dance music composers - Elisa Bosch and Carl Chesneau - provides some revealing initial statistics on the matter, especially since Both Bosch and Chesneau were active between 1850-1880, and published a comparable amount of music throughout their careers. The repertoire of both composers is also similar, made up of numerous waltzes, polkas, and mazurkas, and gavottes. Interestingly, though both dedicate the majority of their compositions to women, Bosch’s scores are almost exclusively devoted to the female sex,

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8 Marie de Cournand, Etincelle: valse pour piano, opus 10 (Paris: Étienne Challiot, 1854).
10 Madame Alexandre Bataille, La Dijonnaise: valse brillante pour piano; souvenir de l’exposition de Dijon 1858 (Paris: A. Bataille et Cie., 1858).
while Chesneau exposes the diversity of his connections and privileges by dedicating a greater proportion of his works to other men (table 1).

Table 1. Dedications by gender in the published dance music scores of Elisa Bosch and Carl Chesneau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dedications</th>
<th>Bosch</th>
<th>Chesneau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of scores</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the most part, the types of individuals to whom female composers dedicated their waltzes occupy three general categories; members of high social classes, professional connections, and personal relationships. Since the waltz was a demonstrably popular compositional form for women in this period, a systematic consideration of the dedicatees in this repertoire has the potential to generate new ways of understanding how and why women published music in this period, as well as revealing the intimate social connections, professional and private, of women composing music in the public eye.

5.1.3 Aristocratic Dedications

Patronage, however symbolic, was an important consideration in the careful choice of dedicatee, and the right name at the top of a score could potentially elevate a composer’s social profile - or, at least, give the appearance of an elevated social profile - in the hopes of selling both her music and herself as an artist. Although various ranks are represented across the strata of nineteenth-century aristocracy, each elevated dedicatee has one thing in common - almost all are women.\(^{11}\) Conversely, only a quarter of the female composers who dedicated their keyboard waltzes to members of the upper-classes identify themselves on their scores as noblewomen, meaning a certain level of social mobility may have been practised through music dedications. Laetitia Sari, for example, dedicated her waltz *L’imperiale* (1864) to Napoleon III, though her connection to the

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\(^{11}\) Thirty-nine of the forty-three scores with aristocratic dedicatees are to women.
ruler is not clear. Similarly, Ursule Marchal’s *Welcome. La bienvenue* (1845)\(^{12}\) is dedicated to Queen Victoria, and may have been composed to commemorate Victoria’s second diplomatic visit to France with Prince Albert in the same year of the waltz’s publication. The dedication of a waltz to queen Victoria was particularly apt, given that the monarch was known to have enjoyed waltzing, and played an important part in popularising the dance in Britain despite being disappointed that her position prevented her from being able to waltz in public herself.\(^{13}\) In the 1840s, when relatively few women were publishing piano waltzes, Marchal’s offering is a deliberately crafted dedication to the young Queen’s visit through an acknowledgement of two women’s mutual liking of the popular dance of the day; by extension, Marchal manages to connect herself to royalty through a shared love of waltzing.

The cases of *l’imperiale* and *La bienvenue* imply that an official endorsement was not necessarily required in dance music dedications, and also indicate that women had a degree of agency when choosing who they wanted to devote their music to. The act of dedication then, was a distinctly personal decision in the nineteenth century, even when the dedicatee had no personal acquaintance to the composer. In the cases where music was dedicated to members of the social elite who were likely to be personally acquainted with the female composer through a mutually high rank in society, published dance works represent the merging of public consumption and private gifts. This is the case for Marie Cournand, a Russian aristocrat who dedicated her set of three waltzes to the Countess Nathalie Panin, daughter of the Conservative Russian Minister of Justice Count Viktor Nikitch Panin, and his wife Countess Natalia Pavlovna Tyzenhaus.\(^{14}\) Further, the three waltzes are each named after Nathalie and her younger sisters - Olga and Léonile - suggesting Cournand, although not as illustriously titled herself, had a sufficiently close relationship with Nathalie to warrant composing and dedicating a waltz set in honour of the bond shared between female siblings.

### 5.1.4 Professional Dedications

Perhaps unsurprisingly, professional dedications on waltz scores by female composers are comprised of fellow musicians, particularly those involved with pedagogy.\(^{15}\) Publicly displaying a

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\(^{15}\) See Chapter 3, section 2 for a discussion of female waltz composers who also taught music.
positive relationship with favoured pupils or teachers gave women an unprecedented opportunity for self-promotion as professional musicians, and teachers who dedicated scores to multiple students could cultivate an air of popularity, from an educational point of view; Félicie Thomas, for example, who published six sets of six keyboard dances with Benoît aîné between 1873-1885, rather enterprisingly devoted a significant number of her piano waltzes to two students each, all women. Similarly, dedicating scores to one’s teacher could demonstrate a female composer’s credentials, legitimising her as a talented and respectable professional within the competitive music teaching community. Rosa Rix for example, dedicates the score for her first published composition - a waltz called *Paris* - to her illustrious teacher and Conservatoire professor Antoine-François Marmontel.16 There is also evidence that students and teachers reciprocated waltz dedications, as with Eliza Bosch, who dedicates her waltz *Euterpe* “to her student and friend” madame Mottet de Malroy in 1865;17 Malroy returned the favour two years later with her waltz composition *Azalea*, using the same wording in the dedication as Bosch, “to her teacher and friend.”18

The language used in dedications to male and female teachers is worth noting, and both Bosch and Malroy’s devotions are typical in their warmth and display of a friendship which extends beyond a pedagogical relationship - Magdeleine Binon and Lucie Vernueil, for example, also refer to their “dear” teachers mesdames Tanesy-Chambon and Alexandrine Simon19 respectively in their waltzes. The same applies to the ways in which female composers addressed their students in waltz dedications, and Rose Cazau, professor at the École normale d’institutrices and the Conservatoire in Perpignan, discloses her *Valse rose* was conceived as a “memento of friendship to her dear student Gabrielle Garin.”20 Conversely, wording for male teachers and students, as well as other music professionals, is generally much less familiar, and an absence of endearments points towards a differing unspoken set of social conventions when addressing male and female professional subjects in musical scores, regardless of the closeness of the relationship between composer and dedicatee in reality; for women, it seems cultivating amiability extended beyond the ballroom floor and onto the printed page.

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Another way to gain greater public exposure was to dedicate waltzes to prominent conductors working in Paris at the time of publication. In the nineteenth century, high-profile dance music conductors tended to be attached to particular venues, and many orchestrated keyboard waltzes to supplement for performance at their well-publicised balls. Whether a conductor arranged a particular score for a commission or simply because the music impressed them is unclear, and a number of women who dedicated waltzes to conductors do not seem to have orchestral transcriptions of their scores available. In these cases, we can assume that the bid for recognition was unsuccessful, the orchestrated versions are lost, or that the motivation for the dedication lay elsewhere, and personal connection without desire for a reciprocated product cannot be ruled out. Two women, however, seem to have worked closely with the conductors they name as dedicatees; Laure Micheli’s professional contact with Narcisse Bousquet, Antony Lamotte, and Olivier Métra is documented through her score arrangements and their public performances, and her own career as a conductor. Eugénie Bardin-Royer, who in 1871 dedicated her waltz L’Égyptienne21 to the conductor of the orchestra at Bal Bullier Auguste Desblins, also presents an interesting case. Four years after the dedication, Desblins began publishing orchestrations of Bardin-Royer’s keyboard dances,22 and crucially, both Bardin-Royer and Desblins shared the same editor, Margueritat, which at the time was officially being run by its founder’s widow, Alexandrine Poinvert.23 In 1878, fellow Margueritat composer and conductor Blancheteau also arranged a polka, and a polka-mazurka composed by Bardin-Royer.24 The link becomes clearer when considering that when Bardin Royer left Marguerita and began publishing music with Chatot instead, both Desblin and Blancheteau’s arrangements ceased. Dedications to conductors and subsequent orchestrations thus do not guarantee a dance work originally composed for keyboard was particularly popular in its time, especially since, in the case of Bardin-Royer, there is no documented performance history of orchestral versions; instead, Bardin-Royer’s relationship with Desblins may have had more to do with the business decisions of their mutual editor than an admiration for one another’s’ work.

As discussed in chapter 3, the interactions between female composers and pianists could be particularly productive, and this collegiality makes its way onto the pages of music dedications.

23 Devriès and Lesure, Dictionnaire, 2:297.
No woman, however, uses other female performers as dedicatees for their waltzes more frequently than Cécile Chaminade, whose dedications across her list of works also represent a higher-than-average number of men. Two-thirds of Chaminade’s waltzes with named dedications involve women, including fellow concert pianists Jeanne Billa-Manotte, Ella Pancera, Aimée-Marie Roger-Miclos, and Marie Panthès.  

All first prize-winners in piano at the Paris Conservatoire (with the exception of Pancera, who attended the Vienna Conservatoire), each performer enjoyed successful and well-publicised concert careers, touring throughout Europe. These dedications thus reveal the nature of Chaminade’s social circle and the musical women with whom she surrounded herself. Dedications of keyboard waltzes reveal that women were also connected with artworlds outside music, and writers (as well as the wives of writers) feature on these scores. In chapter 2, for example, we saw how Anna Karl’s involvement in socialist networks resulted in a score dedication to the writer Émile Zola, and many women who composed were also writers and poets themselves, including Elisa Bosch, Louise Contenet de Sapincourt, and Louise Pigneret-Moutié. The female authors who received dedications of waltzes composed by other women were the poet Delphine de Girardin (née Gay), the dramatist Juliette Figuier, and the wives of both writer Louis Judicis de Mirandol and the American poet Henry Abbey.

Perhaps the most surprising dedications to professional subjects were waltzes written as a very public gratitude to doctors. Marguerite Balutet pays homage to four different doctors in her music dedications between 1896 and 1903, and although the reasons for doing so are unclear, the devotions on these particular scores correlate to decreased activity in her compositional publications, perhaps owing to ill health. The appreciation towards one’s physician is much more overt, however, in Marie de Pierpont’s Merci; dedicated to doctor A. Alaux (example 1). The waltz is punctuated throughout, rather appropriately, with cries of “merci” at the end of each iteration of the main theme, demonstrating that the piece was composed with a particular purpose in mind, as a token of gratitude for services rendered; one can only hope Monsieur Alaux appreciated his musical thank-you card.

25 Cécile Chaminade, 2me Valse pour piano, op. 77 (Paris: Enoch et Cie., 1895); 3e Valse brillante pour piano, op. 80 (Paris: Enoch et Cie., 1898); ‘Valse arabesque,’ Six feuillets d’album pour piano, op. 98 (Paris: Enoch et Cie., 1900); and the Valse romantique: 7e valse pour piano, op. 115 (Paris: Enoch et Cie., 1905).


28 Marie de Pierpont, Merci! Valse de concert et de salon pour piano, op. 66 (Paris: L’auteur, 1895).
5.1.5 Family Dedications

In the nineteenth century, women dedicated their keyboard waltzes to friends and family far more frequently than any other types of subject, and everyone from parents, siblings, cousins, children, and even the in-laws receive this special attention. The most common familial dedications for women were to their mothers, especially when a waltz was the composer’s first published work, which discloses the more enclosed social worlds that young women inhabited and an expectation of deference towards their parents. Dedicating a waltz to one’s mother or father could also go some way towards distancing a burgeoning female composer from the more undesirable associations of waltzing by indicating parental approval of both the genre, and the act of composing in general. A public demonstration of gratitude for her father’s support, for example, appears to be the motivation for Joséphine Caye’s waltz *Le bouquet*. Dedicated “to my good father,” the music is also preceded by a short verse: “The fruits of my talent, I would offer you in homage. Your hand has sown them, my work is your handiwork.”29 Caye’s display of appreciation for a father who encourages, rather than stifles her talent, is touching, and the young composer clearly understands the value of a supportive parent in what could often be a difficult career choice for a woman.

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Unfortunately, waltz dedications to parents did not necessarily guarantee the expression of affection or approval, and certainly for Melanie-Hélène Bonis, her relationship with her overbearing father and mother was fractious. Disturbed by what they considered an inappropriate burgeoning romance between their daughter and her Conservatoire classmate Amedée Hettich, Monsieur and Madame Bonis removed their young daughter from the institution in which she was thriving, and arranged a marriage to a wealthy widower twice her age with five sons. Despite these interferences, Bonis experienced a new-found freedom after her wedding in 1883, and her husband Albert Domange allowed her to publish her compositions for the first time despite his general lack of interest in music; and yet, Bonis’s first published work, a waltz called *Etiolles* (1884), was dedicated not to her new husband, but to her mother; seven years later, Bonis, would devote her prize-winning waltz *Les gitanos* to her father. For Bonis, an unwavering affection for her family is palpable in the waltzes that followed, a substantial number of which are dedicated to her children, step-children, grandchildren, and even her daughters-in-law later in life.

Returning to Caye’s example, the composer’s father was not the only family member to receive a dedication, as she both names and dedicates a waltz to her sister, Adèle, three years before *Le bouquet*. Dedicating waltzes to children was an understandably popular choice for female composers, and celebrating the close ties between siblings through a shared love of waltz music is tangible in Marie-Louise Blanchet’s *La première amitié*, dedicated to her brother (figure 24). The cover for Blanchet’s score shows a woman at the piano, tenderly holding a young boy’s hand and caressing his face, with the music for *La première amitié* resting at the stand, appealing to the desirable feminine ideals of domesticity, nurture, and an obedient love for one’s family which sweeps aside the damaging claims of licentiousness held against waltzing throughout the nineteenth century.

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31 Mel Bonis, *Les gitanos: valse Espagnole pour piano* (Paris: J. Hamelle, 1892). For a discussion of the score cover for this waltz, see the following section of this chapter.
5.2 Iconography

Figure 25. Marie Louise Blanchet, *La premiere amitié* (Paris: A. Lemoine, 1860), front cover.

5.2.1 Early Decorative Styles

Realising that front covers needed to be persuasive in order to sell in an already saturated market, canny publishers and authors designed title pages to ensure visual appeal at the first point of contact between product and consumer in the form of calligraphic text, simple or ornate bordering, and later, commissioned illustrated images. From the earliest decades of the nineteenth century, textual information on piano waltz covers was presented in the form of florid calligraphy which often varied in style even on the same page, with certain information - usually the title and composer of a work - designed by the engraver to stand out amongst the text.\(^\text{33}\)

Towards the 1830s-1840s, the elaborateness of the cursive script was pared back somewhat, and simple filigree scrolls in addition to border work, ranging in style from a simple line to ornate frames, were included to enhance a score’s visual attractiveness and accessibility.

\(^{33}\) See, for example, the score cover for Mme C. née M.’s *Douze valse & six morceaux détachées, composées et arrangées pour le piano par Mad.me Charlotte C.... née M.... de Lubeck* (Paris: l’Auteur, 1827) in Chapter 4, figure 20 of this thesis.
An early and influential developer of this distinctive design technique was Antoine Vialon, an artistic engraver who later became a composer and music editor. As one of the go-to designers for the front covers of piano dance compositions in the 1840s-60s, including waltzes, polkas, and mazurkas, Vialon’s services were also sought in popular keyboard genres outside dance repertoire such as impromptus, études, and romances. Using similar styles to Vialon, women’s waltzes within this period were also illustrated by artists for whom there is little existing information, including Js. Galouzeau, and A. Lafont, who together with Vialon, make up the majority of the illustrators that the editors turned to for their front cover designs in this repertoire.

Figure 26. Variations of style in Antoine Vialon’s decorative lettering and border on keyboard waltz covers.

Figure 27. Decorative lettering and borderwork on the front cover of Madame de Gesne, *Artémise: valse brillante* (Paris: Au ménestrel; A. Meissonnier & Heugel, 1843).

The level of artistry in decorative borders within this period sometimes surpassed the relatively simple yet effective standards of Vialon and his contemporaries, including that of Madame de Gesne’s 1843 piano waltz *Artémise*. In this example, a highly ornate border with a great level of detail including cherubs and scrolls that surround the text is fitting for the social superiority of the music’s dedicatee “son altesse Royale Madame la Princesse de Joinville,” whose name stands out along with the title of the waltz. The Princess de Joinville most likely refers to the daughter of the King of Brazil and Portugal - Francisca de Braganca - who married François d’Orléans, Prince de Joinville, in the given year of the waltz’s publication. The waltz’s title honours her with its reference to the venerated Artemis, Goddess of the hunt, childbirth, protector of women, and symbol of virtue. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the waltz’s composer Madame de Gesne, and like just over a third of women’s waltzes that show cover art, the illustrator is unattributed.

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Nineteenth century lithographers and engravers also found a rich source of inspiration in flowers, and of the waltzes with some form of decoration or iconography, front covers which feature flowers number just over a quarter; considering covers that depict both flowers and/or rural scenes, the number rises to just over a third. Flowers were multifunctional, and could handily be incorporated into calligraphy, border decoration, image backgrounds, or feature as the central image of the cover’s illustration. The image of flowers, a feminine domain, was enduring, and floral imagery remained a mainstay on the front covers of women’s waltzes well into the twentieth century.

5.2.2 Flowers, Plants, and the Pastoral

In the nineteenth century, middle-class young women were encouraged to practice various talents designed to enhance their social graces, gentility, and eligibility. A certain level of proficiency in piano, singing, or both was one attractive occupation; a love for the study and cultivation of flowers, plants, and activities related to botany was another. Flowers were an important feature of nineteenth-century romanticism, and are well represented in fine art of the era, particularly in still-life works. At home, women could also indulge in a love of flowers via practical activities including sketching and embroidery, gardening, flower arranging, flower fortune-telling games, and studying the so-called ‘language of flowers’ set out in publications which first emerged in France, followed enthusiastically by England and North America. The communicative potential of flowers was frequently justified by its practitioners against the background of concepts of flower symbolism rooted in ancient history, and the numerous nineteenth-century floral handbooks provided their readers with illustrations and accompanying descriptions - both physical and symbolic - of the characteristics and potential cultural meanings of hundreds of plant varieties.

There was generally no pretence at a universality of flower meanings from country to country, and guidebooks based on publications of pre-existing works in other languages freely admit to making “alterations” to suit alternative cultural needs and understandings. Nineteenth-century floriography texts do, however, have one important feature in common: they are marketed primarily towards women. *Le langage des fleurs* is one of the earliest reference

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37 An English version of Charlotte de La Tour’s *Le langage des fleurs* states, “though this work is founded on a small French volume, yet, from the alterations which have been introduced, it cannot, strictly speaking, be called a translation.” The *Language of Flowers with Illustrative Poetry; to Which Are Now First Added the Calendar of Flowers and the Dial of Flowers*, 4th ed. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1835), xii.

sources for flowers and their potential interpretive meanings, and was “the beginning of the great proliferation of flower books.”

Its first edition was printed in Paris in 1819 under the name Charlotte La Tour, and the author makes a connection between flowers and women irrefutable in the joyful declaration, “happy the young girl who ignores the foolish joys of the world, and knows no sweeter occupation than the study of plants!” La Tour thus binds flowers to notions of femininity and simplicity, capitalising on nineteenth-century attitudes that flowers could compliment a woman’s ideal temperaments of grace, elegance, beauty, and ability to nurture (i.e. grow life). As such, women in the nineteenth century would have been all too aware that “her society believed the floral kingdom to be essentially the domain of Woman.”

Further similarities for flower language manuals are that they commonly lean heavily towards a romantic interpretation of floral symbolism in both text and image; illustrations of young lovers are dotted throughout a number of sources, and authors do not balk at being increasingly interpretive in their advice on how to decode flowers and bouquets. In *Le véritable langage des fleurs* (1866), for example, Anaïs de Neuville includes a “table methodique” as a guide to deciphering the hidden meanings behind any flowers one might have received, and handily explores a descriptive range of potential emotional reactions; “I hate you” (wild tulip), “Your charms are etched upon my heart” (euonymus plant), and even “All your efforts will be in vain” (triomphe de Miellez fuchsia) are some of the more nuanced communicative possibilities. In this way, lovers, and even friends, could theoretically send each other coded messages through the seemingly innocuous medium of floral arrangement, though how practical both acquiring and/or recognising a ‘Fuschia triomphe de Miellez’ would have been for the average nineteenth-century lady or gentleman is dubious.

As part of nineteenth-century common knowledge and practice, the frequent presence of flowers on waltz covers by composers of both genders points clearly to the romanticisation and attachment of feminine qualities to works within this repertoire, the significance of which would not have escaped the intended consumer, who Arthur Loesser deduces in all likelihood was “any average young lady with a reasonable allowance of money.” A floral presence in piano waltzes is not limited, however, to imagery. A veritable garden can be found in the titles of piano waltzes,

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39 Seaton, *The Language of Flowers*, 70.
40 Seaton hypothesises that La Tour was probably a pseudonym for Louise Cortambert in Ibid., 72. This observation is corroborated by the BnF in its bibliographic information for the source.
42 Seaton, *The Language of Flowers*, 35.
43 “Je vous déteste” (tulipe sauvage), “Vos charmes sont graves dans mon Cœur” (fusain), and even “Toutes vos démarches seront vaines” (fuchsia triomphe de Miellez). Mme Anaïs de Neuville, *Le véritable langage des fleurs* (Paris: Bernardin-Bechet, 1866), 237; 245; 244.
and since each of the compiled scores by women has a known title, I shall be considering the whole repertoire in the following discussion. Within this number, 95 waltzes are named after flowers and plants, and a further 85 after nature in general - popular titles include “Gai Printemps,” “Feuilles d’Automne,” and “L’air des Champs” - meaning just over a fifth of Parisian waltz compositions by women in the nineteenth century connect their theme to the natural world in their titles alone.

Although a diverse array of some 30 flowers and plants are named in waltz titles, only three species appear repeatedly: roses, violets, and myositis, more commonly known as ‘forget-me-nots.’ In current European culture, roses are widely regarded as symbols of love and romance, yet in the nineteenth century, their meanings were more closely tied with femininity than desire. French flower language manuals spanning 1858-1898, for example, suggests a general consensus that the rose was queen of the flowers, generally symbolising beauty and freshness,\(^45\) two highly desirable qualities in a woman. Subspecies could also receive their own symbolism, and two waltzes are named after the ‘Rose Pompon’ - a distinctively frilly, delicate, and pleasingly scented pink and white affair, whose meaning, “gentillesse” - kindness, is once again the emotional domain of the ‘fairer’ sex.

An illustrative example of the strong associations between women, flowers, and femininity on piano waltz covers can be found in *Ketty la rose d’Angleterre* (figure 27),\(^46\) composed by Emma Sengel. Its subject, presumably Ketty herself, poses against the background of a valley that stretches into the distance, positioning her firmly in the countryside. Ketty is sophisticated enough, however, to be somewhat removed from the rural backdrop, as she leans on a stone balcony, a rose adorning her neat and finely-coiffed hair. While it is entirely possible that Sengel knew the subject personally, it is also clear that the imagery on the score - which cost only 3 francs - would be enough to draw in any young lady who recognised the social desirability for feminine beauty, fragility, and youth embodied in Ketty, as symbolised by the flower she wears in her hair.

While roses characterised beauty, the violet represented modesty - a meaning which has been attached to the flower in European culture since the middle ages, with its roots in


Christianity and the church. Violets are the second most frequently cited flowers in waltz titles after roses, and flower language books generally agree on this association, adding derivatives such as “mérite caché” (hidden merits), and “ne regardez que la sincérité de mon cœur” (look only on the sincerity of my heart). One source elaborates by attaching a short, sentimental poem about the violet, characterising its feminine qualities, and arguing that a beautiful daughter should model herself on the violet’s positive attributes of modesty and restraint in order to avoid the potential pitfalls of life and love:

“Discrète,
La violette
Sait s’attacher
A se cacher,
Pour mieux se faire rechercher.

Modeste et belle,
Fille, comme elle,
Doit à son tour
Fuir sans retour
Les feux du jour
Et de l’amour.”

For the nineteenth-century woman, “it was absolutely essential to her family’s good repute that a middle-class girl seem to look and behave with a respectable ‘modesty,’” and in effect, the poem directs young ladies to heed the flower’s lessons, and model herself in its image of decorum, and thus, respectability. The personification of flowers was not limited to descriptions in guidebooks; flowers could be a young girl’s symbolic confidante and friend, and in The Floral Year, published in 1847, Anna Peyre Dinnies writes, “I love flowers! They have been the friends and companions of my whole life. I owe to their gentle influences much that as soothed and brightened the hours of an unusually monotonous existence.” Dinnies goes on to say that a mutual love of flowers can also nurture her relationships with other women: “So tranquilising and refining have I ever found

47 Seaton, The Language of Flowers, 44.
48 Neuville, Le véritable langage des fleurs, 218; L’ancien et le nouveau langage des fleurs (1858), 85.
50 “Discreet/The violet/Knows how to attach herself/To hide herself,/To be sought out better./Modest and beautiful,/A Girl, like her,/Must in turn/Flee without return/The fires of the day/And of love.”Dupaty, in Zaccone, Nouveau langage des fleurs, 140. The original French has been included in main text to retain the expressive qualities of the rhyme scheme.
51 Loesser, Men, Women and Pianos, 64.
their power, that I never see another engaged in their cultivation that I do not feel attracted
towards her, and experience an innate conviction that she is pure in her tastes, and amiable in her
disposition."52

Clearly, a woman who loves flowers can only have goodness in her heart and positive social
tendencies, and Laure Dancla’s La branche de myrthe (1855) (figure 27) expresses the relationship
between flowers and a blossoming friendship.53 Dedicated to Dancla’s sister-in-law Delphine
Skopetz (as Madame Léopold Dancla), the image depicts a woman leaning on a stone wall
contemplating - as the title indicates - a branch of myrtle, symbolic according to contemporary
flower books of love, especially in marriage: In 1840, Queen Victoria’s wedding bouquet for her
marriage to Prince Albert contained myrtle flowers, and tradition has followed that a sprig of
myrtle from this plant has been used for consequent British royal weddings after the Princess
Victoria continued the trend in 1858 for her own wedding to the German Emperor Frederick III. In
Dancla’s case, myrtle’s known symbolism for love and happiness in marriage marks not only her
own approval in the match, but the omission of her brother in the dedication could also represent
the loving friendship between herself and her only sister-in-law. With three older brothers but no
sisters, Dancla’s waltz commemorates the importance of female relationships through floral
symbolism.

A nod towards the association of flowers and feminine attributes was not limited to titles or
imagery, and Hélène Noblet’s Myosotis (1863)54 includes a four-stanza poem describing the
human qualities of the forget-me-not, which she chooses for her expressive waltz’s theme:

Flower of remembrance, cherished flower
In your name only sweetness!
You will always be a blessed flower
A smile in the midst of tears.

Yes, the more we see you, the more we love you,
The rose does not have your beauty.
If she is the symbol of love,
You are of fidelity.

52 Anna Peyre Dinnies, The Floral Year, Embellished with Bouquets of Flowers, Drawn and Colored from
54 Hélène Noblet, Myosotis: valse pour le piano (Paris: E. et A. Girod, 1869).
Amongst your sisters whom we admire,
And who speak so well in a whisper,
There is none who knows how to say
Like you: "do not forget me!"

Oh! close, close your corollas
To the ungrateful ones who have no heart,
And who in their frivolous pleasures
Remorselessly wither your flower!

Although it is not clear if Noblet is the author, the poem’s text presents positive female qualities in the embodiment of consolation and fidelity, and even gives flowers a feminine gender, naming them all sisters. The final stanza, however, warns against the more negative aspects of female relationships in an echo of Marie Ratazzi’s *L’ennemie commune*, whereby women, through the medium of flower symbolism, are warned to pick their acquaintances carefully, lest their bloom be ‘withered’ by idle gossip. This message likely would have been clearly understood by nineteenth-century women, and its presence on the page for a waltz composed by a woman was ever more apt given the dance’s reputation for impropriety and salaciousness.

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55 “Fleur du souvenir, fleur chérie,/ Dans ton nom seul que de douceurs!/ Tu seras toujours fleur bénie/ Un sourire au milieu des pleurs./ Oui plus on te voit plus on t’aime,/ La rose n’a pas ta beauté/ Si de l’amour elle est l’emblème/ Tu l’es de la fidélité./ Parmi tes sœurs que l’on admire,/ Et qui parlent si bien tout bas,/ Il n’en n’est point qui sache dire/ Comme toi: “ne m’oubliez pas!”/ Oh! ferme, ferme tes corolles/ Aux ingrats qui n’ont pas de cœur,/ Et qui dans leurs plaisirs frivoles,/ Sans regret flétrissent ta fleur!” Hélène Noblet, *Myosotis* (Paris: E. et A. Girod, 1863), front cover.

Figure 29. Louise Contenet née de Sapincourt, *Fleurs d’hiver* (Paris: Henri Tellier, 1878), illustrated by Antoine Barbizet.
As well as roses, violets, and forget-me-nots, piano waltz covers and themes took inspiration from a great array of floral varieties, and crudely-tied bunches of wildflowers conjure up images of the pastoral. Enjoying simple ‘country’ pleasures was linked with bourgeois pastimes, where a trip to the countryside was associated with leisure rather than work, and romantic pursuits such as long rambling walks with a lover were idealised. In *Le langage des fleurs*, Latour comments on the power of a rural setting to stir romantic ideology, particularly for women: “It is not in the heart of the city, but in the countryside, surrounded by flowers, that love has all of its power; it is there that a heart truly in love raises itself to its Creator; it is there that eternal hopes come to mix with transitory sentiments, transfiguring the lovers, and giving to their looks, to their attitudes, those celestial expressions which touch even the indifferent.”\(^{56}\) Although Seaton concedes that flower handbooks were likely meant as decorative rather than instructive objects, likening them to coffee table literature,\(^{57}\) musical scores were arguably disseminated and consumed on a much larger scale, and employed for the more practical purpose of music-making; interestingly, it is on

\(^{57}\) Seaton, *The Language of Flowers*, 19.
the covers of such scores that the same sense of budding romance set in pastoral scenes can also be found, especially if women are the sole focus of the illustration.

An almost inextricable graphic relationship between women and flowers was developed on waltz covers from early on, which worked to emphasise the femininity of the subject and mould her into a female ideal of nineteenth-century standards. This concept is communicated in a set of two waltz suites composed by Louise Contenet (née de Sapincourt), a published poet of aristocratic stock who produced piano dances, songs, and romances in Paris between 1861-1885, then religious songs in her hometown of Château-Thierry from 1892-1893, before returning to dance forms published with Hamelle in Paris from 1901-1902. The pair of waltzes in question, Fleurs de printemps and Fleurs d’hiver (figure 27), are works taken from her first phase of composition, and were published in Paris by Tellier in 1878. Both waltzes centre around a theme of floral seasonal contrast, and their covers, designed by the prolific nineteenth century lithographer Antoine Barbizet, feature the same unidentified women at one with nature as she either holds or scatters wildflowers to the wind. The romantic rendering of the woman in the scene is more clearly understood when considering the dedicatees were the Duc de Marmier for Fleurs d’hiver, and his wife the Duchesse de Marmier for Fleurs de printemps. Further, the floral theme is not limited to title or image, as each individual waltz within the suite receives its own flower title, naturally according to winter or summer blooms.

5.2.3 Cover Girls

Many of the scores discussed in this chapter depict women, and female subjects began gracing the covers of piano waltzes published in Paris by both genders from as early as the 1840s. The various, carefully constructed images of womanhood on these scores provide a fascinating insight into a number of the cultural ideals that surrounded females and their femininity through the eyes of nineteenth-century society. In effect, the real or fictional women paraded on the front pages of waltzes functioned as "cover girls," whose images were commodified in order to sell a product - the score - in much the same way that pictures of women sell magazines today. The effect is all the more profound when considering that 71 covers use women in their imagery

59 These are probably Raynald Hugues Emmanuel Alexis de Marmier, who became the third Duc de Marmier in 1873 after the death of his father that year, and his second wife Marguerite Renée Xaviere de Moustier, whom he married in 1865. As they were each members of the French nobility, it is possible that the de Marmiers and Louise Contenet de Sapincourt knew each other personally.
compared to 17 men, who are usually the partners in this context for furtive ballroom flirtations, or romantic strolls in the country; of these figures, 56 scores depict women as a single subject (while none feature men in this capacity). Further, a number of common themes begin to appear when considering how women are presented on these covers, which betray the prevalent nineteenth-century French attitudes towards femininity through waltz music.

5.2.3.1 The ‘Ideal’ Woman: Greek Goddesses and Spanish Seductresses

In the nineteenth century, Greek and Roman mythology was an influential source of inspiration across a wide spectrum of the arts, including music, theatre and costume, literature, and fine art, and score covers for piano waltzes in this period were no exception. The anonymous woman’s white, flowing dress in Contenet de Sapincourt’s *Fleurs de printemps* and *Fleurs d’hiver*, for instance, conjures up mythological associations of Roman Goddesses, who symbolised typically feminine qualities such as love, fertility, grace, and the natural world; Contenet de Sapincourt’s waltzes are not the sole examples for piano waltz cover designs portraying women in this way.\(^{61}\) Ida Chapelle’s waltz homage to Deidamia,\(^{62}\) who according to Greek myth was the daughter of King Lycomedes and lover of Achilles before he abandoned her, pregnant, to fight in the Trojan war, is an interesting case for the demonstration of positive feminine qualities in waltz music by women through mythology. Previous to the nineteenth century, Deidamia was the subject of Handel’s final Italian opera (which premiered in London in early 1741), and she also appears as a key character in Carlo Sigisondo Capece’s 1712 libretto *Tetide in Sciro* (*Thetis on Scyros*), which was set to music by Domenico Scarlatti for a performance in Rome at the Polish queen’s personal theatre.\(^{63}\) In the latter, Deidamia is sheltered, obedient, and “innocent of all jealousy and cruelty,”\(^{64}\) and these feminine merits are embodied on Chapelle’s score in an illustration by the Parisian designer and lithographer B. Delaroche, where the regal and beautiful Deidamia, dressed in white, looks downwards in modesty and delicately touches the pearls that hang around her neck. Deidamia’s idealistic representation of desirable female qualities for Chapelle’s waltz is all the more pertinent when considering that the score’s dedicatee, Théodore de Banville, would come to be an important proponent of the symbolist movement in European art, literature, and poetry. Nineteenth-century symbolism rejected anti-idealist styles such as naturalism and realism,


\(^{64}\) Ibid., 14.
and instead aimed to “clothe the Idea in a perceptible form” by infusing images and objects with symbolic significance. By attaching such a virtuous female symbol to her music, Chapelle conveniently erases the less desirable associations of waltzing that plagued the dance throughout the nineteenth century - especially for women - in favour of a widely accepted idealised version of aspirational feminine behaviours.

The link between music, myth, and feminine subjects are also strongly incorporated into the score covers for Elisa Bosch’s two piano waltzes Euterpe, and Féé, both published in 1865 by Challiot et Cie. In Greek myth, Euterpe was the muse of lyric poetry, and her name was frequently invoked to flatter Italian prima donnas and singers in the early years of the nineteenth century; in Bosch’s waltz, the presence of Euterpe continues to appeal to the connection between music and female status. In the score for Euterpe, the muse is playing a flute - the instrument by which she was particularly known - atop a plinth, and in Féé, Antoine Barbizet renders Euterpe as a tiny figure, flute in hand, balancing among reeds in the water, which spell out the waltz’s name. The presence of both Euterpe and reeds in this image makes musical symbolism particularly strong, since reeds were also regarded as representative of music and wind instruments, owing to their association with the nymph Pan and his flute.

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68 L’ancien et le nouveau langage des fleurs, 72; The Language of Flowers, 313; Mme Charlotte de La Tour, Le langage des fleurs, 9th ed. (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1861), 209; Zaccone, Nouveau langage des fleurs, 88.
69 Jules Lachaume, Les fleurs naturelles: traite sur l’art de composer. Les couronnes, les parures, les bouquets, etc. (L’auteur, 1847), 134; Neuville, Le véritable langage des fleurs, 207.
If the depiction of women as Classical Goddesses on score covers represented idealised tropes of feminine image and behaviour, the alternative trend for characterising women as wild and exotic through heavily romanticised stereotypes of gypsy life and Spanish womanhood presents an interesting dichotomy between virtue and eroticism on the covers of nineteenth-century piano waltzes written by female composers. In nineteenth-century French consciousness, Spain was generally regarded as a politically and culturally non-threatening, “low ‘Other,’” and as “the principal foreign market for Hispanic musical and musico-theatrical entertainment,” Parisian tastes were particularly influential in shaping an international view of Spanish art, culture, and life.71

Commercialising ‘Spanishness’ in the French sheet music industry could be lucrative, and the practise may have been partly responsible for kick-starting the career of Mel Bonis, who had won first prize in harmony at the Paris Conservatoire in 1880.72 Not long after her arranged marriage, an auspicious chance meeting in with Hettich (now also married) brought about an introduction between Bonis and Hettich’s editor Alphonse Leduc,73 and from here, Bonis began to publish new compositions under Leduc - mainly dances, romances, and character pieces - which quickly became relatively popular in Parisian salons. It was her 1891 piano waltz Les gitanos,

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71 Michael Christoforidis, “Foreword,” in Ibid., xi.
72 Pierre, Le Conservatoire national, 703.
however, which drew on popular idiomatic misconceptions of Spanish gypsies as its thematic premise in title and iconography, that catapulted Bonis into the spotlight, and won her first prize in a waltz competition judged by distinguished composers, music professors, critics, and editors including Charles-Marie Widor, André Messager, Antony Choudens, and Philippe Maquet, among others.74

The commodification of a Spanish aesthetic in the popular French imagination gave rise to the ‘exotic’ Iberian representations that are communicated on an abundance of score covers for piano waltzes by composers of both genders, and the illustration on Bonis’s Les gitano is a typical example of a prevalent iconographic formula seen on nineteenth-century piano scores which took Spanish themes as their inspiration. These illustrations characteristically combined stereotypically Spanish coded images of dress and accessories (matador and flamenco costumes, shawls, black veils, fans, and roses in the hair), dance, and musical instruments (usually guitars and/or castanets) to ensure a sufficiently gypsy feel. In Les gitanos, for example, a gypsy woman with a tasseled shawl, a fan in her hair, castanets in her hands, and a smile on her face dances uninhibited in an outdoor space surrounded by a man playing a guitar, another on a tambourine, and a number of spectators, including one other woman fanning herself. The fact that all Spanish or gypsy waltz topics on the covers in this study are set outdoors connects iconographic representations of Spanish culture to rural life and low class, solidifying French notions of political and social superiority, while simultaneously uniting the two seemingly unconnected themes of gypsies and the waltz through links to peasant origins.

Outdoor scenes were not limited to rural life, however, and a number of piano waltzes by female composers convey depictions of Spanish street scenes, as on Eugénie Bardin-Royer’s Une nuit à Séville, in which Spanish architecture is flanked by moonlit palm trees and Moroccan-type drapery; in the more imaginative Une fête à Madrid by Marie-Louise Caussinus, a man dressed as a matador serenades a balcony of fawning, fanning women armed only with a tambourine, and of course, a guitarist chum; in the background, a street party can be seen in full swing.75 The appropriation of perceived Spanish culture on waltz covers also extended to cover girl-type portraits, and Leone Cortini’s Hermosa - a word used to describe a beautiful woman - provides a particularly striking example of perpetuating the image of Spanish women as the exotic ‘other.’

74 The full results of this competition are detailed in ‘Résultats du concours de valses du “Piano Soleil,” Piano-Soleil: grand journal musical hebdomadaire (18 October 1891), front page.
75 Eugénie Bardin-Royer’s Une nuit à Séville: valse de salon pour piano (Paris: A. O’Kelly, 1884); Marie-Louise Caussinus, Une fête à Madrid: grande valse Espagnole pour piano (Paris: L’auteur, 1880); Leone Cortini, Hermosa: grande valse Espagnole pour piano (Paris: H. Tellier, 1880). Each of these waltzes can be publicly viewed through gallica.bnf.fr.
Staring coquettishly above her fan (figure 30), the mysterious woman exudes an eroticism that is absent from scores which portray the modesty and decorum of French women.


Keyboard waltzes based on a range of national styles were ripe for exploiting a correlation between a score’s thematic subject and musical content, and once again the evocation of Spain was a popular choice, rendered through a range of musical devices designed to arouse a perceived ‘typical’ Spanish sound through rhythm, key, and instrumentation. Cortini’s *Hermosa*, for example, provides rather vague performance directions for the addition of castanets and “basque drum” throughout the waltz, and includes dance sections in minor keys, in stark contrast to the prevalent Austro-German style of waltz-writing which preferred predominantly major tonalities, in order to evoke the exoticism and difference commonly associated with Spanish subjects. Hermosa shares this departure in tonality from the waltz norm with other keyboard waltzes written by women in supposedly Spanish styles, including Cécile Marie d’Orni’s *Valse Espagnole*, and *La Grenade*, by Clara Pilet née Comettant, which also incorporate rhythmic devices reminiscent of Spanish dance genres such as the Paso Doble, or the Bolero. A

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76 For a musical analysis of tonality in keyboard waltzes by female composers, see Chapter 6.
preconception of a national style, however, did not always translate from image to music. The score for Louise Pigneret-Moutié’s *Valse Japonaise*, for example, comes equipped with a cover depicting an elegant Japanese parasol and stick of bamboo, and yet with no discernible musical features linking the waltz to the Orient, the score is Japanese in name and image alone.

Waltz covers could depict subjects closer to home, and in a handful of cases, writing waltzes gave female authors a chance to make public statements on political events in a way that women were not usually permitted in nineteenth-century European society. In celebration of the military pact between France and Russia which led to the Franco-Russian alliance in 1894, Jeanne Blache’s *Double Alliance* is a stirring homage to the warm relations between the two nations in both image and music, cemented by Blache’s arrangement first of a “Russian Hymn,” then the Marseillaise, in waltz form. On its cover, Blache’s score also merges music, politics, and femininity, and its image, designed by Louis Oury, presents France and Russia personified by two powerful women, one of whom wears a chainmail vest and rests her hand on the hilt of a long sword. Perhaps the feminine association is unsurprising, given that the dedicatee for *Double Alliance* is the Princess Xenia Alexandrovna, eldest daughter of the Emperor of Russia, who had married her cousin the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich that year.

### 5.2.3.2 Image Control: Women’s Portraiture

Waltzing was not the only fashionable craze in nineteenth-century Paris and beyond. The novelty of the *Carte de visite* - a miniature photo portrait of an individual which, thanks to the continuing development of photographic technology and techniques could be purchased in bulk for a modest sum - had reached fever pitch by the late 1850s, with “cartomania” rapidly spreading across the Atlantic and taking hold of North American citizens by 1860. These portraits, which were initially designed to be distributed among family and friends, crucially provided status-conscious middle class citizens with the opportunity to be immortalised in portrait for the first time, and at a very reasonable cost. The carte de visite also quickly became recognised as a handy opportunity for self-publicity in addition to personal posterity, particularly for public figures. In this way, portraiture on piano waltzes within the nineteenth century resemble the function of the Carte de visite as a kind of “social currency” that enabled networking and the personal promotion of an

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artist, whereby their image could be printed on their sheet music cover, and sent out into the world. A late example of this technique can be seen on Chaminade’s score for her *Valse carnavalesque* for two pianos (op. 73), where an image of the composer at her keyboard is surrounded by the available scores from her catalogue of works with Enoch. 81 Through the dissemination of both her music and her image, Chaminade could thus become an instantly recognisable celebrity performer and composer much like the covers of classical music albums which feature musicians today.

The use of a photograph portrait on piano waltzes by female composers, as in Chaminade’s case, was the exception to the norm, and the many other scores which feature women’s portraits do so through hand-sketched designs. Consequently, we can never be certain of the portrait’s subject in illustrated renderings, and the composer, the dedicatee, a family member or friend, or perhaps even a completely imaginary woman are all possibilities. And yet, when the score title and the dedicatee’s name are identical, it is tempting to consider the image of the woman is also a match, and the examples of such compositions are numerous. 82 More likely still is when the score cover shows a portrait of a child, especially when a link can be made, through genealogical information or a named dedicatee, of the familial relationship between the child and the work’s composer. Joséphine Caye’s waltz homage to her youngest sister Adèle, 83 for instance, is both dedicated to and named after her sibling, and further genealogical searches confirm the Cayes sisters’ relationship; 84 thus, the portrait of a well-dressed little girl that graces the front cover is likely to be that of the young Adèle herself. Interestingly, the waltz which follows is relatively short and simple and, at only two pages long, the entire score could easily function as Adèle’s own musical Carte de visite, which simultaneously promotes Joséphine’s public profile as a published composer and affectionate sister in her professional and personal life.

81 Cécile Chaminade, *Valse carnavalesque pour 2 pianos*, op. 73 (Paris, Enoch & Cie., 1894).
In photographic cartes de visite, sitters often affected particular poses, and used scenery and props to communicate a bourgeois aesthetic in the hopes of raising their social status.\(^{85}\) This self-fashioning took on an increasingly performative aspect, which finds parallels to the scores that portray a symbolic persona of a female composer, doing away with the necessity to provide a true likeness. The romanticisation of the waltz further allowed female composers to carefully sculpt their own public image with a certain degree of artistic license, and none more so than Jeanne Danglas, the nom de plume of Rosalie Crabos,\(^{86}\) who published just over 30 songs and solo works from 1906 to her death in 1915, then posthumously for around five more years. Many of her compositions were made available with alternative arrangements at the time of their publication, and Crabos seemed to find particular success with waltzes, which amount to just under half of her output. On the covers, turn of the century designs feature the same woman fashioned in different scenarios: in Sur l’aile d’un rêve, a seemingly naked woman throws her head back among the stars, her long hair covering her torso; lingering on the theme of dreaming, a strikingly similar woman with a chic new short haircut smiles and reclines on a pillow in J’ai fait un beau rêve, apparently having just woken up from a pleasant dream. Settling on the theme of love and misadventure, the same impeccably dressed woman puts her gloved hand to her mouth in Du cœur aux lèvres; she holds the beads that hang around her neck for Je sais que t’aimer c’est folie!; and finally, in Tu m’as menti, she simply stares sadly ahead, now dressed in the black of mourning.\(^{87}\)

The woman on Crabos’s waltz scores represents various stages of a seemingly feminine preoccupation with love, desire, and dreaming, sketched by an artist identified only as ‘Misti.’ These themes are particularly well-suited to the often heavily fictionalised romantic associations of waltzing, in which a young woman could dream of meeting the love of her life through the social freedom from restrictions that the waltz afforded. Although Crabos’s scores are placed at the end of the long nineteenth century, their thematic premise shows that these associations were still very much part of the narrative that surrounded the waltz even at this late stage, and through this medium, Crabos carefully constructs a performative extension of herself in the public sphere.

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\(^{85}\) Rudd, “Victorians Living in Public,” 211.


\(^{87}\) Jeanne Danglas: Sur l’aile d’un rêve: valse pour piano (Paris: Heugel, 1912); J’ai fait un beau rêve: valse pour piano (Paris: Durand et Cie., 1913); Du Cœur aux lèvres: valse (Paris: Heugel et Cie., 1913); Je sais que t’aimer c’est folie! Valse lente pour piano seul (Paris: Durand et Cie., 1913); Tu m’as menti: valse pour piano (Paris: Heugel, 1912). Each of these score covers is available to view online through gallica.bnf.fr.
Some of the most fascinating score covers featuring women are those which depict ballroom scenes, and give unprecedented insight into the social codes that were apparently important in nineteenth-century marketing choices for waltz music. Many of these illustrations centre explicitly around the act of spectatorship,\(^88\) capturing the gaze of those watching the waltzers dance from the fringes of the ballroom floor, while we - the score’s viewers - become complicit in this pleasure. More often, the feminine domain of love, romance, and intrigue play out on the side-lines of a society ball: though the young couple in Ida Sengel’s *Lydia* do not dance, for example, they both look to the side as if watching the scenes on the ballroom floor,\(^89\) and yet the man and woman secretly caress each other’s hands. In Mme Alexandre Bataille’s *Fleur des salons*, a well-dressed woman holds a fan in one hand and a bouquet in the other, while in the background the coupled waltzers hold each other close, occupying their own private worlds, seemingly oblivious to the dancers around them. Bataille’s female subject stares at us knowingly, and though she is separate from the scene behind the curtain, she turns to it, as if enticing us - the score’s viewer - to join her in the dance. Propositioning is also expressed in Mme Bataille’s *La violette de Parme*, in which a gentleman offers a bouquet to a seated lady, his hand on his chest in a sign of respect and deference to her attentions; once again, the dancers whirl behind the curtains.\(^90\) A rather more tragic scene reminds us that the politics of love at the ball can be a tricky thing in Elisa Bosch’s *Illusion*, and in one of the few examples that take the male subject as the main iconographic image on waltz scores, a gentleman sits dejectedly on a sofa while fantasising about his paramour, who stares back at him from his waking dream.\(^91\)

A dichotomy between propriety and sensuality in the images on waltz covers mirrors the dilemmas women faced when dancing the waltz, as well as the potential minefields when negotiating the behavioural expectations imposed upon them by nineteenth-century society. Further, though the sexualisation of Spanish women on waltz covers is problematic, contrasting these portraits with more virtuous images of French women at home and in public may have facilitated distancing the waltz from its negative associations, improving its suitability in much the

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\(^{89}\) Ida Sengel, *Lydia: valse pour piano* (Paris: Challiot, 1853); available to view online through gallica.bnf.fr.

\(^{90}\) For the score covers of Mme Bataille’s *Les fleurs des salons* and *Le violette de Parme*, see figure 21 in Chapter 4, section 2.

\(^{91}\) Elisa Bosch, *Illusion: valse*, op. 26 (Paris: Challiot & Cie., 1860); available to view online through gallica.bnf.fr.
same way that physical changes to the dance in the early part of the nineteenth century made waltzing more palatable for the ballroom floors of the bourgeoisie, as discussed in chapter one. As well as being saturated with feminine images and titles, waltzes composed by both sexes are predominantly devoted to women, contributing to a widespread feminine character of waltz music that was cannily generated by the predominantly male editors in the music business; in short, women were commodified to drive sales in dance music by male and female authors throughout the nineteenth century, and beyond.

Keyboard waltzes by female composers relied heavily on a common framework of feminine thematic subjects - love and romance, flowers and the pastoral, and idealised representations of womanhood - in order to appeal to a mass market of consumers who were encouraged to practise and perform dance music as a sign of female accomplishment, and who wished to keep up with the latest social trends. These subjects were frequently expressed in piano waltzes (as well as in a number of additional nineteenth-century dance genres) through the complimentary combination of title and imagery. The correlation between images, text, and music, however, is less strong, and the vast majority of scores have no discernible thematic relationship between cover material and musical content (an important exception being Iberian themed waltzes). Instead, the frequent textual and iconographic references on waltz score covers to flowers and nature, women, and narratives of love coalesce towards a large-scale idiom of romance and femininity which is so frequently associated with waltzing in the nineteenth century; the ways in which these overtones find their way into waltz music composed by women will be explored further in the following chapter.
Chapter 6  Sound and Vision: Music for the Waltz

The single scholarly work to consider waltzes by female composers was published over fifteen years ago; since this time, waltzes created by men have continued to dominate the critical discussion. Further, works that receive the majority of analytical attention in contemporary analysis are those by Joseph Lanner, Johann Strauss Sr. and Jr., Maurice Ravel, Robert Schumann, Frédéric Chopin, and Claude Debussy. This chapter therefore offers the most comprehensive analysis not only of waltzes written by women, but also of the general stylistic tendencies in this repertoire that was produced in the nineteenth century, rather than the features of waltzes by a few select canonic composers. Particular attention will be paid to how markets affected motivation and compositional style, how closely female composers participated in the general waltz writing idiom of the time, and to what extent women adapted to changes in the waltz composition landscape that took place throughout the century. Essentially, what waltzes by female composers communicated, and what the study of their music can add to our current understanding of dance music, women, and French culture in the nineteenth century drives the analytical motivations of this final chapter.

6.1  Waltzes for the Domestic Market

In the nineteenth century, composing a keyboard waltz could be as straightforward as learning its physical steps, a factor which contributed to the sheer volume of waltz scores produced to satisfy the demands of a seemingly insatiable market. Consequently, the majority of these compositions fit what Schumann may have regarded as head-waltzes - formulaic, insubstantial, and disposable. Head-waltzes still, however, performed a vital role in the world of social dance, particularly in teaching young women and children how to dance, listen to, and perform waltz music in the private spaces of their own homes, before venturing out to public balls when their time came. Waltzes for domestic use were thus particularly suitable for female composers in this period who wished to publish their works, and the popularity of this type of dance music also brought a financial incentive for women who were systematically limited in their educational training and choice of profession.

Recognising a need to provide composers with a set of tools with which to successfully write music for dance based on the practical aspects of waltzing, German music theorist Adolf Bernhard

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1 Sevin Yaraman analyses Clara Wieck’s Walzer (1832) and Jane Vieu’s La Belle au bois dormant (1902) in chapter 6 of Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps, and Sound (New York: Pendragon Press, 2002).
Marx includes a section addressing the fundamentals of waltz composition in *Die Lehre von Der Musikalischen Komposition*, and a standardisation in waltz writing processes began to appear soon after; these compositional trends are reflected in the corpus of music composed by women which forms the heart of this chapter. As well including musical excerpts as examples of ‘good waltz writing,’ Marx’s guide provides explicit instructions that stress the importance of understanding how the varying levels of the waltz’s musical structure must be dictated by the physical movements of the dancers, from the individual beats, to the dance as a whole:

The waltz has two movements: first each pair of dancers turns itself in a circle around its own centre; second the pair progresses with these continuous turns in a greater circumference until it reaches its starting place and the circle is closed. Each little circle is performed in two-times three steps and is, as it were, the motive of the dance. [...] At the very least the waltz must bring into prominence this basic motive of movement. Each bar, or, better, each phrase of two bars, must answer to the dance motive marking the first step firmly, and also the swinging turn of the dance.²

The basic motive of movement Marx refers to is the two times three steps, which correspond to a two-bar phrase of the waltz’s idiosyncratic accompaniment pattern, where each downbeat marks the first step of each pattern of three with a grounding bass note, followed by two chordal upbeats. According to Marx, the musical iteration of each waltz step, from beat to phrase level, is critical to supporting the dancer, and can be summarized thus: each beat corresponds to one step; each bar of three beats corresponds to a half-revolution; and each two-bar phrase corresponds to one full revolution. Typically, one full theme is made up of 16 or 32 bar phrases, corresponding to eight revolutions within the larger circle of the waltz.

For the most part, women’s keyboard waltzes composed in the nineteenth century adhere to the common formula outlined by Marx; Clara Pilet’s *L’héliotrope* (1855)³ (example 1) provides a fairly typical example of the close alignment between music and dancing that can be found in keyboard waltzes published throughout the century. The rhythmically stable bass punctuates each step the dancer makes on the crotchet beat, with the standard waltz accompaniment swaying serenely between the tonic and dominant seventh on the final bar of each of four four-bar phrases; highlighting the final bar of the phrase in this way emphasises the point at which the man would spin his partner around, and there are two complete rotations to each musical phrase.

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The melody is pleasing and uncomplicated, and regularly exhibits what Sevin Yaraman calls a ‘centrifugal accent’ - a wind-up effect that turns in circles, then ends with a fling, which is “a forceful and impetuous throw, either skipwise or stepwise, to the strong beat,”4 which occurs every four bars and strengthens the structure of the waltz at phrase level. Although not all waltz melodies contain this function, the primary concern for melodies in waltz composition is to compliment harmonic rhythm and fortify the phrasal structure of themes, without sacrificing lyrical attractiveness.

Example 1. Clara Pilet (née Commetant), L’héliotrope: valse pour le piano, b. 1-16.

L’héliotrope thus demonstrates a close relationship between music and step patterns in order to successfully meet the waltzer’s choreographic requirements, and the phrase length of 16 bars divided into four sub-phrases are standard for waltzes of this type. Pilet’s choice of a time signature in 3/4 is also typical for waltzes from around 1840 onwards, and contrasts with waltzes from earlier decades which tended to settle on time signatures with quaver denominators, such as 3/8, 6/8, and sometimes 12/8, perhaps reflecting the speed of the Viennese style of waltzing which was popular in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The preference for 3/4 time

4 Yaraman, Revolving Embrace, 33.
signatures in later keyboard waltzes points towards an increasing versatility in the usage of keyboard waltzes for practise, performance, or both, as well as a possible desire to distance waltz music from its less refined pastoral origins, and 95% of waltzes by female composers possess this time signature after 1840.

This short analysis of L’héliotrope’s opening theme exemplifies fairly standard waltz-writing technique at the beat and bar level. In its entirety, however, Pilet’s score also matches general musical trends for waltzes of this type composed by women, which present a number of common features broadly encompassing key and harmony, form and function, and meter and rhythm. Further, high levels of uniformity and common points of nonconformity within each of these musical categories potentially reveals both practical and ideological motivations when composing waltzes for the domestic market, which will be explored in turn in the following discussion.

6.1.1 Key and Harmony

Debates on the characteristics of individual keys have had a long and contentious history, gaining traction throughout the 1700s with an explosion of treatises dealing with temperament, key, and affect. By the nineteenth century, key descriptions became progressively more florid, and increasingly relied on subjectivity over the scientific justifications for key characteristics that preoccupied theorists from the previous century. The careful choosing and structuring of keys was apparently of some importance in waltz repertoire; Schubert’s Thirty-four Valses sentimentales (Op.50), for example, appear to have been divided up according to relationships between keys for the collection’s publication in 1825. For female composers publishing waltzes, practical concerns driven by a need for commercial appeal may have taken priority, and almost all the waltzes analysed in this corpus are scored for keys with four accidentals or fewer, which was potentially more attractive to the domestic musician; the second most popular key choice was, in

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fact, C major, closely followed by F major. The desire to present keyboard waltzes in the most appealing way is tangible in Caroline Chedeville’s *Les échos de l’ouest* (1869) (example 2), which appears, at first glance, to be set in A major. The consistent application of three further accidentals throughout the score (aside from a brief transition to E minor in section B), however, causes the music to sound in F sharp major, a decidedly more off-putting key signature to the average buyer. The number of waltzes with unchallenging key signatures also reflects the fact that a proportion of this repertoire was written for children, and the social attitudes in the nineteenth century towards women as primarily responsible for children and their care makes it unsurprising that female composers were regarded as especially well-suited to create works for young learners. These scores display the most essential musical elements of waltz composition: a stable bass with the waltz accompaniment pattern supporting phrasal structure every two, four, and eight bars, set exclusively to the keys C major, F major, and G major. Keyboard waltzes by female composers thus played an important role in familiarising a new generation of children with dance music.

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8 The most common key signature for waltzes published by female composers was Eb major; see appendix I for a breakdown of waltzes by key signature.
Simpler key signatures were also a useful point of departure for structuring themes, which in many cases travel neatly through circles of fourths or fifths by simply adding or removing accidentals from the key signature of previous sections, before returning to the original key for a final repetition of the opening theme as part of a coda or finale. The harmonic circular motion through keys also matched the cyclical nature of the waltz, and was a popular choice for composers regardless of gender, suggesting that women were involved in propagating a general waltz tradition of style in the same manner as men. An example of the key’s role in supporting musical structure is found most often in the characteristically formulaic organisation of waltz suites,¹⁰ including Jeanne Alombert’s *Brise embaumée*:¹¹

Table 2. Structure and key in Jeanne Alombert, *Brise embaumée: valse pour piano* (1894).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Accidentals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>No. 1 (ABA)</td>
<td>No. 2 (CD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bb⁺</td>
<td>Bb⁺</td>
<td>Eb⁺</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In *La hève*,¹² Agathe Alleaume turns the convention on its head, unusually moving ‘backwards’ through keys:

Table 3. Structure and key in Agathe Alleaume, *La hève: suite de valses pour piano*, op. 2 (1885).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Accidentals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>No. 1 (ABC)</td>
<td>No. 2 (DE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A⁺</td>
<td>A⁺</td>
<td>D⁺</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This technique is not limited to waltz suites, and structural key cycles frequently apply to waltzes with alternative overall structures; Marie-Thérèse Corvaïa’s *Marine* (1867)¹³ is just one of many examples:

¹⁰ For further discussion of waltz suites, see the following section.
¹² Agathe Alleaume, *La hève: suite de valses pour piano*, op. 2 (Paris: Colombier; Lefebvre, 1885).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Coda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key</td>
<td>F+</td>
<td>Bb+</td>
<td>Eb+</td>
<td>Ab+</td>
<td>Db+</td>
<td>F+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidentals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These methods reveal the accessibility and ease of producing waltzes for those with limited education in composition, including women, as key changes on this level require limited or no preparation; in other words, no skill in modulation was required. Organising waltzes in this way also communicates the aesthetic qualities of the dance, in which clearly separated themes mimic the individual couples on the floor, while the aural bombardment of successive waltz themes matches the visual pleasure of observing the variety of beautiful women sweeping past, lost in the dance; in this way, waltz music "acts as a type of surrogate for the woman."14

The predominantly major key of waltzes of this type embodied the Viennese aesthetic of unmitigated joy while dancing at the ball, and only ten of the 334 waltzes by female composers are set to minor keys. There do seem, however, to be deliberate thematic motivations for choosing to forego the norm: Burgos (1906), by Marguerite Cazelli, is a ‘valse Espagnole,’ and its A minor key expresses the exoticism of its theme; the same can be said for Clara Pilet née Comettant’s *La grenade* (1855), in E minor. Hélène Ciolacou’s *La speranza* (1886), on the other hand, conveys an emotionally ambiguous subject - hope - that is fitting to its key of E minor.15

Further, two waltzes scored initially in minor keys resolve to the parallel major in their coda sections;16 once again, the minor keys chosen for these ten waltzes use four accidentals or less. Minor tonalities are not limited to overall key, and in a genre known for its repetitiveness, many waltz composers found ways to contrast major and minor harmonies within their music to break monotony. One of the simplest methods of doing so was to set an introduction to a minor key, then present the main waltz in the parallel major. More popular still was to consign short-lived themes - usually no more than 16 bars of music - to minor keys, before reinstating the prevailing major tonality in the subsequent theme. Returning to Chedeville’s *Les échoes de l’ouest*, an introduction notated in A major but sounded in F sharp major (as previously discussed) precedes

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theme A in the same key, before theme B, in E minor, makes a brief appearance in bar 26. The minor ‘blip’ is then resolved with the reincarnation of an extended theme A in bar 44, and this is the only passage in the whole score with a minor tonality. Chedeville’s is also a fairly typical example, in that the foray into a minor mode is brief, occurring early in the piece, and only a single time.

Harmonic progressions within individual waltz themes are as formulaic as key changes from section to section, and rarely stray from swinging gaily between tonic and dominant/seventh chords. The reasons for this lack of harmonic variation could be both practical and cultural: Eric McKee points out that Strauss’s waltzes use the same sense of tonic closure to emphasise the self-containment of each waltz theme, which communicates the self-containment of a pair of individuals who dance face-to-face in their private spheres.\(^{17}\) For the pianist, even a modest amount of skill renders a waltz which is predictable in harmony and form easy to sight read, and relatively straightforward to learn quite quickly. As ever, there are exceptions, and more ambitious harmonic progressions can be found in waltzes geared towards concert repertoire, especially in coda sections;\(^{18}\) nevertheless, a strong tonic-dominant relationship forms the backbone of harmonic rhythm in most waltz music of this type.

### 6.1.2 Form and Function

Although the structuring of waltz music at beat and phrase level was fairly rigid, the overall thematic form of many of the keyboard waltzes composed by women varies greatly, and, at times, can indicate the intended function of the work. One of the most obvious examples of a strong link between form and function in this repertoire is found in waltz suites, which hark back to an earlier practise of cataloguing various dances and scores together within one book, such as Mme Beauce’s *Trois nouvelles quadrilles, suivis de walses, allemandes et souteuses pour le piano* (1814), Mme Wright’s *Six walses pour le piano* (1818), Mme Charlotte C. née M.’s *12 valses et 6 morceaux détachés* (1827), or Hélène Robert-Mazel’s *Les Souvenirs de Baden-Baden: six grandes valses pour le piano-forte* (1833).\(^{19}\) Like these dance sets, waltz suites composed after 1840 contain numbered individual dances often with only two themes each, expressed in simple binary or ternary form.

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17 McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz*, 108; 122.
18 See, for example, the brief analysis of Adèle Bonnaud’s *Une larme du cœur* in section 1.4 of this chapter, from page 190.
Dance suites in this format also emulate music at balls, in which a succession of different waltzes, interspersed with other popular dances, entertained the public throughout the night.

Similar to dance suites, and inspired by the thematic variety of early nineteenth-century Viennese waltzes, keyboard waltzes with a stream of successive themes also mimic music heard in the ballroom, and are related to the visual aesthetic of “a parade of waltzing women [...] matched by a parade of beautiful melodies.”\(^20\) Women’s keyboard waltzes featuring this form typically have between four to eight self-contained themes, which are demarcated by unprepared key changes, identical repetition, and a strong degree of harmonic closure via perfect cadences. Once again, the isolation of these themes resembles the intimacy of each dancing couple, who, despite being part of the group of waltzers, dance with each other alone.

Table 5. Waltz suite structure and harmony in Louise Contenet née de Sapincourt, *Fleurs d’hiver: suite de valses* (1878).\(^21\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Waltz 1</th>
<th>Waltz 2</th>
<th>Waltz 3</th>
<th>Waltz 4</th>
<th>Waltz 5</th>
<th>Waltz 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


| Bb+ | Bb+ | Eb+ | Bb+ | F+/C+/F+ | C+ | Bb+ |

(In 3/8):

V

[C+]: V7-I

Table 6. Potpourri structure and harmony in Adèle Bonnaud, *Une larme du cœur: grande valse pour piano* (1860).\(^22\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intro.</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>Coda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eb+</td>
<td>Ab+</td>
<td>Ab+/Bb- /Ab+</td>
<td>Ab+</td>
<td>Eb+/F-/Eb+</td>
<td>Ab+</td>
<td>Eb+</td>
<td>C-/Eb+</td>
<td>Bb+</td>
<td>Eb+</td>
<td>Ab+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(In 6/8):

| I-V-I | I-V7-I | V7-IC-V-I | V7-I | I-V-I | V7-I | I-V | V7-I | I-V7-I | V7-I |

[see table 8]

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\(^{20}\) McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz*, 119.


\(^{22}\) Adèle Bonnaud, *Une larme du cœur: grande valse pour piano* (Paris: Benoît aîné; Meissonnier Père et Fils, 1860).
Table 7. Rondo structure and harmony in Louise Mathilde du B***, *Souvenirs de Versailles: valse pour piano* (1864).\(^{23}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>A-finale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D+</td>
<td>D+/D-</td>
<td>G+</td>
<td>D+</td>
<td>G+</td>
<td>D+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-V-I</td>
<td>I-V7-v</td>
<td>I-V-I</td>
<td>I-V-I</td>
<td>I-V-I</td>
<td>I-V-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although keyboard waltzes structured as dance suites and medleys appear throughout the century, the 1840s saw a shift away from echoing ballroom dance traditions and towards compositional practices more representative of piano repertoire, whilst retaining the essential elements that make up waltz music through triple time and a repetitive phrasal structure that supports the organisation of step patterns on a micro and macro scale. This development is perhaps most obvious in the emergence of individual keyboard waltz publications in this period, rather than albums or sets of mixed dance scores, which were often costlier to produce and purchase; thus, nearly all Parisian published keyboard waltzes composed by women between 1840-1914 were single scores of four to six pages on average, though could reach up to 12 pages in length.

Aside from dance suites, keyboard waltzes after 1840 most commonly took on some arrangement of rondo form for their organisational structure, where theme A is reiterated directly through Da Capo repeats, written out in full at the end of the piece with or without variation, or reappearing as the opening part of a coda. The inclusion of introductions and codas in keyboard waltzes were a likely influenced by the orchestral dance works of Strauss, who began incorporating these musical bookends into his waltzes after around 1830. Codas in particular became ever-increasingly lengthy and virtuosic as time went on, providing composers (and, in turn, performers) with opportunities to showcase their musicianship in a dance genre known for its rigidity and repetitiveness.

### 6.1.2.1 Introductions and Codas

Though neither structures were intended to accompany actual dance steps, introductions and codas display common features dependant on their own particular musical and physical function. Two thirds of the keyboard waltzes by female composers available for analysis include introductions, the majority of which are notated or sounded in either the tonic or dominant, with

a handful of examples appearing in the parallel minor. This strong sense of harmonic structure firmly establishes the key for the forthcoming waltz, and in danced waltzes, acts as an aural cue for the dancers to locate their partner, proceed to the floor, and enjoy the musical diversion in the process.

The majority of introductions are set to the same time signature as the waltz itself, though there are some notable exceptions: around 15% of introductions use 3/8, 6/8 or 9/8 as a residual characteristic of the time signatures that were common in early waltzes, which also provided a contrast in speed to the slower nature of the waltz in 3/4. Interestingly, just under a fifth of introductions appear in 4/4 or 2/4, again providing rhythmic contrast in the section which was not bound by the same compositional restrictions as the waltz proper. Only one waltz - Marie de Cournand’s *Marianne* - opens with a single bar in free rhythm; more of a flourish than an introduction, an ascending demisemiquaver run through six octaves of chord V7 ends on a fermata rest, before the waltz begins in standard 3/4 time.

Introductions vary greatly in length, from the solitary bar of Cournand’s *Marianne*, to the 106-bar opening of Laure Micheli’s concert waltz *La peur* (1847). Micheli’s is, however, an extreme example, and in reality, waltz introductions for the domestic market did not typically exceed 16 bars. Indeed, the preferred choice for female composers who included introductions to their keyboard waltzes was to opt for only 4, or more commonly, 8 bars, conveniently matching the span of dancers’ full or half revolutions. In a practical sense, these opening cues prepared waltzers to begin by marking beat, phrase length, and speed. Yet introductions in keyboard waltzes, which could satisfy dancing or performance functions, also gave composers an opportunity to take advantage of the musical potential to set the scene of their waltzes figuratively, as well as practically.

Marie de Pierpont composes a fairly typical introduction to begin her keyboard waltz *La merveilleuse (La Tour Eiffel)*, published in 1886 to celebrate approval of the controversial plans to construct the Eiffel Tower. Pierpont was evidently not the (as yet unbuilt) Eiffel Tower’s only fan, and the title page, which bears an early sketch of the now famous monument, proudly proclaims that *La merveilleuse* was the first prize-winner in an

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international competition for the *Académie littéraire et musicale de France*. The eight-bar introduction aptly commences with a proudly rising figure on chord I of Eb major, which pre-shadows the melodic material of the waltz, starting in bar 9. The music does not linger in the tonic for long, however, and the majority of the introduction places emphasis on the dominant chords of both the home key, and its relative minor, before coming to rest briefly on an imperfect cadence, which finds harmonic resolution at the commencement of the waltz after a long pause, and a one-beat anacrusis. Anacruses served a practical purpose in danced waltzes to cue couples into the downbeat of their first step, though once again, are not necessarily fixed indicators of a score’s destiny as music to accompany a physical dance.


While introductions generally operate as relatively short passages of musical material designed to establish the meter, tonality, and speed of the waltz proper, codas are rather a different matter. As the section where the musician could ‘show off,’ waltz codas are much lengthier affairs than introductions, and as such are frequently endowed with more complex harmonic progressions and a higher (though not off-putting) level of technical difficulty. Further, while the majority of introductions are either indicated in text or separated from the main waltz via double bar-lines, codas are generally better integrated into the structure of the piece, and only 72 of the 258 codas that appear in women’s keyboard waltzes are overtly labelled as such. Since the bulk of piano waltz codas are not clearly defined by the composer, where they begin, and indeed, if they function as codas at all, is much more open to interpretation in modern analysis.

The defining feature of waltz codas in this period is that the section commences with its own introduction, or a reprise of theme A in its original, or slightly altered form. Thereafter, a
coda can introduce new themes, recycle one or more ‘old’ themes from the waltz, use a combination of old and new material, or go straight into the finale. In his guide to composing for the most fashionable dances in Paris, Gatien Marcaillou expands on the coda’s desired function and character in waltz music:

The Coda of a waltz is a reminder of the various melodic fractions of the waltz; you must be careful to guard against making it too long; the piano does not have the developments of the orchestra; one or two motifs suffice, adding some brilliant features to the character of what was already written; the rhythmic memories serve the composer better than the fragmented melodies. Taking inspiration from what one has already done, in brilliant form, is better than the German practice.27

The most common length for codas in keyboard waltzes for composers of either gender is anywhere between 20-50 bars, and, contrary to Marcaillou’s advice, extend to well over 100 bars long in some cases. Unlike introductions, codas remain in the standard 3/4 time signature, though, in a loosening of analogies to physical waltz steps, the accompaniment is often (but certainly not always) freer than that of the main waltz. Similarly, since codas traditionally were not tied to mapping dance steps, phrase lengths are also more likely to be irregular in this section.

While by no means universal, one of the key aural indicators that the coda section has begun is a temporary cessation or replacement of the repetitive oom-pa-pa accompaniment figure with devices such as octave arpeggios or alberti bass, signalling - physically or metaphorically - that the gentlemen should begin the process of leading their partners away from the floor. This process was not immediate, and dance master Henri Cellarius warns that the man should “take care never to relinquish his lady until he feels she has entirely recovered herself;”28 most codas reflect this pause by prolonging the return of the waltz accompaniment. The coda may also advance towards an emphasis on musical showmanship harking back to Strauss’s performances of his own waltzes in balls across Europe. In the coda section specifically, the

27 “La Coda d’une valse est le rappel des diverses fractions mélodiques de la valse; il faut bien regarder de la faire trop longue; le piano ne comporte pas les développements de l’orchestre; un ou deux motifs suffisent, en y ajoutant quelques traits brillants dans le caractère de ce qui est déjà écrit; les souvenirs rythmiques, servent mieux le compositeur, que les mélodies morcelées. S’inspirer de ce que l’on a déjà fait, avec des formes brillantes, vaut mieux que le procédé Allemand.” Gatien Marcaillou, L’Art de composer et d’exécuter la Musique légère: Quadrille, Valse, Polka, Polka Mazurka, Redowa, Schottisch, Sicilienne (Paris: Bureau central de musique, 1852), 23. In his mention of German technique, Marcaillou may be (rather snobbily) alluding to the practice of regurgitating previous waltz themes in codas with little variation or creativity, in the popular style of Lanner and Strauss. McKee provides examples of this practice in Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz, 121.

attention was on the musicians, the orchestra, and even Strauss’s prowess as a violinist, and it was said that the crowd, diverted from their dancing or socialising, would frequently turn towards the podium at these points to admire the music and those who played it, showering Strauss with bravos and bouquets. While those who performed the types of keyboard ‘head waltzes’ under scrutiny in this section were unlikely to have received the same reception, the codas in this repertoire nevertheless reflect the same cultural practice of diverting attention away from the dance, and towards the music with an increasing, though still quite achievable degree of technical difficulty for a pianist possessing a modest amount of skill.


In direct contradiction to Marailhou’s advice, the coda for Bonnaud’s *Une larme du cœur*, with seven additional new themes introduced alongside two repeated passages from the main waltz, resembles an entire additional piece tacked on to the end of the waltz. Various changes in musical stimuli signal the coda’s arrival, the most prominent of which is a short-lived interruption of the waltz accompaniment pattern in the opening theme H, which pounds V7-I arpeggios in a fanfare-like introductory statement. The following themes continue to overwhelmingly favour the relationship between tonic and dominant - the stalwart chords of keyboard waltzes in this period - in the home key of Ab major, though Bonnaud briefly moves into some relatively more adventurous key changes and harmonic progressions in sections I, J, and N for musical variety.
Table 8. Coda structure, phrase length, and harmony in Adèle Bonnaud, Une larme du cœur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intro.</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B1</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>L1</th>
<th>Finale</th>
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<tr>
<td>(H)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V7-I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Ab+]</td>
<td>I-V7-I</td>
<td>V7-I</td>
<td>V7-I</td>
<td>[E+]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-V7-I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V7-I</td>
<td>V7-I</td>
<td>I-V7-I</td>
<td>V7-I</td>
<td>I-V7-I</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Introductions and codas could break the monotony of the characteristically restrictive and repetitive waltz music without disturbing the waltz itself; yet a sense of variation was not limited to introductions, codas, and differences in overall form alone, but could also be embedded within the music of the waltz, ingeniously devised as non-disruptive rhythmic and metrical irregularities.

6.1.3 Meter and Rhythm

The clear and perceptible establishment of meter was fundamental to dance music composition, whose purpose was to map sound to repeated physical action. As discussed in the opening pages of this chapter, Marx was at pains to stress the importance of the waltz accompaniment’s role in laying out a triple meter to mirror step patterns with attack points on each beat of the pulse, complemented by an emphasis on the downbeat of each group of three. Marx failed, however, to take into account a burgeoning desire to incorporate the aesthetic qualities of waltzing alongside its restrictive physical requirements within compositional practice. With this in mind, Lanner and Strauss began experimenting with rhythm and meter in their ballroom waltzes from around the late 1820s - most commonly in the form of hemiola - resulting in temporary shifts in metrical structures. Whilst these musical anomalies became remarkably sophisticated and extensive, the two composers’ real achievements were the ways in which they succeeded in bringing musical joy to the dancers without impeding their physical steps, in what Hector Berlioz described as a “rhythmic coquettage” closely associated with apparently female characteristics.

The type of rhythmic variation found most commonly in waltzes by female composers are the cross-meters created by hemiola, where a consistent ‘antimetrical’ layer of two beats is juxtaposed against the pervasive three-beat meter of the waltz. Hemiola occurs most frequently.

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29 For an extensive discussion on the manipulation of rhythm and meter in Lanner and Strauss’s waltzes, see McKee, Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz, 116-119.

in the melodic line, leaving the metrical stability provided by the accompaniment intact, and a clear example of this rhythmic device is heard in Hélène Collin’s 1881 waltz *Pendant le Bal* (example 5). As usual, the accompaniment pattern lays out a constant triple meter (3), anchored by the downbeat of each group of three. Attack points every two beats in the melody, however, form a clearly perceptible duple grouping effect (2), which is in conflict with the triple grouping of the waltz motive. This grouping dissonance spans almost the length of the passage, until the penultimate two bars in which metrical consonance is achieved via the alignment of the two layers, and the consequent cessation of the dissonant layer’s hemiola pattern. However, while the duple and triple groupings seem to conflict, their points of convergence every six beats actually emphasises the ‘two-times three’ full waltz circle of steps as described in Marx’s writings (6), creating a strongly perceptible hypermetrical downbeat where a new set of steps begins.


Many piano waltzes by female composers clearly display these types of metrical manipulations that were heard in the popular works of Lanner and Strauss, and Marie de Pierpont in particular works hemiola into multiple waltzes: six display passages of hemiola, usually within single themes, and in three more Pierpont exploits an alternative type of metrical dissonance which is discussed in the following section. Such a consistent use of hemiola across numerous waltzes by a single

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32 ‘Grouping dissonance’ and ‘displacement dissonance’ are terms used by Harald Krebs to indicate types of metrical conflict within music, which he discusses in detail in chapter two of *Fantasy Pieces: Metrical Dissonance in the Music of Robert Schumann* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
33 Krebs’s theories on the perception of hypermeter in music can be found in ibid., from page 30.
female composer is unusual, but could point towards Pierpont’s familiarity and desire to engage with the more complex, even ‘crowd-pleasing’ aspects of waltz music composition.


Example 8. Marie de Pierpont, *Valse des échos pour piano*, b. 105-120.
6.1.4  Adéle Bonnaud, *Une larme du cœur* (A Heart’s Teardrop)

The music theorist Harald Krebs considered hemiola to be a type of grouping dissonance, where contrasting metrical and ‘antimetrical’ layers are out of alignment; in the case of the waltzes discussed so far (and in many other waltz scores), triple and duple layers are interposed, causing the grouping dissonance to occur. However, a further method of composing metrical dissonance into waltzes occurs via what Krebs terms as ‘metrical displacement.’ This type of disturbance, Krebs explains, takes place when “we generally perceive the antimetrical layer or layers as shifting out of the “normal position” designated by the [consonant] metrical layer,” the latter of which serves as a “reference point” for the metrical shift.34

Although it might make more sense to compose potentially disruptive displacement dissonances into codas, these metrical phenomena occur most frequently in the main sections of waltzes by female composers; further, a systematic analysis of these waltzes suggests that displacement dissonances are in fact more prevalent than hemiola in this corpus of music.

Returning to Bonnaud’s *Une larme du cœur,* the main waltz begins with a two-bar anacrusis in notated 3/4 time, established by the waltz motive in the accompaniment, which also structures the six-beat full rotation before the dancers have taken their first steps. A gestural anacrusis35 in the melody on the final two beats of the first phrase acts as an aural cue to prepare for the downbeat in bar three, which marks the commencement of the waltz’s danced section. The repetitive action of the Ab/Bb to Eb on the downbeat of each group of three establishes a triple meter (3), while the alternation between the two notes every two bars sets out a hypermetrical layer of six crotchet beats following on from the anacrusis (6). So far, all is well with the waltz, but trouble begins in bars 5 and 6, when Bonnaud begins to consistently stress the second crotchet beat in the melodic line, seemingly shifting the triple meter ‘out’ by one crotchet (D3). While the situation is rectified in bar 7, the metrical displacement appears once again in bar 9, becoming more persistent as the displacement stretches across six bars, or, from a danced point of view, for three full waltz rotations.

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34 Krebs, *Fantasy Pieces,* 34, italics added.
Displacement dissonances in waltzes are potentially problematic, as their presence in the music has no relationship to dance steps, and stressing the weak downbeat beat thus has no choreographic value to the dancer. Why, then, would Bonaud choose to emphasise the second beat in this waltz? The displaced strong beat of the triple meter in this case sounds very much like a ‘mis-step,’ and may have correlations to imagined, rather than physical movement; it is as if the metaphorical dancer has somehow made a technical slip-up by stepping too early. Interestingly, this metrical glitch takes place whenever it is the man’s responsibility to begin a new rotation, suggesting that the error in judgement has taken place on the second step of his first half-turn. While the metrical dissonance is at first only passing, when it becomes more established, the inference is that the dancer is having trouble correcting his issues, causing


36 I present and discuss the possibility of ‘mis-step’ motifs created by these types of metrical dissonances in the piano waltzes of Emmanuel Chabrier and Claude Debussy in, Finding the Art in the Craft: Sound and Vision in the Nineteenth-Century French Piano Waltz (MA diss., University of Southampton, 2012).
choreographic as well as musical tensions within the phrase, which are eventually, and gratefully, relieved by the end of the section.

The ‘mis-step’ analogy has direct relevance to anxieties surrounding social dancing in the nineteenth century, where “a blunder in dancing,” particularly for the man, “is very like a crime.”37 The awkwardness of a dance faux-pas can also be observed in the waltz caricature from Le Bon Genre, shown previously in chapter one (figure 1). In the image, the couple on the left seem to be having no problems, while the female partner in the more refined couple on the right seems to ‘mis-step’ between the gentleman’s legs, looking awkwardly down at her feet. It is this lack of grace, perhaps, that incited authors of dance manuals and etiquette guides to warn their readership that “It is not the correct thing - for a man or woman [...] to endeavour to waltz in public unless he know the correct ball-room step.” In short, although the displacement dissonance in Pendant le bal finds no correlations to physical steps, the manipulation of meter by Bonnaud may in fact reflect the potentially uncomfortable or embarrassing experiences of social dance in the nineteenth century, from a woman’s compositional standpoint.

Musical consistency across waltzes created for the domestic market was widespread, and served a consumer need for practising and performing waltz repertoire with relative ease, as well as nurturing a familiarity with standard waltz conventions in steps and music in the home environment. Yet women were also responsible for creating more challenging waltz music suited to public performance in addition to private spaces, which could be heard in a variety of venues throughout Paris. As discussed in chapter 3, for example, Marguerite Balutet’s self-promotion as a performer, teacher, and composer saw her perform her original compositions - including concert waltzes - in the function rooms of her own school, in public recitals, and at specialist concerts celebrating female composers alongside Hélène Kryzanowska, Louise Fillieux-Tiger, and Hélène Collin. Other women, such as Laure Micheli and Cécile Marie d’Orni, witnessed their waltzes being arranged for orchestra and performed at public concerts and balls. However, while the presence of these works on concert programmes is documented in contemporary critical press reports of the period, the music itself is rarely mentioned, and the virtuosity of the performers or the novelty of women composing seemingly outshines the quality of their musical works. It is thus the aim of the following section to shine a cultural and musical spotlight on concert waltzes by female composers, taking into consideration the locations in which they were performed, reviews in the French critical press (if any), and their musical features.

37 The Correct Thing in Good Society (Boston, 1888), 118-19; in Elizabeth Aldrich, From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance (Illinois: Northwestern University Press), 155.
6.2 Concert Waltzes

One of the most straightforward ways of identifying a keyboard waltz as destined for concert repertoire is in its name. A small number of waltzes published by both male and female composers in Paris bear subtitles of ‘valse de concert,’ and commercial attractiveness was often promoted with additional modifiers such as ‘grande valse de concert,’ or ‘grande valse brillante de concert’ on the cover page; this practise can be traced back to Chopin’s concert dances being advertised in the same way in the early part of the century. Concert waltzes could, of course, also be performed at home by more advanced pianists; Marie de Pierpont’s Merci! (1895), for example, covers multiple bases with the subtitle “grand valse de concert et salon,” where the interpretive word ‘salon’ could refer to private rooms within the home, or more open gathering spaces which cultivated intellectual and political discussion throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Realistically, women had a greater chance of their works being performed publicly in the open-minded environment of the salon than in more formal concert halls, and this reality is reflected in a greater number of waltzes by female composers bearing subtitles of ‘valse de salon’ than those of ‘valse de concert.’ Indeed, despite an international touring career, Chaminade is still known today predominantly for her salon music.

Information on the front cover of a score can also reveal a work’s performance history. In the interest of self-promotion, the cover for child prodigy Teresa Carreño’s Gottschalk-valse (1863), named after the virtuoso pianist Louis Moreau Gottschalk, proudly proclaims the piece was “performed by herself with great success at her concerts in America,” and evidence suggests that female waltz composers were largely responsible for performing their own works in public. Musically-inclined family members could also be recruited to showcase their relative’s compositions; at a “concert familiale” in aid of socialist journal La Lutte Sociale in 1903, Anna Karl’s daughter Marie performed two of her mother’s waltzes - Tout en rose, and Tristesse et joie, in a particularly apt act of solidarity for a family whose relationship with music and politics were strongly linked. Although the choice of performing waltzes at this event is odd, given the genre’s problematic associations with the bourgeoisie that could potentially clash with socialist ideals, their presence in the programme confirms a recognition of the mutable nature of waltz music for a variety of events and purposes.

38 See chapter 1, page 44.
40 Z, La Lutte sociale de Seine-et-Oise et des cantons de Pantin et Noisy-le-Sec: organe de la Fédération socialiste révolutionnaire de Seine-et-Oise (Livry: 5 December 1903), n.p.
6.2.1 The ‘Valse de salon’

Since the seventeenth century, French salons had been important sites of political, social, and artistic gathering, where citizens of mixed classes and backgrounds converged in lively debate. Often opened by French émigrés, by the eighteenth century Parisian salons had become “the principal centres of elite political networking and discussion.”41 In this period, a number of different types of salon existed; some specialised in literature, philosophy, politics, or music, while others embraced a healthy blend of intellectual pursuits. Salon activity was not limited to ideological and artistic discussion, and patrons could simultaneously indulge in gambling, drinking, singing, and dancing in any one evening. Interestingly, many of the salons that functioned in Restoration Paris were run by women, though the true power yielded by these salonnières in their capacity of hosting the great minds of men is contestable.42 By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, salons had dwindled to near-extinction, and female salon owners found it impossible to negotiate a Second Empire “sociological change and [...] gendering of the public sphere,” where, in Paris, “the inferior status with which women entered the modern era left them powerless to take advantage of the contraction of leisure and the professionalism of work.”43 In this period, salons had also become somewhat outdated, and a new generation of high-society and the nouveau riche preferred more open events such as public balls, the theatre, pleasure gardens, and the races rather than the socially restrictive gatherings that hung on to cultural values of the previous century. Nevertheless, female composers including Chaminade, Bonis, and others continued to write keyboard waltzes for the salon, appealing to a time when women had a relatively elevated degree of status and agency.

On the style and character of salon waltzes for keyboard, Marcailhou notes a greater compositional opportunity for expression and flair:

The salon or melodic waltz presents proportions of a piano fantasy, it is intended to charm via the freshness of its motif. The melody must be graceful, and above all animated; it is also intended to make the fingers and the performer’s interpretation shine. This waltz is not subject to the requirements of the dance, that is to say [...] if the

42 In his history of French salon tradition, Stephen Kale points out that salons were a potentially “repressive tool” rather than a liberating force for women, as “they turned the salonnière into an enforcer of rules of propriety that limited her possibilities while being useful to the public activities of men.” Kale, French Salons, 14.
43 Ibid., 175.
principal motive is well-founded, if it is gracefully brought back, if the finishing coda is brilliant, if its harmony is distinguished, its success will not be lacking.44

6.2.2 Henriette-Caroline Mennechet de Barival, La Duchesse de Fontange

One of the likeliest waltzes to have been explicitly designed for salon performances is Madame Henriette-Caroline Mennechet de Barival’s La Duchesse de Fontange (1852). In partnership with her husband, the art collector Alphonse Mennechet de Barival, Madame Barival ran her own popular literary and artistic salon located on the rue Grange-Batelière, and the writer Victor Hugo and his wife Adèle were frequent visitors.45 A skilled pianist,46 Barival published numerous works for keyboard in her lifetime, and performed her own compositions in various concerts and soirées. Being the proprietor of her own salon also gave Barival a distinct advantage as a composer, as she was never in need of a platform for her music; explicitly subtitled as a ‘valse de salon,’ it is therefore likely that La Duchesse de Fontange was performed by Barival on her own premises.

Named after Marie Angelique de Scorailles, the final mistress of King Louis XIV before his marriage to the pious Madame de Maintenon, La Duchesse de Fontange is significantly longer than most nineteenth-century keyboard waltzes, spanning ten full pages of music. Like many of the waltzes in the previous section, La Duchesse follows an asymmetrical rondo form, with an unvaried recurring theme A, and yet in this case Barival provides no introduction or anacrusis, rendering dancing impractical. Unusually, Barival also uses a contrasting time signature for the coda, and La Duchesse is unique among all the waltzes analysed in this study for having a coda section in duple meter. What truly sets La Duchesse apart from Schumann’s so-called ‘head-waltzes,’ however, is a markedly sophisticated approach to harmony and meter, and the musical shaping of a narrative surrounding an infamous woman in French history through the medium of a waltz.

44 “La valse de salon ou mélodique présente les proportions d’une fantaisie de piano, elle est destinée à charmer par la fraîcheur du motif. La mélodie doit en être gracieuse, et surtout mouvementée; elle est destinée aussi à faire friller les doigts et le sentiment de l’exécutant. Cette Valse n’est point assujettie aux exigences de la danse, d’est-à-dire [...] si le motif principal est bien trouvé, s’il est heureusement ramené, si la coda qui la termine est brillante, si l’harmonie en est distinguée, le succès ne lui sera pas défaut.” Gatien Marcaillou, L’Art de composer et d’exécuter la Musique légère, 18.
45 Autographed correspondence between Madame Barival and Adèle Hugo between 1850 and 1851 is available in the University of Manchester library’s Victor Hugo Collection, ref. GB 133 VMH/2/13/1-3. https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/94848e4b-55bd-3cef-b9ee-893e77082509?component=e6c2f341-d9e7-3838-86bf-64e8f3962196.
Barival launches immediately into an opening section in G major, which bears all the hallmarks of a standard waltz - repetitive triple meter bass, strong tonic-dominant progression, and regular eight-bar phrases. The melody is light-hearted, and punctuated with modest rhythmic contrasts and occasional acciaccaturas. Although Barival’s waltz drifts briefly into E minor at the ends of phrases, the harmonic shift is short-lived, and the home key of G major is rapidly reinstated each time. Nevertheless, the minor shifts are somewhat unsettling, as if, despite appearances, the waltz is not as joyful as it at first appears.

Section B begins at bar 39 in E minor, then quickly resolves as before onto a V7-I cadence in G major in bars 44-46. Six bars later, Barival changes key again to D major via the same methods, and the rapid key changes, coupled with occasional diminished chords in the accompaniment, work to undermine a sense of tonal stability. At bar 56, Barival’s harmonic destabilisation of the waltz is joined by metrical dissonance in the melody (example 10), in which the second beat is consistently stressed with a marcato every six beats, contrasting with the original iteration of the figure in which a simple suspension strengthened the downbeat. In actuality, Barival employed the same technique in the opening theme of the waltz, and yet harmonic and metrical stability in the bass was sufficient to render any disturbance minimal.

In addition to the metrical displacement in the melody, diminished chords in the accompaniment become more rapid in their succession from bar 55, and the accompaniment finally ceases the waltz motive in bar 63 to imitate the melodic line. With harmony, meter, and accompaniment now transformed into structures that barely resemble a waltz, the music gradually rises in register, and the accompaniment eventually peters out towards the end of the section. Although Barival applies these musical elements in conjunction to disrupt and transform her waltz, the effect is not that of building tension, but of a lifting into a dream-like state which communicates the aesthetics of waltzing rather than its physical steps.

Example 10. Metrical disturbance (marked with an asterisk) in Henriette-Caroline Mennechet de Barival, La Duchesse de Fontange: 2e Valse de Salon, b.65-72.
Barival brings the waltz back to reality with a crash when theme A makes a virtually identical reappearance in bar 86; the effect is jarring given the musical material of the previous section, and the revived waltz breaks the reverie. A final new theme C begins in bar 134, in a new, contrasting key of C major. Characterised by trills and chromatic triplet semi-quaver runs in the melody over a joyous waltz accompaniment, the new theme is harmonically indecisive and regularly shifts its tonality underneath the gaiety of the melodic line. For the final time, an embellished version of theme A returns in bar 184, preparing for the coda in bar 242 which, in 2/4, creates the illusion of acceleration. The coda is brilliant in style, and drives towards the finale in a frenzy of melodic runs and galop-like accompaniment, until Barival’s final sting in the tail: a sudden series of stark V7-I chords in E minor for the penultimate five bars cut through the gaiety, before a final resolution on the home key of G major for the concluding three chords bring the waltz to an end with triumph.

La Duchesse is one of the few waltzes by female composers that takes a factual historical figure as its subject, rather than an abstract concept or living person. Why, then, did Barival consider a waltz packed with musical contradictions to be a fitting musical genre for the Duchesse of Fontange? The young duchess was famous for her love of luxury and excess, and charmed Louis away from two powerful mistresses - Madame de Montespan and Madame de Maintenon - with her feminine beauty and youth (though apparently, not her wit), before an untimely death at the age of 20. The extravagant waltz - beautiful but base, charming but disposable - is thus the perfect nineteenth-century analogy for this entrancing woman’s attributes and circumstances: attractive, young, but also vapid and vain, according to accounts of those who knew her in her brief time at Versailles. As her health declined after a difficult stillbirth, Fontange was also quite quickly forgotten by her formerly infatuated King, in favour of the older, plainer, but more virtuous Madame de Maintenon. Although Fontange’s sad tale could have been lifted right from the pages of Thomas Faulkner’s cautionary diatribe in From the Ballroom to Hell (see chapter 1), Barival uses the Duchess’s example in a waltz that communicates the conflicting social conditions placed on women both in the court of the Sun King, and in modern life, from a woman’s position.

6.2.3 Keyboard Waltzes and Orchestral Arrangement

A reliable indicator for a waltz’s presence in Parisian concert life is in the existence of editions for orchestra or small ensemble, and a modest number of keyboard waltzes (as well as additional

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47 Theme C begins in C major, but moves through A minor, F major, then G major in the space of 34 bars, before finally settling back on C major for the final 16 bars of the section. Each of these key changes is prepared via a V7 chord in the ‘new’ key.
popular dance forms) by female composers were arranged in this way for performance in the summer and winter seasons at assemblies, pleasure gardens, and concert halls as part of a popular but rapidly changing public music programme. Some waltzes originally composed by women became regular concert fixtures, for example, for the numerous military orchestras that performed in Paris’s parks and gardens throughout the summer months. Military bands played arrangements of classical works, dance repertoire, and marches, and became so popular that their preference caused some civilian musicians to complain about the unfair competition.\textsuperscript{48} For the public, these events were markedly informal, and citizens were free to roam around, or stop and listen to the strains of light music emanating from the bandstands during the day. In the evening, some of these gardens were transformed into open-air public balls, where dancing was invariably involved.

In the middle of the century, Laure Micheli dominated the market of public dance music in Paris, alongside fellow conductor-composers Strauss and Métra. Yet as a woman with limited (if any) formal instruction in writing music for instruments other than the piano, Micheli was forced to rely on others to arrange her dances for orchestral ensembles.\textsuperscript{49} In fact, while a number of women in this study did compose chamber and orchestral music, none appear to have composed orchestra waltzes specifically. In Micheli’s case, of the eight published keyboard waltzes that we know of, three have orchestral versions available (table 9); one of these scores - 

\textit{La fleur de Tyrol} - is lost or unavailable, though \textit{Le ménestrel} lists its concert performances in the summer of 1858 at the Château des fleurs, the parc d’Asnières, and at the bal Mabille.\textsuperscript{50} Further, while orchestrated editions for \textit{Les castagnettes} and \textit{Fleurs et dentelles} exist, only \textit{La roche qui pleure}\textsuperscript{51} seems to have won Micheli a certain level of acclaim, no doubt assisted by her increasing fame and connections to the world of composition and conducting as outlined in chapter 3.


\textsuperscript{49} Micheli did have the opportunity to arrange \textit{Partant pour la Syrie} for Sax’s brass ensemble, which they performed at their inaugural concert with Michali at the helm on 29 August 1865, in the Salle Herz (see J. L Heugel’s the review of the concert in \textit{Le ménestrel}, 3 September 1865, page 319). This is as yet the only public record I can find for Micheli’s skills or interests in arranging music.

\textsuperscript{50} See chapter 3, section 3.

Table 9. Laure Micheli’s published keyboard waltzes, with orchestral arrangements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date published/publisher</th>
<th>Orchestrated version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La gazelle</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La fleur de Tyrol</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La peur!</td>
<td>1847 (Mme Vve Launer)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les castagnettes</td>
<td>1855 (Heugel)</td>
<td>Narcisse Bousquet (Lafleur, 1857)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleurs et dentelles</td>
<td>1856 (Heugel)</td>
<td>Narcisse Bousquet (Lafleur, 1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La rose d’Auvergne</td>
<td>1856 (Heugel)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Coupe enchantée</td>
<td>1859 (Heugel)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La mutine</td>
<td>1859 (Heugel)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La roche qui pleure</td>
<td>1860 (Heugel)</td>
<td>Olivier Métra (Le ménestrel, 1860)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.4 Laure Micheli, *La roche qui pleure*

The keyboard scores for Micheli’s waltzes exhibit very little variation to those examined in the first part of this chapter. Unusually, Micheli’s waltzes also exhibit very little variation to each other, at least in terms of structure and key (table 10), suggesting a reduced need or desire on either Micheli or her publisher’s part to stray from what gave them both commercial success. For Micheli, a profitable waltz was one which both supported and delighted dancers, and which could also be performed where no dancing was present or required, as in the concerts she or her brother conducted. A waltz suite format for each of Micheli’s scores, aside from her first waltz *La peur,*52 gave dancers predictability and stability, and the three keys Micheli uses - C, F, and G major - were also popular with Strauss, as they suited the violin well. These keys signatures were also attractive to the domestic pianist, who could buy the score for the latest Micheli hit to practice at home. It is not the content of the waltz proper, however, that caught J. L. Heugel’s

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52 *La peur* was Micheli’s first composition on record, and dates from before she gained public attention as a composer or conductor.
attention on reviewing *La roche qui pleure* for *Le ménestrel* in 1866, but its introduction, which he called “remarkable.” In the early part of the century, Strauss used the introductions (and codas) of his waltzes to express his virtuosity as both a skilled composer and performer, and it was in these sections, as non-danced passages, that he had greater liberty to break free from the frequently monotonous constraints of waltz composition, and experiment musically. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that Heugel zeros in on Micheli’s introduction in order to praise the waltz as a whole.

Table 10. Musical structure of Micheli’s published keyboard waltzes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Introduction bars</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Coda bars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>La peur!</em></td>
<td>F+</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>A-B-C-D-A-E-F</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Les castagnettes</em></td>
<td>F+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (AB); 2 (CD); 3 (EF); 4 (GH)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fleurs et dentelles</em></td>
<td>C+</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1 (AB); 2 (CD); 3 (EFG, Codetta); 4 (HI)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La rose d’Auvergne</em></td>
<td>C+</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 (AB); 2 (CD); 3 (Introduction, EF); 4(GH)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La Coupe enchantée</em></td>
<td>G+</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1 (AB); 2 (CD); 3 (EF); 4 (GH)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La mutine</em></td>
<td>G+</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1 (ABC); 2 (DE); 3 (FG, Codetta); 4 (HIJ)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La roche qui pleure</em></td>
<td>C+</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1 (AB); 2 (CD); 3 (EF, Codetta); 4 (GH)</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spanning 135 bars, the introduction to *La roche qui pleure* is the most ambitious of all Micheli’s waltzes, and is made up of two distinct sections. The first, opening in 4/4, stretches across 31 bars of brilliant-style musical posturing on the tonic and dominant of C minor, which is the parallel minor of the main waltz. With no real melody, this section is characterised by block chords in a variety of fanfare-like rhythms, **fff** dynamics, and chromatic quaver runs in the treble,

54 McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz*, 113.
contributing to a sense of pomp and drama. Part two of the introduction, starting in bar 32, represents a complete contrast in character, with a switch to C major, a new time signature more suitable for a waltz (6/8), and a sweetly loping, lyrical melody which rises, falls, and trills through the dominant-tonic accompaniment, settling on a pedal of the dominant G for the final six bars before the waltz proper begins. As two sides of the same coin, Micheli’s introduction effectively expresses the aesthetic duality of the waltz which pairs glamour and exuberance with romance and sensuality without compromising the integrity of the danced section of the suite.

La roche qui pleure was heard in concert at the parc d’Asnières in 1861, and conducted by Micheli herself at the Salons du Casino leading the fanfare féminine on the 25th of January 1866. Although these are the only two documented performances of the waltz, it is likely there were more, given Micheli’s popularity and the fact that the only orchestrated arrangement (that currently exists) was completed by the conductor of the balls at the Jardin Mabille and Château des fleurs, Olivier Métra. Micheli’s keyboard version is also dedicated to the maestro, which implies that a degree of mutual professional admiration was present between Micheli and Métra, and the latter may have featured the waltz in his concerts. Although there is yet no concrete evidence as to which edition came first - keyboard or orchestra - or indeed, if Micheli wrote La roche qui pleure (or any of her keyboard waltzes) for the express purpose of orchestration and public performance, it possible that Micheli composed this particular waltz in the knowledge that it would be orchestrated by one of the most prolific ballroom conductors in Paris at that time, ensuring its place in the most fashionable balls of Parisian society while elevating Micheli’s own star power as a competent composer and conductor. It is even possible that the popularity of La roche qui pleure, and consequently, of Micheli herself, placed the young conductor as a suitable candidate to lead Sax’s fanfare féminine the same year.

6.3 ‘Heart’ Waltzes

In the opinion of a number of eighteenth-century music theorists, a firm knowledge of dance music, regarded as the “building blocks of musical expression,” was central to true musical understanding and good compositional practice. Each dance was held to have its own particular style and character, and consequently, its own distinct modes of musical communication, which could be referenced in a composition to evoke a particular effect. The act of recalling certain learned musical gestures within a work, such as a waltz style, relies on “a set of experiences and

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55 Le ménestrel (30 June 1861), 247.
56 Le ménestrel (4 February 1866), 78.
assumptions held in common by the composers and the listener,” in what is now widely known in music analysis as ‘topic theory,’ as developed and championed by Leonard Ratner in the 1980s. Ratner, and those who have followed, focus their analytical attention on the use of these learned musical gestures - topics - in eighteenth-century composition, and though it is not yet known how, and to what extent composers in the nineteenth century used topics in their works, scholarly attentions have recently turned towards this later period.

‘Heart-waltzes’ were not intended to accompany dancing, endowing composers with greater potential than ever to free the waltz from the constraints that tied it to the dance, and capture the abstract qualities of waltzing - spectatorship, romance, feminine beauty, and nostalgia - that so captivated nineteenth-century society. Later, after the craze for dancing the waltz had died down somewhat, some composers exploited the waltz as inspiration for a nostalgic vision of a bygone era; Ravel’s tour-de-force La valse: poème chorégraphique pour orchestra, for example, was intended in the composer’s words as “a sort of apotheosis of the Viennese waltz,” and the waltz’s duality between the physical and the abstract is acknowledged in its title description as a ‘choreographic poem.’ For the keyboard, Chopin is perhaps the best example of a composer who wrote an abundance of ‘introspective’ waltzes, in McKee’s words, but other French composers working in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as Debussy, also contributed to the creation of repertoire inspired by the aesthetic and/or emotional responses the waltz could evoke. Because they were composed as a personal or artistic outlet rather than for commercial consumption, these types of waltz tended not to be published, so it is impossible to tell how many women wrote waltzes in this style, and how frequently; only two scores in the works analysed for this study fit the sentiment of a heart-waltz, both created by the same composer, Mel Bonis.

6.3.1 Mel Bonis, L’escarpolette (The Swing)

At the time of L’escarpolette’s publication in 1901, Bonis’s image as a respectable wife and mother alongside a successful career as a composer was flourishing, and yet she had given birth to an illegitimate daughter, Madeleine, only two years previously. Bonis is said to have found the

58 Yaraman, Revolving Embrace, 92.
59 Roland-Manuel, “Une Esquisse autobiographique de Maurice Ravel,” La Revue Musicale (December 1938), 42-49; in Yaraman, Revolving Embrace, 94.
61 McKee, Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz, 146-148.
separation from the daughter she could never recognise in her lifetime almost unbearable, and she apparently showed all the signs of depression during her pregnancy and after Madeleine’s birth, which took place in secret. The intersection between pleasure and pain are tangible in L’escarpolette, which is fittingly a waltz of musical and emotional highs and lows.

In many ways, L’escarpolette conforms to the compositional foundations that governed dance waltzes throughout the nineteenth century. A clearly perceptible triple meter is established by the bass, which firmly places the downbeat every two bars. In this way, the two-times three structural pattern that communicates a full physical waltz rotation of six steps is also present from the start. Harmonically, the chord pattern in this section swings reassuringly between tonic and dominant, as was customary for waltz music. However, Bonis subverts the traditional waltz format through a variety of very subtle methods, most notably with metrical displacement in the inner voice, which, like the bass, repeats its dominant pedal every six beats until the end of the phrase, yet two beats later than the bass. Rather than being jarring, however, the pedal’s asynchronicity is lulling in its harmonic and metrical permanence. Further, in settling on first and second inversions which rise and fall along with the melody, the tonic-dominant pattern is weakened by a lack of root in the bass, lending L’escarpolette a suspended quality that perfectly fits its subject. If the opening section were rewritten to more closely follow the ‘standard’ rules of waltz music, it would look - and sound - rather different (examples 11 and 12).

A lack of cohesion between the voices involved in L’escarpolette is intensified in the second theme, where the upper-voice accompaniment in the melody is now iterated on beats two and three, while the lower-voice accompaniment remains out of step. The most audible incongruities between the various layers in this section, however, are in the contrary motions between the lower inner-voice and the melody in bars 19-25; the melody falls in a step-wise motion every bar, yet rises in its overall arc. In contradiction, the bass accompaniment alternately rises and falls in steps each bar, sometimes following the melody, sometimes moving along its own path. Both parts, however, rise towards a limbo state in bars 23-26. The effect is intensified by the loss of the grounding bass, and in bars 27-29 a role reversal takes place, in which the melody can now be heard in the bass, if only briefly. At this point, the melody now rises in seconds and thirds, while the bass provides relief with a low octave A in bar 30. Thus, where the first half of this theme

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63 Madeleine lived with a former maid of the Domange household until she was 14. Madeleine’s identity as Bonis and her lover Hettich’s daughter was only publicly revealed with the production of her great-granddaughter’s autobiography of her relative’s life in 2000, having compiled letters, records, and sensitive documents for her book. Eventually, Bonis was forced to confess to her family after Madeleine and Bonis’s son with her husband Albert Domange fell in love, and planned to marry. Christine Geliot, Mel Bonis: Femme et ‘Compositeur,’ (1857-1937) (Paris: l’Hartmann, 2009), 240-248.
64 Geliot, Mel Bonis, 120-22.
communicates a rising tension felt when soaring too high, the second half focuses on resolution, and a gradual settling back down to earth.


The remaining development sections of L’e
carpolette bear very little resemblance to a waltz, though glimpses of the dance battling to be heard can be perceived throughout. In this sense, L’e
carpolette is a clear example of how Bonis harnesses the waltz as a musical topic to communicate the pleasures associated with the rise and fall of a swing, and its subsequent parallels to waltz dancing, in a way that would have been recognisable to nineteenth-century audiences.

L’e
carpolette was published by Alphonse Leduc, and dedicated to Julie Cadot-Laffite, a fellow conservatoire laureate and piano teacher. However, while L’e
carpolette can be thought of as a heart-waltz for its expressive representations of waltzing and emotion, Soirs d’antan is significantly more complex in harmony and scope, and Bonis wrote “do not publish” on the cover of the manuscript. In his analyses of Chopin’s unpublished waltzes, McKee notes a more personal, introspective character distinct from the waltzes the composer produced commercially; this sentiment also rings true for Soirs d’antan, in which Bonis takes us on a nostalgic journey using the waltz as inspiration.

6.3.2 Mel Bonis, Soirs d’antan (Evenings of Yesteryear)

At first glance, Soirs d’antan looks and sounds nothing at all like a waltz, save for its triple meter. Subtle allusions to waltzing, however, are present in various guises throughout the score’s three main themes. From the start, the ‘swinging motion’ usually created by an alternation between chords I and V that makes the waltz sound so distinctive appears instead between chords I and III, while a whimsical melody rises and falls like a wind-up music box, exhibiting the characteristics of a centrifugal accent, with a release on bars 7-8, and 15-16 (example 13). A consistent rhythm of paired quavers plus a minim in the bass, inverted in the melody, also gives the impression of a relentless whirling through the various tonal colours of Bonis’s harmonic shifts. In the first theme, for example, raised sixths suggest a minor tonality which contradicts the D major key, tinging the sound with a kind of nostalgia fitting for the waltz’s subject, while a series of added sevenths in the accompaniment in bars 8-13 consistently thwart the expectation of resolution. The minor

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65 The first two themes of L’e
carpolette make an unaltered reappearance from bar 116.
66 See, for example, the waltz accompaniment pattern struggling to break through in the treble line of bars 39-42; 53-56; 75-76; and in the bass at bars 46-48; and 69-70.
67 Pierre Constant, Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation; documents historiques et administratifs (Paris: Imprimerie National, 1900), 786; Le ménestrel (7 April 1901), 112.
69 McKee, Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz, 147-148.
70 Mel Bonis, Soirs d’antan: valse lente pour piano, op. 34; in Geliot and Mayer, Mel Bonis 1858-1937: Oeuvres pour piano, Volume 10: Danses B, 30-41.
tonality becomes much stronger in the middle of the theme, where Bonis temporarily shifts to B minor in bars 15-17, and a sense of harmonic stability is delayed until the reiteration of theme A in bar 25 in the home key. The return to a clear tonal centre is undermined only eight bars later with a passage of harmonic indecisiveness that clouds the remainder of the theme with uncertainty, until Bonis settles on the dominant of F sharp for the final four bars, yet even here major and minor tonality alternate in suspense. Thus, Bonis recreates a swinging motion in melody, harmony, rhythm, and tonality that returns at the repeat of theme A in bar 102.

The musical evocation of waltzing is completely transformed in theme B, which, like L’escarpolette, sees a sudden change of character. Here, a fortissimo F sharp minor chord in bar 43 slices through the sweetness and doubt of the previous section as if recalling a painful memory. The paired chords in the melody are also reminiscent of traditional waltz accompaniment, albeit occurring one beat early, but Bonis makes this analogy much clearer when she transfers these chords patterns to the second and third beats momentarily in bars 49-50, for six bars towards the end of theme C (bars 96-101), and finally in the coda for the final ten bars of the piece (examples 15-17). Warping time through echoed and ‘misplaced’ waltz allusions is only one of the numerous ways Bonis communicates nostalgia through the waltz medium. An additional subtle but nevertheless systemic approach to manipulating a sense of time is heard in Bonis’s treatment of phrase lengths, which alternate between four and six bars (table 11). In traditional waltz composition, the regularity of phrase lengths in integers of two, four, and eight bars is crucial for dance steps, yet each of Soirs d’antan’s themes contains a combination of four and six bar phrases. Moreover, Bonis always ends a theme with an ‘irregular’ numbered phrase, most notably at the end of theme B, achieved through three bars of hemiola between bars 69-71 (example 17). Interestingly, the sense of disorientation here is prepared and crafted in the previous eight bars through voice swapping and displacement dissonance in the accompaniment, now in the treble line. When Bonis reaches theme C, a further contrast in mood belies the management of phrase structure to distort time, which begins with the tonic in A major, followed by seven bars of stasis on the dominant, while the melody flows reassuringly above in a stream of thirds. In bar 83, Bonis uses a phrase overlap,\(^\text{71}\) where the start of a new phrase in the bass occurs simultaneously with the concluding bar of the melody’s previous phrase, indicated in table 11 with an asterisk (example 18). Bonis applies the same technique again in bar 96 (example 19), but

\[^{71}\text{Based on Fred Lerdahl and Ray S. Jackendoff’s theories, a phrase overlap can also be referred to as a phrase elision. See Fred Lerdahl and Ray S. Jackendoff, A Generative Theory of Tonal Music (The MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, 1983), page 99 onwards. See also David Beach and Ryan McClelland, Analysis of 18th- and 19th-Century Musical Works in the Classical Tradition (London: Routledge, 2012), 74.}\]
in this instance with a pair of six bar phrases, causing time to wax and wane unpredictably as when recalling events from the past.

Table 11. Phrase length in Mel Bonis, *Soirs d’antan* (phrase overlaps marked with an asterisk).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Bars</th>
<th>Phrase length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1-42</td>
<td>4+4+6+4+6; 4+4+4+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>43-71</td>
<td>4+4+6+4+4+4+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>72-101</td>
<td>4+4+4*+4+6*+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>102-125</td>
<td>4+4+6+4+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda</td>
<td>126-145</td>
<td>6+4+4+6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bonis consolidates her previous themes, with their various waltz allusions, in the coda at bar 126. Here, the rhythmic pendulum motion from theme A re-emerges in the bass, while the right hand takes the waltz accompaniment motif that appeared in themes B and C. After a sudden but triumphant interjection of theme B’s opening chords in F sharp major at bars 132-133, sequenced in the following two bars in D major, the waltz accompaniment and swinging melody return for the last ten bars. In its final phrases, Bonis’s nostalgic waltz diminuendos in alternation between the tonic and dominant, with a raised third expressing a minor quality, into the closing perfect cadence of the piece. Even here, Bonis defies expectation for the final time with the waltz’s concluding chords, and when the bass settles on a low octave D, the right hand enters two beats later in an echo effect, as memories of the evenings of yesteryear fade.

Ultimately, the question of is whether *Soirs d’antan* is a waltz or not is self-defeating; instead, a potentially more enlightening pursuit lies in understanding how Bonis moulds and warps recognisable waltz gestures to her own expressive ends. Musical features of waltzing are certainly present in some form throughout the score, such as the use of the accompaniment figure, which frequently appears on an alternative beat, and in the treble, rather than bass. The hemiola that brought joy to the dancers of Strauss’s waltzes also emerges in theme B, yet towards the ends of the phrase, instead of at the beginning where the metrical dissonance has time to be ‘corrected.’ In many ways, however, these waltz distortions match Bonis’s narrative of memory, which can fade and alter with time, but which can still recall moments of pleasure, pain, and ultimately, a kind of resolution.


Like Chopin’s unpublished ‘introspective’ waltzes, *Soirs d’antan* represents a significant departure in style from Bonis’s publicly-released, more commercially palatable waltzes. There are a number of potential reasons why Bonis may thus have preferred *Soirs d’antan* not to be published: Perhaps she thought the piece was too ‘progressive,’ or that it would be misunderstood; certainly, the piece is harmonically more ambitious than many of her other waltzes, and recalls her old Conservatoire classmate Debussy in many of its tonal colours. Related to this point, Bonis may have been concerned about her image; how could she know if she, a woman, would not be accused of getting ‘above herself?’ On the other hand, as a member of the SNM, Bonis was a well-respected professional composer, and she also could have published *Soirs d’antan* under a masculine pseudonym as she did with so many other works throughout her lifetime. Another possibility is that Bonis may have felt *Soirs d’antan* was too personal in nature, and thus wished to keep the score private for similarly personal reasons. On a more practical note, Bonis’s reluctance to publish the score may simply have been because the piece was unfinished, as she wrote two alternative versions of section C without making her final choice before she died.\(^{72}\)

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\(^{72}\) Bonis’s family chose the first version for the 2014 Furore edition that has been the subject of analysis in this chapter. Geliot and Mayer, *Mel Bonis: Oeuvres pour piano*, Volume 10: Danses B, 8.
The waltzes that women composed consist predominantly of formulaic yet multifunctional compositions most suited to the domestic market, reflecting the trends of the era for composers of both genders. Crucially, analysis of this music reveals a genuine desire for women to participate in the commercial machine of waltz music production at a time when women were culturally restricted from most professional occupations. While the musical features of these types of waltzes closely matched the physical gestures of the dance, women also communicated the aesthetic qualities of waltzing through the conscious manipulation of harmonic and metrical structures that exposes a clear understanding of the prevalent compositional technique employed by some of the most prominent waltz composers that dominated the repertoire, despite consistent restrictions in their musical training.

A handful of women were able to see and hear their own waltz compositions being enjoyed regularly at balls and functions throughout Paris, and though she was an exception, Laure Micheli also led orchestras through renditions of the dances she herself composed. However, while it is tempting to believe that the quality of their waltzes set some women apart for the commissioning of orchestrated versions, an analysis of Micheli’s scores reveals very little variation not only with each other, but with the standard waltz style as a whole, suggesting that for women, the benefit of personal connections and the cultivation of a public presence were more important than musical content in generating commercial success on a larger scale.

Female composers also embraced the aesthetic elements of waltz composition in order to communicate the dance’s widely-recognised cultural associations - that is: love, romance, desire, and nostalgia. Henriette-Caroline Mennechet de Barival achieved this by taking an infamous female figure, and harnessing the waltz topic to weave her musical narrative fuelled by harmonic and metrical twists, turns, and subverted expectations. Bonis, on the other hand, preferred to express more abstract concepts, and her ‘heart-waltzes’ are tinged with exhilaration, longing, and introspection. Bonis was also much more comfortable in utilising the compositional tools at her disposal to destabilise waltz subjects within her scores - particularly in the manipulation of meter - and her refusal to publish her most ambitious waltz betrays a disinclination to offer the score for public consumption and scrutiny.

Fundamentally, the analytical revelations in this chapter attest that female musicians were sensitive to both the musical and cultural processes of waltz composition on a tangible level, and rather than being content with satisfying the male gaze by dancing to the music of men, women were demonstrably willing to subvert patriarchal expectations in order to generate waltz music of their own, and in a handful of cases, on their own terms.
Conclusion

Nineteenth-century France saw its fair share of political revolutions. In many ways, the waltz too was revolutionary, forcing a generation to confront its attitudes and values in the changing landscape of social progress with profound implications, particularly for women. The controversies and restrictions surrounding waltz dancing however did little to stop women from involving themselves in its musical production, and for the first time, women with an ambition to compose music professionally found a way to do so in sizeable numbers through the production of dance music, banking on the popularity of the waltz to make their voices heard in a vocation that had been dominated by men for centuries. Yet being a composer of predominantly dance music could have its drawbacks, and many women found themselves becoming part of a normalised cultural narrative that associated a relatively simple compositional form as an appropriate outlet for the apparently inferior minds of the female sex; perhaps this bias against historical music for dance is one of the reasons why women’s contributions to one of the most influential musical genres formed in the nineteenth century has been largely forgotten.

This study proves that within the nineteenth century, a large group of women were active participants in the creation, reproduction, and development of waltz music for a range of purposes, and their numbers increased decade upon decade. Analysis of these waltz scores, and subsequent research into the lives of the authors also reveals that women occupied a variety of professional positions within nineteenth-century keyboard music production, performance, and progress, and in greater numbers than previously thought. Female composers, educators, entrepreneurs, performers, prodigies, editors, and engravers all operated in nineteenth-century Paris, often while also negotiating the prevalent cultural attitudes towards women’s roles in society, and balancing the domestic duties imposed upon them. Some of the activities women pursued are more surprising, and a significant proportion of women in this study are named for the first time in modern scholarship through the analysis of nineteenth-century keyboard repertoire. Evidence shows, for example, that Laure Micheli was directing all-male orchestras much earlier than any other documented cases of female conductors currently suggest, while Hélène Kryzanowska, now largely forgotten as a prominent nineteenth-century composer, was recognised in her lifetime for her advocacy of improving the political relationship between France and Poland through music in the run up to the first world war. Isabelle Marotte, otherwise known as Mrs Alexandre Bataille, was instrumental in promoting her husband’s pianos through her musical recitals, even in the face of widespread criticism for his more madcap inventions; her husband appears to have been equally supportive of Marotte’s vocation in teaching, performance, and composition.
Most of the female composers in this study were encouraged by the men in their lives, with the notable and well-documented exceptions of Mélanie-Hélène Bonis and Cécile Chaminade; while Bonis was pulled out of the Paris Conservatoire for a burgeoning relationship with a fellow student despite being a stellar student, Chaminade was banned from entering the school altogether by her parents, who were anxious their daughter would be exposed to the very same situation that Bonis found herself in. Ironically, these women are perhaps two of the best-known composers today, perhaps due in part to the vast amounts of music in a variety of genres that they went on to publish. Even with the support of their families, as in Isabelle Marotte, Anna Karl, Laure Dancla and Laure Micheli’s cases, women were systematically belittled in the contemporary critical sources that discussed their music through patronising vocabulary, relatively limited column inches, and constant comparisons to the more successful men in their networks; a dearth of female journalists did little to balance the situation. For the best chance of success, many women allied with editors who had a degree of influence within the Parisian media: Laure Micheli’s partnership with Jaques-Léopold Heugel at Le ménestrel ensured she was largely supported in her career as both a performer and conductor, and she occupied a significant space in the public eye thanks to the journal’s numerous concert reviews and inclusion of Micheli’s dance scores in their musical supplements. Yet while it is tempting to assume that Le ménestrel’s directors and journalists championed Micheli on the basis of her talent alone, the reality is that financial incentive undoubtedly played a part in their steadfast support; in short, Micheli was probably a reliable money-maker for the Ménestrel brand. Similarly, Bonis and Chaminade’s life-long involvement with the editor Enoch, who encouraged both to produce lucrative dance music for keyboard, points to a mutual benefit on the part of both publisher and musician.

A substantial proportion of women who composed waltzes were primarily music teachers, working in self-employed and professional capacities. Given the nineteenth-century cultural attitudes that favoured men in positions of responsibility and influence, and barred women from accessing equal opportunities in education, it is perhaps unsurprising that fewer appointments teaching at high performing music schools were available to female musicians; private female teachers, in contrast, possibly outnumbered men. Recognising falling teaching standards in a saturated profession, Hortense Parent became a pioneer in delivering high quality instruction in teaching music when she opened her school; Marguerite Balutet followed suit with her own institution, offering women the option to take classes in music, teacher training, or both. By owning their own schools, both Parent and Balutet had the opportunity not only to develop their own alternative policies and curricula to Conservatoires and private music colleges, but also to offer scholarships to talented women, and thus raise teaching standards for a generation of women in music.
Biographical research also exposes the vocations from which women are notably absent, for example as music printers, critics, and score illustrators, as well as detailing some of the lengths female musicians were forced to go to in a bid for professional recognition and a greater scope for creative freedom, including foregoing the traditional domestic responsibilities of societal expectations, and publishing repertoire beyond the keyboard idiom. In fact, some of the names that are best-documented are those who never married and/or had children at all, including Chaminade, Kryzanowska, and Parent. In many cases, musical ambition not only involved rejecting the accepted norms of feminine behaviour, but also necessitated taking innovative actions towards progressing the status of women in music. Some of these steps included founding music education establishments to take control of teaching conditions, pay, and women’s education (Parent and Balutet); forging music editing businesses to ensure the dissemination of scores authored by themselves and other female composers (Cécile Marie d’Orni, Anna Karl, and Jane Vieu); and setting up communities of female composers to promote one another’s works (Balutet, Kryzanowska, and Louise Filliaux-Tiger). Far from being competitive with one another, evidence uncovered in this study suggests that women actively supported each other in challenging the widespread prejudice that dictated the links between sex and ability, which was particularly enhanced within the art of composition; without examining dance music, many of these important networks that countered hegemonic narratives remain hidden from critical view. Certainly, the systems that female composers created to confront masculine elitism within nineteenth-century composition is a subject ripe for further investigation.

Interestingly, documenting waltz scores by female composers has revealed that a much larger number of men also contributed to waltz repertoire than current research has managed to establish, and combining both genders in dance music research for a more informed picture of nineteenth-century social life and musical culture could be a revealing avenue for further analysis. The same applies to considering the importance of score detail and iconography in nineteenth-century music, which is seriously overlooked in modern research, despite its potential for fascinating and novel insights into historical attitudes surrounding gender, class, race, and social trends. Within the remits of this study, examining score covers has been integral to understanding how women negotiated tensions between waltz culture and waltz composition: while dancing the waltz was considered potentially damaging to a woman’s moral integrity, decency, and respectability, playing into widespread conceptions of femininity in score images played a vital part in the acceptance of women as waltz composers. A large proportion of score covers were embellished with a variety of subjects closely related to nineteenth-century constructions of femininity, including flowers, nature, and domesticity. Thus, in appealing to genteel femininity, there was a palpable attempt to disassociate keyboard waltzes from the dance’s more troubling
connotations of licentiousness and immorality; this approach served both the composers and the editors selling large swaths of this music to the public extremely well. There may also have been a certain degree of deflection in presenting the heavily stereotyped images of exotic women with Spanish and/or gypsy origins, in contrast to the elegance and grace of French women at home or leisure. There is even greater potential for cultural insight when investigating score images in nineteenth-century dance repertoire by composers of both genders, and what these images attempted to communicate to the mass market in which they were sold; this is also an angle which has not yet been fully considered.

Driven by the increasing accessibility of pianos in the home and relatively easy access to private music teachers, the domestic market saw rapid growth throughout the nineteenth century, and this is the consumer that the majority of keyboard waltzes published by women catered to. Analysing the musical elements in waltz scores proves that female composers in this period were acutely aware of their target market’s needs, as well as a very real desire to produce music of this type. Adhering closely to established rules of waltz composition, for example in tonality, harmony, phrase length, structure, and melodic material while also providing the kinds of rhythmic and metrical variety heard in the ballroom discloses female composers’ engagement with both musical and social dance communities, as well as a proven contribution to the establishment of a waltz culture. Their motivations for doing so are not all that dissimilar to men; dedications on score covers, for example, disclose that many women published waltzes as acts of self-promotion, particularly for music teachers. Other scores show clear cases of social reaching, in an attempt to raise the composer’s social status; the key difference for female composers as opposed to men, however, is that the stakes for exposing oneself to public criticism were often much higher.

Women composed from the heart as well as the head, essentially by imbibing narrative strands into their keyboard waltzes. For example, both Henriette-Caroline Mennechet de Barival and Mel Bonis subvert musical expectations through harmony, structure, and meter in order to communicate shared musical and social experiences revolving around love, emotion, and femininity, choosing the culturally loaded waltz as their medium. Far from shying away, these women embraced the problematic elements that surrounded waltzing in the nineteenth century to produce works that engaged with the very relevant social issues that the waltz exposed. However, while Barival was happy to print hers, Bonis’s most ambitious waltz was expressly forbidden from public release, leaving us to wonder how many other scores of this type were composed by women, but never published.
This thesis has attempted to supply an alternative, more nuanced perspective to the pervasive and persistent narrative that women composing music in the nineteenth century were anomalies, enhancing our current understanding of these diverse female composer’s voices, experiences, and music. While it is true that the majority of the repertoire was primarily aimed at domestic usage, the musical content of waltzes of this type reflects the social conditions in which they were created, as well as the target consumer for whom they were aimed. The necessity for women to waltz with smiles on their faces regardless of their own feelings propagates the myth of unmitigated joy in the dance, and only very few men and women offer a musical alternative to this vision; those that did created waltzes from the heart rather than the mind, producing works that more effectively communicated the dance’s aesthetic associations when the rage for waltzing at balls had long since ceased. In fact, no other popular dance from this period - including the polka, the mazurka, or even the minuet from the previous century - has inspired such a significant corpus of music as an inspiration to emote a particular expression of feeling, be it for dance, concert music, within opera, symphonies, ballet, or film scores in the past and present. The production of music in a waltz style is still alive and emotionally relevant in compositional practice today, implying by extension that audiences in current European popular culture continue to recognise the waltz’s emotive value. Thus, studying women who composed keyboard waltzes may force us, in our current culture, to confront our own attitudes and values surrounding the place of women in music in similar ways to these women in their own lifetimes.

In exposing the world of women composing waltzes in nineteenth-century Paris, I hope this study provokes new ways of considering women in our cultural, musical, and historical understandings, particularly since the notion that very few women published music still partly lies in the prevalent historical valuation of male musicians over female, and a distaste towards music produced for commercial gain - these are prejudices that are still necessary to confront to this day. This imbalance puts female composers in a double-bind through the neglect of both women as composers, and dance music as an important cultural informant. I also hope that this study will inspire new critical questions about the ways in which societies, past and present, use waltz history, culture, and music, making particular use of the genre’s heavily romanticised representations of love, desire, and femininity to evoke expressions of meaning that continue to resonate in current compositional works, as well as address the ways in which we consider women’s roles, active and passive, in these musical and cultural constructions. Ironically, by favouring the waltz, this study has neglected the other relatively popular nineteenth-century social dances for which women also composed plentifully; in short, this study is only the tip of the iceberg in what it reveals about women, music, and nineteenth-century culture within networks of dance music production.
Finally, in 2002, Sevin Yaraman asked if examining waltz music authored by women could establish a female ‘tradition of style.’ In light of this study, a more inclusive approach begs the modification of this question to turn away from a ‘female’ tradition of style, and towards a critical analysis for if and how women participated in a waltz tradition of style; the stories and scores explored in these pages prove that women did, and abundantly so.
Appendix A  Female Waltz Composers in Paris, 1800-1914

Abram, Alice
Accolay, Olivia
Adam, Louise
Allard, Blanche
Alleaume, Agathe
Allombert, Sophie
Alombert, Jeanne
Alton-Shée, La Comtesse de
Ancezune, Mademoiselle A. Rostan d’
André, Jane
Andrea, Emilia
Angeville, Pauline d’
Antoine, Jeanne
Anty, Marthe
Ardoin, Madame Fostier
Asselin, Zélie
Astruc, Emma
Astruc, Gabrielle
Aubernon, Diane
Audain, Irène
Auffant, Mme Léon
Aulnay, Anna Richard d’
Auvergne, Madame la Princesse de
La Tour d’
Auzeby, Blanche
Azevedo, Amélie A. d’
B., Louise Mathilde du
B., Madame Valentine de
B., Mademoiselle J.
B., Julie
Bagnoli, Marie
Balutet, Marguerite
Barco, Alice
Bardin-Royer, Eugénie
Barker, Elisabeth
Barnichon, Amélie
Barthélemy, Pauline
Bataille, Mme Alexandre
Batta, Clémentine
Baudrand, Lucy
Baudry, Marie-Charlotte
Bayeux, Corinne
Beaucé (née Porro), Madame
Beauchamp-Hughes, Lolita
Beaupré, Jeanne de
Beauretoure, La Baronne de
Beaussais, Corinne
Bègue, Léonie
Bénard, Marie
Bénard, Léonie
Benichou, Lucy
Benoit Catelin, Mme E.
Beraldy, Maria
Béranger, Mathilde
Bérard, Carol
Bercy, Anne de
Bergé, Irénée
Berger, Jeanne
Bergouhioux, Elisa
Bernamont, Caroline
Bernard, Maria
Bernard, Julie
Berton, Hortense
Bertou, Claire
Bertrand, Jane
Bertucat, Elisa
Biarrotte, Mariguita de
Bidault, Madame Geoffroy
Bienne, Noémie (Pilot) de
Biers, Jeanne
Bilière, Jeanne
Billy, Elisa
Binet, Émile
Binon, Magdeleine
Blache, Jeanne
Blainville, Céline
Blancard, Célestine
Blancard, Jeanne
Blanchet, Marie-Louise
Boban, Otteline
Boëly, Sophie
Boisnaudouin, Alice
Boisnet, Georgette
Boissière-Dagany, Madame Albert
Boisval, Marguerite Le Chevalier de
Boivent, Jeanne
Bonaparte, La Comtesse Rattazzi (née Princesse Wyse)
Bonet, Léonie
Bonis, Mel
Bonnafoux, Marie
Bonnand, Marie
Bonnaud, Adèle
Bonnay, Alice
Bonnet, Marie
Borbon, SAR la Infant de España Josefa
Bordet, Joanny
Bosch, Elisa
Bosredon, Madame Auguste de
Bouchardy, Caroline
Boulet, Henriette
Bourdeney, Clarsse
Bourgoin, Marguerite
Boursault, Anna
Boutetier, Maria
Bouttelfroy, Blanche
Bouvet, Léonide
Boymond, Madame Marc
Brémond, Marie
Bresson, Marie Rose
Briault, Jeanne
Brice, Laure
Brinquant, Madame Victor
Brunetti, Maria
Bucalossi, Brigita
Buisseret-Steenbecq, La Comtesse de
Bullet, La Comtesse G. J. de
Bulte, La Vicomtesse de
Burnichon, Sophie
C., Madame la Comtesse Th. de
C. le H., Madame
C. née M., Charlotte
Cahen, Madeleine Mathilde
Cam, Madame le
Camalet, Marguerite
Cammas, Rachel
Candolle, Marie de
Canot, Élodie
Caraman Chimay, Louisa de
Cardevacque, Jeanne de
Carissan, Célanie
Carlotta, Emma
Caron, Georgette
Carré, Marie
Carreño, Teresa
Casalonga, Marguerite
Casimir-Ney, Stéphanie
Castillon, Fanny
Catacazy, Madame O. de
Catel née Morren, Madame
Caussade, Madame L.
Caussinus, Marie-Louise
Cavel, Hosanna
Caye[s], Joséphine
Cazau, Rose
Cazelli, Marguerite
Cazeneuve, Mademoiselle A.
Celestini, M[aria]. T[hérèse]
Cellier, Madame A.
Challet, Adèle
Chaminade, Cécile
Chapelle, Ida
Chardonneau, Henriette
Charlot de Merat, Blanche
Charvin, Madame Paul
Chassaigne, Madame E.
Chasselon, Mélanie
Chaudel, Jeanne
Chauvin, Hélène
Chazal, Berthe
Chederville, Caroline
Chefdeville, Caroline
Chefdeville, Marie
Chelu, Caroline
Chenevard, Madame L.
Chenu, Angelina
Chevillard, Marie
Chevrier, Valentine
Chirat, Hortense
Chouville-Bodard, Madame
Ciolacou, Hélène
Clément, Laure
Coethen, Loïsa
Collin, Hélène
Collinet, Clara
Constant, Augustine
*Contenet de Sapincourt, Louise
Cortès, Madame
Cortini, Leone
Corvaïa, Marie-Thérèse de
Couder, Laure
Coupey, Augusta
Cournaud, Marie de
Courtaux, Mathilde
Couvreux, Isabelle
Cremon-Pallas, M.
Cristofary, Jeanne
Croze-Mahnan, Marie de
Curlier, Elisabeth
Cusco, Lise
D., Maria
Dabry, Madame
Dal-Mutto, Teresa
Dancla, Laure
Danglas, Jeanne
Darty, Paulette
Daubry, Charlotte
Dauchy, Isaure
Daviel de la Nézière, Madame Léon
Debois, Aline
Debrée, Marguerite
Dejean, Berthe
Delbeke, Madame (née Van de Wiele)
Delestre, Madame
Dellove, Sophie
Demarais, Mademoiselle J.
Denuce, Madame veuve L.
Derud, Marguerite
Desmarets, Madame Is.
Desnon, Irma
Després, Marguerite
Devaux, Berthe
Diard, Marguerite
Difortin, Joséphine
Dimier, Madame
Döhler, Thérèse
Doncieux, Madame N.
Donnadieu, Madame A.-L.
Douradou, Irenée
Drapier, Céline
Dubost, Madame Jaques
Duboy, Mademoiselle A.
Duchambge, Pauline
Ducollet, Louise
Ducos, Bathilde
Dufresne, Madame E.
Dupradeau, Jeanne
Duprey, Caroline
Duquenne, Laure
Durif, Henriette
Dwernicka, Léontine
Elphine, Maud d’
Esclavard, Alice
Esclusier, Elisabeth
Espinosa, Rosa Zevallos de
Everaert, Céline
Eymery, Madame O.
Fabre, Marie
Faouédic, Magdalena Prieto du
Farrenc, Louise
Fas Kessel, Anna
Faugier, Madame
Fauqueux, Baronne

Fée, Marie
Felix, Marie
Fenuillet, Léonie
Ferrari, Louise-B.
Ferrari, Gabriella
Ferrière, Laure Guyet de la
Fiard, Céline
Filgueiras, Madame d’Alvin de
Fondard, Julie
Fontenay, Jeanne de
Fouad Selim, Madame
Foudras, Amélie de
Fournier, Marie
Fournier, Mathilde
Fraiquin, Mathilde
François, Anna
Froment, Herminie
G., Madame
Gabry-Lametz, Madame
Galiot, Madame O.
Gallard, Alice
Galos, Madame C.
Garnier, Amelia
Gaste, Antonia de
Gatinerie, Isabelle de la
Gaubert de Courbons, Madame
Gautié, Anais
Gautier, Judith
Gay, Jane
Gebelin, Émilie
Genis, Madeleine de
George, Angelina
Gerard, Irma
Gerono, Henriette
Geslin, Sara
Gesne, Madame de
Getraud, Madame Alfred
Gignier d'Agay, Yvonne
Gignoux, Marie
Girard, Jeanne
Giraud, Lucy
Goncalves, Marie
Gourat, Marie
Gourcy-Serainchamps, Clotilde
Gourdon de Genouillac, Léonie
Gourvat, Marie-Thérèse
Gouzy, Jeanne
Guerin, Berthe
Guerin-Kapry, Maria
Guichard (née Lagrenée), Agathe
Guillaume, Clothilde
Guillemard, Madame L.
Guillois, Julia
Guilmant, Louise
Guinard, Natalie
H., Isaline de
H., la Marquise de
Haenel de Cronenthal, Louise
Hamburger, Delia
Haunet, Émilie
Hellendal, Evelina
Henn, Angelica
Hennon, Alice
Herbin, Fanny
Hermann, Madame
Hirschlühl, Gabrielle
Hitier, Suzanne
Houdetot Malherbe, Madame d’
Houillon, Marie
Houri, Anna
Hubert, Mademoiselle P.
Huss, Alice
Hutin, Alice
Isambert, Maria
Izambard, Regina
J., Madame C. de
Jacob, Blanche
Jacquet, Madame A.
Jaëll, Marie
Jagoret, Marie-Thérèse
Jaulin, Madame B.
Jatmann, Zoe
Jay, Gabrielle
Jeanvrot, Élodie
Joleaud, Margeurite
Jolicler, Lydie
Joset, Jeanne
Jouan, Marguerite
Jouve, Madame André
Jovely, Berthe
K., Mademoiselle H.
Kabath, Augusta de
Karl, Anna
Knowles, Madame Townley Rigby
Krolikowska, Louise
Kryzanowska, Hélène
L. B., Madame Adolphe
L. C., Madame de Méry de
Labille, Louise
Lagoanère née Giraud, Laure
Laguessa, Joséphine
Lainé, Clémence
Laistre, Comtesse Pierre de
Langlet-Julien, Madame
Langlume, Madame G.
Laporte, Atala
Laroche, Alice
Laroche-Guyon, Duchesse de
Larose, Marie-Louise
Lavoye, Louise
Legris, Célestin
Lehuraux, Irené
Lenormand, Maria
Lepollart, Corinne
Levallois, Léontine
Léveillé-Gros, Amélie
Lignères-Parmentier, Madame de
Ligue, Blanche
Lissac, La Comtesse de Lantenay de
Lochner, Marguerite de
Lointier, Marie
Loréal, Joséphine
Lorenziti, Elisabeth
Loveday, Rachel
Lowenstark, Pauline
Lowthian, Caroline
Loysel, Madame E.
Lubin née Tremery, Madame E.
Lubomirski, la Comtesse Karniskra née
Princesse
Lurien, Louise de
Lys, Rose
Macfarre, Emma Maria
Maillard, Marie
Maire, Caroline
Malibran, Marie-Louise
Malleville, Charlotte de
Malroy, Madame J. Mottet de
Mangeant, Cécile
Manterolo, Magdalena Prieto de
Marchal, Ursule
Marchand, Madame A.
Marchant, Zoe
Mariani, Berthe

Marie, Joséphine
Martel, la Comtesse de
Martin, Emma
Marville, Marie
Marx, Blanche
Marx, Laure-Isidore
Mauger, Ruth
Maugin, Reine
Maupois, Jeanne
Melogan, Thérèse
Menk-Meyer, Florence
Mennechet de Barival, Henriette-Caroline
Mertens, Hortense de
Meunier, Jane
Micheli, Laure
Miel, Madame
Millet, Marie-Eugénie
Minard, Cécile
Molet, Laure
Molly, Louise
Monnet, Madame E.
Monsigny, Victoria
Montane, Hélène
Mony, Madame Adolphe
Moreau, Mathilde
Müller, Clotilde
Müller, Emma
N., Mathilde de
Nagle, Mademoiselle E.
Nels, Lora
Noblet, Hélène
Nogent Saint-Laurens, Madame C.
Numa, Jeanne
Obasecq, Doux d’
Oncieu de la Batie, Elsa Ghislaine d’
Orne, Salle d’
Orni, Cécile Marie d’
Oury, Madame
Outrey, Madame J.
Palent, Hortense
Paneron, Lucy
Paquet, Madame Henry
Parent, Hortense
Pasquet, Madame E.
Patti, Adelina
Paty de Clam née Bayard de la Vingtrie, Madame
Péchoux, Eulalie
Peiffer, Marie
Pellen, Philippine
Penalver, Madame L. de
Percheron, Suzanne
Pereme, Amélie
Perronnet, Amélie
Pestre, Hélène
Péteaux née Huss, Alice
Petit, Marie-Eugénie François
Pichat, Caroline
Pichon, Madame O.
Pierpont, Marie de
Pietresson, Madame Léon
Pigeon, Yvonne
Pigneret-Moutié, Louise
Pilet née Comettant, Clara
Pillevesse (-Chailloux), Suzanne
Pilzer, Marguerite
Pinaud, Valéry
Pineau, Berthe
Pitanga, Regina
Poeckes, Madame Léon
Polak, Nina
Pons, Marguerite
Pottier, Esther
Prestat, Marie
Pret, Anne
Prevost, Caroline
Prieux, Julie
Priqueler, Marguerite
Prix, Madame S.
Prodhomme, Louise
Prouho, Berthe
Provin, Germaine
Pujos, Louise
Quanté, Florence
Quest, Estelle
Rabier, Hélène
Radziwill, Sophie
Rallu, Clovis
Randouin, Adèle
Ravelot, Marguerite
Ravenelle, Jeanne
Ravon-Bey, Madame H.
Raynouard, Blanche
Regnaudin, Maria
Renaud, née Caussinus, Sophie
Reuchsel, Mademoiselle Moritz
Rhynal, Camille de
Ricard, Aline
Ritter, Blandina
Rix, Rosa
Robberechts, Madame M.-L.
Robert Mazel, Hélène
Roberts, Mademoiselle C. M.
Robinson, Madame Joseph
Rochette, Marie de la
Rondonneau, Elise
Rosset, Maria
Rossi-Gallicano, Adèle
Rothschild, Charlotte de
Rougie, Laure
Roussel, Blanche
Roussel, Jeanne
Roussel, Madame L.
Rouville, Marguerite de
Rudwel, Madame G.
Saint-Ange, Gabrielle
Saint-Armand, Adéline de
Saint-Foix, Valérie de
Saint-Marc, Elisabeth
Salel, Marie
Sallet, Alphonse
Sari, Laetitia
Sarrut, Yvonne
Sauer, Alice
Schacherer, Blanche
Schmiedl, Sophie
Scilla, la Princesse de
Segaud-Migneret, Laure
Seitz, Céline
Selva, Blanche
Sengel, Emma
Seremetti, Madame M. N.
Seze, la Comtesse B. de
Silva S., Maria del Rosario
Simiot, Adèle
Simond, Jeanne
Singer, Cécile
Sory, Jeanne
Souhart, Hélène
Soumaire, Marie
Southard, Madame Henry
Soya, Madame H.
Stebbing, Madame Edward
Stella, Madame
Stélin, Philomène
Symaine, Magdeleine
Tanesy, Marie
Tartié, Adèle
Tavernier, Marie
Teillet née Lavayssière, Madame A.
Ternizien, Léonie
Thauvin, Marie-Louise
Thomas, Félicie
Thurgar, Madame
Tisserand, Madame M.
Tonel, Léonie
Tonnelier Jeune, Madame E.
Topin, Claire
Torle, Madame E.
Toury, Madame H.
Ugalde, Marguerite
Vachée, Alexandrine Perrot de la Croix
Vaffier, Madame Hubert
Valernes, Madame le Blanc de
Valois, Marie
Vanin, Madame E.
Vautrin, Marie
Verger, Virginie Morel du
Verna, Emilia
Vernarel, Madame M.
Vernoy, Mademoiselle C.
Vernueil, Lucie
Viardot, Henriette
Vieu, Jane
Vigouroux, Louise
Villeneuve, Joséphine de
Vinju née Trosée, Madame M.-H.
Violet, Jenny
Wagner, Mathilde
Wautier-Alexine, Madame L. Vicomtesse de
Weber, Henriette
Wild, Mademoiselle H.
Willeme, Jeanne
Witte, Thérèse
Wittmann, Thérèse
Wogan, Isabel de
Wrighte, Madame
Z., Madame Y.
Zanardi, Clotilde
Zeiger, Elise
## Appendix B  Male and Female Teaching staff at the Paris Conservatoire, 1795-1900*

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Men</th>
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<tr>
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<td>72</td>
<td>2 professors (piano, declamation); 12 répétiteurs</td>
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<td>Female</td>
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<td>1900</td>
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2 professors (piano, harmony and accompaniment); 10 répétiteurs
2 professors (piano, singing) 10 répétiteurs
2 professors (piano, singing); 10 répétiteurs
5 professors (1 piano, 3 piano preparatory, 1 theatre); 7 répétiteurs
3 professors (piano, piano prep, 1 theatre); 10 répétiteurs
3 professors (2 piano preparatory, 1 theatre); 10 répétiteurs
4 professors (3 piano preparatory, 1 theatre); 7 répétiteurs
4 professors (3 piano preparatory, 1 theatre); 8 répétiteurs

### Appendix C  Women at the Paris Conservatoire by name, position, and pay, 1795-1900 (date ascending)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position/date</th>
<th>Pay (fr.)</th>
<th>Equiv. male pay (fr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hélène Mongeroult, Comtesse de Charnay (née Hélène de Mérode)</td>
<td><strong>Piano professor (1re classe)</strong> (1795-1798)</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louise Rey</td>
<td><strong>Piano professor (3e classe)</strong> (1795-1797)</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>1600</td>
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<tr>
<td>Émilie Michu (1816-1828)</td>
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<td>500</td>
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<td>Piano adjoint (1817-1821)</td>
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<td>800-1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Piano professor</strong> (1819-1820; 1822-1828)</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>1500-1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aimée Rieusset (née Goblin)</td>
<td>Solfège répétiteur (1816-1824)</td>
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<td>600</td>
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<td>Solfège professor adjoint (1825-1829)</td>
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<td>800</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Solfège professor</strong> (1830-1842)</td>
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<td>800-1500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marie Foulon</td>
<td>Basse Chiffree répétiteur (1822-1825)</td>
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<td>Adèle Croisilles</td>
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<td>600</td>
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<td>Mademoiselle Leroux</td>
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<td>Piano (classe provisoir) répétiteur (1830)</td>
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<td>From To</td>
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<td>Madame Empaire (née Maillard) (1803-1835)</td>
<td>Voice répétiteur</td>
<td>(1822-1835)</td>
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<td>Palmyre Cheronnet</td>
<td>Piano studies répétiteur</td>
<td>(1823-1826)</td>
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<td>Marie Hotteaux</td>
<td>Basso continu répétiteur</td>
<td>(1826-1829)</td>
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<td>Bénigne Clavel</td>
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<td>Pierrette Raillard</td>
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<td>Antoinette Philippon (née Rouget de Lisle)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Sophie Chéné (1847-)</td>
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<td>Piano (f) prep (1880-19x)</td>
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<td>Marie Renart (née Vernaut)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caroline Trouillebert (née Lévy)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mathilde Marcou (née Barat) (1867-?)</td>
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<td>Marie-Antoinette Roy (née Got)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marie Parent (1895-19x)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eva Meyer (1897-19x)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Louise Lhote (1899-19x)</td>
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## Appendix D

Privately owned music schools* operating in central Paris advertised in the Annuaire des artistes,

1895, p. 36-40:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>School name</th>
<th>Year founded</th>
<th>Director/lead prof.</th>
<th>Courses offered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>École de Chant</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Mme Émilie Ambre-Bouichere, A.</td>
<td>Singing, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecole Beethoven</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Mlle Marguerite Balutet</td>
<td>Piano, harmony and composition, ensemble, accompaniment, Solfège, piano pedagogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>École Classique de Musique et de Déclamation</td>
<td>After 1890</td>
<td>M. Edouard Chavagnat, A.</td>
<td>Musical instruments, general music, voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institut Musical Artistique</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>M and Mme Oscar Comettant (dir. Mme Paul Labarthe)</td>
<td>Piano, ensemble and accompaniment, violin, Solfège, harmony, singing, chorus, diction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institut dramatique et Lyrique</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>M. Darthenay</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institut d’Orgue</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>M. Eugène Gigout, I.</td>
<td>Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cours St. Cécile</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Mlle Madeleine de Jancigny</td>
<td>Harmony, mandolin, guitar, piano, organ, harp, cello, Solfège, composition, singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institut de Saint-Jean-de-Dieu</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>M. Alfred Josset, A.</td>
<td>Organ, piano, orchestral and military instruments, early music theory and harmony, Solfège, orchestration and accompaniment,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institut Mac Lean</td>
<td>After 1890</td>
<td>Mme Mac Lean</td>
<td>Singing, piano, violin, cello, harp, organ, mandolin and guitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>École d’Orgue, de Plain-Chant et d’Improvisation</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>M. Georges Mac Master, A.</td>
<td>Organ, harmonium, piano, violin, harp, harmony, composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
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<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>École Preparatoire au Professorat du Piano</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Mlle Hortense Parent, I.</td>
<td>Piano pedagogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Académie Internationale de Musique et des Beaux-Arts</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>M. Rudy</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Schools located on their own premises employing additional staff as professors, rather than courses in a single teacher’s home or a rented public space, such as the salons of a hotel. ‘I.’ indicates an Officier de l'instruction publique; ‘A.’ indicates an Officier d’académie.
## Appendix E  Arrangements and Performances of Laure Micheli’s Dance Compositions for Keyboard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Arrangement(s)</th>
<th>Performance(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>La Peur! Valse pour le piano</em> (Veuve Launer, 1847)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La Reine des Alpes. Polka pastorale pour piano</em> (au Ménestrel, 1850)</td>
<td>Orchestre Bousquet, Ranelagh ball, 17/6/55; 24/6/55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Polka des clochettes pour piano</em> (au Ménestrel, 1853)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Les Abeilles: schottische pour le piano</em> (au Ménestrel, 1854)</td>
<td>Pour flûte seul (Heugel et Cie., 1856)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pour cornet à pistons (Heugel et Cie., 1856)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pour violon seul (Heugel et Cie., 1856)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pour cornet à pistons (Heugel et Cie., 1856)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pour violon seul (Heugel et Cie., 1856)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pour flûte seul (Heugel et Cie., 1856)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Les Castagnettes. Grande valse pour le piano avec acc.t de castagnettes (ad lib.</em>)* (Heugel, 1855)</td>
<td>Pour violon seul (Heugel et Cie., 1856)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pour flûte seul (Heugel et Cie., 1856)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Composer/Arranger</td>
<td>Location/Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’Echo du Danube. Polka-mazurka pour le piano (au Méestrel, 1855)</td>
<td>Orch. N. Bousquet (Lafleur, 1857)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Filles d’Eve. 2me grande quadrille pour le piano (au Méestrel, [1857])</td>
<td>Orch. Par N. Bousquet (Lafleur, 1855)</td>
<td>LM 8/11/57: Concert du Paris, cond. L. Micheli; Salle Sainte-Cécile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanfare des Guides. Schottisch militaire (pour piano) (au Méestrel, 1856)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleurs et dentelles. Grande valse pour piano (au Méestrel, 1856; 1857)</td>
<td>Orch. Par N. Bousquet (Lafleur et fils, 1861)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Graziella. Schottisch pour le piano (au Méestrel, 1856)</td>
<td>Orch. H. Marx (Lafleur, 1858)</td>
<td>Salle Sainte-Cécile, 11/5/56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Venue/Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Juana l’espagnole. Polka-mazurka (pour piano)</strong> (au Ménestrel, 1856)</td>
<td>Orch. Par A. Lamotte (Lafleur, 1856)</td>
<td>Orchestre Lamotte, salle Valentino, 18/11/55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Le Nightengale (Chant du rossignol). Polka variée pour le piano</strong></td>
<td>With flageolet solo, perf. M. Laurent, conductor of the Jardin d’Hiver orchestra, 13/1/56</td>
<td>Mardi-gras ball, Jardin d’Hiver, 10/2/56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polka des bacchantes pour piano</strong> (au Ménestrel, 1856)</td>
<td>Orhc. Avec chant ad lib. Par Pilodo (Heugel, 1856)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>La Rose d’Auvergne. Valse montagnarde pour le piano</strong> (au Ménestrel, 1856)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Orch. Par Laurent</td>
<td>LM 30/6/61: Parc d’Asnières</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Les Enfants de troup. Polka militaire pour le piano</strong> (au Ménestrel, 1857)</td>
<td>Pour le piano à 4 mains (Heugel, 1857)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Hourra! Quadrille galop pour piano</strong> (au Ménestrel, 1857)</td>
<td>Orch. C. Rochefort (Lafleur, 1858)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Madrilène. Polka mazurka pour le piano</strong> (au Ménestrel, 1857)</td>
<td>Orch. C. Rochefort (Lafleur, 1859)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Les Noces de M’sieur François. Polka villageoise pour le piano</strong></td>
<td>Orch. Wagner (Heugel, 1857)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Les Toilettes tapageuses. Polka-mazurka pour piano</strong> (au Ménestrel, 1857)</td>
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LM 30/6/61: Parc d’Asnières |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L’Amazone de Crimée. Polka militaire (pour piano) (au Ménestrel, 1858)</td>
<td>Orch. C. Rochefort (Lafleur, 1858)</td>
<td>LM 8/11/57: Concert du Paris, cond. L. Micheli; Salle Sainte-Cécile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Martiale. Schottisch (pour piano) (au Ménestrel, 1858)</td>
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<tr>
<td>La Coupe enchantée. Grande valse pour le piano (au Ménestrel, 1859)</td>
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<tr>
<td>La Mutine. Grande valse (pour piano) (au Ménestrel, 1859)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Le Passage du Tessin. Polka militaire (pour piano) (L. Escudier, 1859)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Le Camp de St. Maur (Souvenir d’Italie). Polka militaire pour piano (au Ménestrel, 1860)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geneviève de Brabant. Polka-mazurka des Baigneuses (pour piano) par L. Micheli, sur des motifs de J. Offenbach (au Ménestrel, 1860)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Le Roi du raisin. Quadrille pour piano sur les motifs de F. Coppini par L. Michele</em> (Challiot, 1860)</td>
<td>Orch. C. Rochefort (Lafleur fils aîné, 1863)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>La Micheliana. Quadrille-valse pour piano</em> (imp. De Saline, 1861)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Le Quadrille-valse Micheliana no. 2 pour piano</em> (G. Brandus et S. Dufour, 1862; 1875)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Le Tournoi. Polka militaire pour piano</em> (au Ménestrel, 1862)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Fënella. Polka-mazurka pour piano</em> (au Ménestrel, 1864)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Les Pifferari de Paris. Quadrille</em></td>
<td>Orch. C. Rochefort (Lafleur fils aîné, 1870)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Le Débardeur de l’Opéra. Quadrille</em></td>
<td>Orch. C. Rochefort (Lafleur)</td>
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</table>
Appendix F  Publishers, Printers, and Engravers for published keyboard waltzes with female composers, 1800-1914

F.1  Publishers

Aérs, Louis
Alard et Cie.
Arouy
Aubel, H.-L. d’
Badoux, E.
Barbarin, L.
Baron, L.
Bataille et Cie., A.
Bathlot, Louis
Bauvet
Benoît aîné
Ber, Henri
Béthune, Albert
Beuscher (Société)
Bibliothèque populaire
Bigeard et fils
Biloir, Joseph
Blanc
Blancard, Henri
Bloix, E.
Blondel
Bonard-Tabereau
Bonhoure, L.
Bonin, L.
Bouchard
Bouchot

Boudin, G.
Bourlant-Ladam et sœur
Bourvois
Brandus /et Dufour
Braun, Veuve
Brullé, Alexandre
Cartereau, Isidore
Castel, E.
Castille
Cendrier, Madame
Chabal Jeune
Chaillou, P.
Challiot (et Cie.), Étienne
Chamalet, J.
Chartier, Veuve
Chatot, E.
Choudens (père et fils)
Clément, Albert
Clere, M.
Collet, Eugène
Colombier, Marcel
Conrard, Léon
Costil, E.
Couderc, L.
Coudray, Eugène
Coutarel, Eugène
Crevel Frères
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Curmer, Alphonse</td>
<td>Gérard et Cie., E.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Danvers, A.</td>
<td>Gheluve, Edmond (Van)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Debert, Alexandre</td>
<td>Girod, E. et A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Delattre</td>
<td>Girod, P.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Delisle</td>
<td>Girod, Veuve</td>
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<tr>
<td>Demets, Eugène</td>
<td>Gobert, Edmond</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deramond, Marcel</td>
<td>Gounin-Ghidone, Veuve</td>
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<tr>
<td>Devambez</td>
<td>Graffin, E.</td>
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<td>Deventer, D.-V.</td>
<td>Gregh, Henri</td>
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<td>Dewitt</td>
<td>Gregh, Louis</td>
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<td>Didot</td>
<td>Gross, D.</td>
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<td>Digoudé-Diodet, L.</td>
<td>Grue, Donnelly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dinquel</td>
<td>Grus, Alexandre</td>
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<td>Ducrotois, G.</td>
<td>Grus, Léon</td>
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<td>Dupont, Paul</td>
<td>Guerin, Madame A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dupuis, C.</td>
<td>Guerrier, M.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Durand et fils, A.</td>
<td>Haakman Chartier, J.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Durand et Cie.</td>
<td>Habrard, Gabriel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Durand et Schoenewerk</td>
<td>Hachette et Cie.</td>
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<td>Durdilly, Fanny</td>
<td>Hamelle, Julien</td>
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<tr>
<td>Enoch et Cie.</td>
<td>Harand</td>
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<td>Enoch Frères et Costallat</td>
<td>Hartmann, Georges</td>
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<td>Escudier, Léon</td>
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<td>Evette et Schaeffer</td>
<td>Heinz, Jules</td>
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<td>Excoffon, M.</td>
<td>Heu, Anne-Eugène</td>
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<td>Feuchot, Philippe</td>
<td>Heugel et Cie.</td>
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<td>Flaxland, Gustave-Alexandre</td>
<td>Hielard, Jules</td>
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<td>Forest, A.</td>
<td>Houfflack et fils, A.</td>
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<td>Fromont, Eugène</td>
<td>Huard, Madame</td>
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<td>Galeries Parisiennes</td>
<td>Humblot, Philippe</td>
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<td>Gallet, E.</td>
<td>Institut musicale de France</td>
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<td>Gambogi frères</td>
<td>Iochern, Jules</td>
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<td>Gaudet, Emmanuel</td>
<td>Janin frères</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautrot Aîné et Cie.</td>
<td>Joanin, Albert</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
251

Joly
Joubert, Célestin
Joudain
Jouve, L. et T.
Juvin, E.
Kandowski, L.
Katto, Jean-Baptiste
Killian, C.
Labbé, Marcel
Lacombe, Ernest-Louis
Landy
Langlet
Langlois, Léon
Latte, Bernard
Laudy
Launer, Madame Veuve
Lavinée, Veuve
Le Bailly
Lechapelais
Ledentu, Émile
Leduc, Alphonse
Leduc, Bertrand, et Cie.
Legouix
Lemoine et Cie.
Lemoine et fils
Lesigne, Alphonse
Lévy, S.
Lion, Marcel
Loret fils
Loret fils et H. Freytag
Mackar, Félix
Magot, H.
Maho, Jacques
Mans
Maquet, Philippe
Marchetti, F. D.
Margueritat
Marguertiat, Veuve C.
Martin, Jules
Mathieu, Eugène
Mathot, Albert
Maucelot
Maugras
Mayaud, Edmond
Meis, Veuve
Meissonnier fils
Meuriot, Émile-Jean
Michel et Rosen
Millereau, François
Moucelot
Naus et Romain
Nicosias, C.
Noël, Albert
Nowinski, N.
O’Kelly, Auguste
O’Kelly et Naus
Ondet, Georges
d’Orni, Cécile-Marie
Paré, Veuve
Parmentier, G.
Petit Aîné
Pfister frères.
Pichon, O.
Piot, A. L.
Piquet, L.
Pisa, Jacques
Pitault, Jacques
Planes, A.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pleyel et fils aîné</td>
<td>Saint-Étienne, E.</td>
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<td>Ploix, Eugène</td>
<td>Saint-Hilaire, Edme</td>
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<td>Porchet, Émile-David</td>
<td>Saint-Hilaire, Veuve</td>
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<td>Poulalion, J.</td>
<td>Salabert, Francis</td>
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<td>Prilipp, Camille</td>
<td>Schaan</td>
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<td>Provost, A.</td>
<td>Schlosser Aîné</td>
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<td>Provost et Sciers</td>
<td>Schmitt et Cie.</td>
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<td>Pugno, C.</td>
<td>Schoen, Florent</td>
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<td>Pugno, E.</td>
<td>Schoenberger, Georges</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quante, F.</td>
<td>Schott, Pierre</td>
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<td>Quesnel</td>
<td>Senart, Maurice</td>
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<td>Quinzard, A.</td>
<td>Sieber, Georges-Julien</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ravelet, Marguerite</td>
<td>Tabereau, A.</td>
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<td>Retté, Auguste</td>
<td>Tellier, Henri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rey, Adrien</td>
<td>Tournier et Goumas</td>
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<td>Richault, Simon</td>
<td>Troupenas et Cie</td>
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<td>Ricordi, G.</td>
<td>Union Artistique (L’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert, Justin</td>
<td>Vialon, A.</td>
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<td>Robin, Marguerite</td>
<td>Vieillot, Ludovic</td>
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<td>Rohdé, H.</td>
<td>Vieu, M. et J.</td>
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<td>Rose fils, Georges</td>
<td>Villeneuve Tyron, R.</td>
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<td>Rosset, L.</td>
<td>Voiry et Cie., Georges</td>
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<td>Roudanez, Benjamin</td>
<td>Washington Lopp</td>
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<td>Rouhier, Louis</td>
<td>Weiller, Ernest</td>
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<td>Rowies, Joseph</td>
<td>Wintringer</td>
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<td>Sagnol, A.</td>
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### F.2 Engravers

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<tr>
<td>Aubry, V.</td>
<td>Chauvin, Madame B.</td>
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<td>Baudon</td>
<td>Chiarini, Veuve</td>
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<td>Beauvois, E.</td>
<td>Collier, Mademoiselle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Benoist, Madame Veuve</td>
<td>Crevel frères</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bertrand</td>
<td>Daenen, Mademoiselle</td>
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<td>Boutiot, Madame A.</td>
<td>Delorisse, Émile</td>
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Delorme, Mademoiselle
Douin, C.
Dupont, Paul
Durdilly, J. V.
Epstein-Bedouet, Madames
Field, Mademoiselle N.
Fleurot, M.
Gadin, Madame
Garde, H.
Gilson, M.
Grandjean
Guidez, J.
Guillemard, J.
Guillet
Gulon
Hars, Eugène
Hinaut, Madame
Jean, Madame A.
Joly, C.

Laroche
Lavillemarais, M.
Leblanc, T.
Lecerf, Madame
Leduc, Alphonse
Mercadier
Mergault, G.
Parent, L
Pouhies, A.
Prevost, Madame
Reynaud, Madame
Rioz, M.
Rochet, Madame
Röder, C. G.
Roy, Madame
Serre, Madame
Tavan, Madame
Thomasse, Madame
Tibout, A.

F.3 Printers
Arouy
Bauve
Benoît aîné
Bertauts
Bigoard
Bouchard (/Veuve)
Buttner-Thierry
Chaimbaud, A.
Chiarini, Veuve
Crevel frères
Delanchy, E.
Delay, E.

Delpiesente
Delta
Dinquel, Veuve
Duchemin
Dupont, Paul
Dupre, E.
Durdilly
Fouquet
Garde
Gheluve, Veuve
Guende, M.
Guillet
Jannot
Joly, C.
Lafleur
Laroche
Magnier
Margueritat, Veuve
Maugras
Maurel
Mergault, G.
Michelet
Minot, H.
Moucelot
Mounot
Parent, L.
Paris Moderne
Poulhies
Richault
Röder, C. G.
Salme, Léon
Simon, Madame Veuve
Souquet
Thiébaux (/Veuve)
Thierry frères
Tondu, H.
Trinocq
Vignancour, E.
Appendix G  Keyboard Waltzes Published in Paris by Gender, 1800-1914.*

G.1  Keyboard waltzes published in Paris with female authors: by decade.
G.2 Keyboard waltzes published in Paris with male and female authors every ten years.

*Data collated from BnF online catalogue*
Appendix H  Iconography: Number of Waltzes with Images by Category*

*Multiple categories may apply in an individual waltz
Appendix I Analytical data of keyboard waltz music by female composers

I.1 Time signature in introductions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Signature</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>(67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/4 or 2/4</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x/8 (mostly 6/8)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(free rhythm)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I.2 Tonal centre in introductions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal Centre</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tonic</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>(66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>(30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel minor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>252</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I.3 Notated key signatures of waltzes, with number of sharps and flats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sharps/flats in KS</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Total Waltzes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>Eb+</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>C+</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>F+</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>Ab+</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sh</td>
<td>G+</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sh</td>
<td>D+</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>Bb+</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sh</td>
<td>A+</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>Db+</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4sh</td>
<td>E+</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>G-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>A-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>C-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sh</td>
<td>E-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>F-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6sh</td>
<td>Fsh-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Gb+</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total major</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total minor</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total &lt;4 sharps/flats</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total &gt;4 sharps/flats</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix J  Female Waltz Composers: Selected Biographies

Louise Adam (18x-19x)
(Henriette Jeanne Louise Dithurbide)
Adam’s family were from Bayonne, in the south-west of France, near the border with northern Spain. Her father Michel Dithurbide was a businessman who died in 1865, widowing his wife, Louise Marie Clarisse Boucard-Fasquel. Though Louise’s birthdate is not known, she had at least two brothers, Jean-Marie Charles, born in 1846, and Adolphe Marie Albert, born in 1863; Adam dedicated a quadrille, Fil-à-voile, to her brother Charles in 1880. Adam married Georges Jules Andre Adam in 1869, and published piano music under her married name between 1879-1883. The six compositions by Adam available in the BnF’s catalogue include two waltzes, a polka, a quadrille, and a galop. All but one of these works were produced without a named editor, and the only score which uses a commercial publisher, Andrée (Paris: A. O’Kelly & Naus, 1881) is a reprint of a waltz called Andrée-valse, published a year earlier. A further marriage certificate for Adam in 1886 shows she later married Aime Pierre Gaudry, to whom she had devoted a waltz, Roses de Noel, five years previously.

In 1880, Adam dedicated and named Fernando Galop to Louis Fernando, the artistic director of le Cirque Fernando, in Paris. A year later, Adam performed her own composition, Charitée, at a soirée for Fernando’s circus troupe; the profits from the music, which would only be available to buy from certain vendors, would go towards the city’s fire service. The score for Charitée is not the only composition by Adam which is lost, as a note written by L’Amusant correspondant Pierre Affusy in 1883 names a further waltz, Nemo, though again no editor is indicated.

Jeanne Alombert (1874-1964)
(Eugénie Victorine Jeanne Alombert)
Born in Paris on the 16th of May 1874, Jeanne Alombert was the daughter of Marguerite Gabrielle Flory, and Pierre Edouard Antony Alombert, a porter. Jeanne married architect René Louis Joseph Henri de Sevelinges on the 19th of December 1899, and the wedding ceremony took place at Saint Honoré d’Eylau in Paris, near Alombert’s residence at 3 place Victor-Hugo; the couple then lived at 7 place Pereire (renamed Place du Maréchal-Juin in 1973), and had two sons and two daughters between 1901-1909.
Before her marriage, Alombert published piano music with Schott in 1891-1895, with a mix of solo pieces and dance music including waltzes, mazurkas, and polkas; one of her compositions, Bagatelle (1893), was arranged for orchestra and published by Loret fils in 1896. Alombert is also listed as a piano teacher from 1894-1897, teaching from 3 place Victor-Hugo, though notably there is no musical activity on record for Alombert in the two years before her marriage onwards.

See: Annuaire des artistes, 1894-1897.

Mme Léon Auffant (18x-19x)
Though no biographical information on Mme Léon Auffant is available, the BnF’s catalogue lists 22 published compositions spanning from 1856-1892, nine of which are religious songs for one voice, as well as ten pieces for piano in popular dance styles, including waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, and quadrilles. Auffant’s works are largely self-published, aside from a handful of compositions produced by E. Gerard in the 1860s. Auffant is also listed as a composer and music teacher in 1863.

Marguerite Balutet (1853-1928)
A respected pianist, composer, Officier de l’instruction publique, Officier d’académie, and a bronze medal holder for didactic works at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris. After studying under Felix le Couppey at the Paris conservatoire, where she won prizes in piano performance, Balutet founded l’Ecole Beethoven, a prize-winning school in rue Blanche that offered its female students certificates of capacity in music teaching; the school’s salons were also the site of student, teacher, and guest concerts, and its students were responsible for the debut of Debussy’s Petite Suite and his second Arabesque in 1894. As well as being a regular performer in some of the most prestigious salons in Paris, Balutet published over 100 compositions in the course of her career, which mainly consisted of piano solo works, but also included music for violin, cello, organ, harp, and voice ensembles; a number of her compositions have been digitised by the BnF. Balutet also authored a text on music theory. Balutet does not appear to have ever married, and died in 1928 after “a long and grave illness.” The fate of Balutet’s school after she passed is not known.

See:
Marguerite Balutet, Carte de visite de Marguerite Balutet à Charles Malherbe, Paris, in the BnF.
Eugénie Bardin-Royer (18x-1923)

Eugénie Royer married Antoine Auguste Bardin in 1852, and was active as a composer and music teacher throughout the 1850s-1890s. She published mostly dance repertoire for piano, including 7 waltzes, and 13 polkas/mazurkas, and two galops. A number of Bardin-Royer’s compositions seem to have been received with some success in Paris, and were arranged for orchestra by violin teacher and music editor Henri Marx, as well as the conductor of the orchestra at the Bal Bullier, Desblins. Her later life was dedicated to teaching, and in 1893 Bardin Royer is listed as teaching from the same address as her daughter Adèle, in Boulogne-sur-Seine.

See:
Annuaire des artistes 1893, page 232.

Mme Alexandre Bataille (18x-19x)
(Isabelle Julie Marotte)

Pianist, singer, composer, and wife of respected piano manufacturer and instrument inventor Alexandre Bataille. Born Isabelle Julie Marotte, the Batailles married in 1847, and had at least three children: Marie Éléonore (b. 1848) who married performance artist Henri Arthur Jean-Phillippe Marie Capelly; Jeanne Isabelle; and Ernest, whose occupation is indicated as a “receveur des ventes - éventailiste,” - a fan maker and seller.

Isabelle Bataille published a handful of piano pieces under the family business Bataille & Co. between 1854-1865, including a waltz written for and performed at the 1858 Exposition Universelle in Dijon. She also taught piano, then later singing, and gave lessons on the keyboard inventions created by her husband, including the piano-orchestre. From 1876 the keyboard manufacturing business, formerly attributed to Alexandre Bataille, is registered under Mme Bataille’s name, and from 1882 records for company disappear altogether, though Mme Bataille still appears to have been teaching until at least 1894, first from rue Richier living with her son and his new wife, then from an address in Nanterre.

See:
Figaro-programme 11 January 1859, page 2.
Clémentine Batta (1819-1880)
(Julie Françoise Clémentine O’Mahony)
Clémentine Batta, born Julie Françoise Celementine O’Mahoney, was a composer of religious and romantic songs and piano solos in the 1850s-60s. The daughter of a high-ranking military family from Paris with Irish heritage, Clémentine was first married to a man 18 years her senior (civil engineer Andre Hyppolite Bourdon), and had a daughter, Marie Juvenal Gontran Bourdon, in 1842. One year after becoming widowed in 1863, Clémentine married the celebrated Belgian cellist Alexander Batta, who transcribed her first composition, songe d’enfant, for violin/cello; the couple had a daughter born in 1852, who was legitimised by her parents’ marriage 12 years later. The family spent time in Jersey, before later settling in Versaille. As well as composing music, Clémentine authored a nature book for children in English, which was published under her maiden name.

See:
Une lettre de Clémentine Batta, 4 janvier [to Alexandre Batta], in the BnF.

Claire Bertou (ca.1817-1872)
A prodigy pianist, who became a modest sensation in the nineteenth-century Parisian press for her talents despite being blind from birth. Bertou initially published piano waltzes with Mayaud in the 1840s, but by the 1850s, now with Heugel, she began to favour polkas and mazurkas. Her last works in the late 1860s showed a shift again towards a preference for composing chansons and polkas, now publishing with Mennesson in Reims. A number of Bertou’s works were featured as part of Le ménestrel’s weekly musical supplement for subscribers, and her concert dance pieces for 4 and 6 hands were particularly popular in their time.

See:
Le ménestrel (13 October 1872), page 376 (obituary).

Célestine Blancard (18x-1914)
Célestine Blancard, née Gras, was a pianist, composer, and the grandmother* of child prodigy Jeanne Blancard. The BnF lists 32 published works for Blancard, consisting mostly of dance music for piano, and chansons. A number of Blancard’s compositions are for children, including an album for young pianists, which was produced in the same year as a ‘polkinetta’ dedicated to Jeanne, inscribed “Jouée par une enfant de 3 ans” - played by a 3 year-old child (Célestine Blancard, Petite Jeanne,
Paris: l’auteur, ca. 1887). Soon after, Célestine published *Rondo pour piano*, which was played by a four-year-old Jeanne at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris. Célestine continued composing and publishing music with the family editor Blancard, owned by her son (Jeanne’s father, Henri Émile Blancard) until 1906.

*The BnF’s data webpages say that Célestine was Jeanne’s mother, while marriage banns on geneanet and ancestry.fr prove that Jeanne was in fact the daughter of Henri Émile Blancard - Célestine’s son.

**Jeanne Blancard (1884-1972)**
A child prodigy who began performing on the piano from three years-old, Jeanne Blancard had her first public debut at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris one year later. At the age of seven, Blancard came to the attention of Conservatoire professors Massenet and Raoul Pugno, who declared Blancard a musical “miracle;” Pugno would come to be Blancard’s professor at the conservatoire in 1897. After leaving the conservatoire in 1899 with first prize in piano, Blancard toured France and Europe, before settling in Paris and enjoying a rich performing career, while teaching music at the prestigious L’École normale de musique, co-founded and directed by Alfred Cortot. In 1938, while teaching at the school, Blancard published a text on piano technique for beginners based on techniques by Cortot, and from 1941 began contributing fingerings to Salabert’s Editions of selected piano music by Brahms.

As well as performing and teaching music, Blancard had a keen interest in composition from an early age, and by 1896 she had published nearly 30 piano works with the publisher Maquet (a mix of mainly impromptus, mazurkas, and waltzes), many of which were dedicated to respected musical personalities active in Paris at the time, such as Camille Saint-Saëns, and her music teacher Alfred Josset, the founder and director of the music course at the l’Institution de Saint-Jean-de-Dieu in Paris.

Blancard was well-known for her ability to improvise in styles from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, performing in this way at the age of 11 at a music history lecture in the Sorbonne. This skill is first documented in her initial meeting with Pugno and Massenet, and her *Berceuse et Autrefois*, dedicated to theatre actress Sarah Bernhardt, is composed in a “sixteenth century style.” Blancard continued to write music consistently between 1893-1900, and 55 years after her death in 1972, a special concert of her music was held by concert pianist Jacques Greys at the salle Cortot, located at the École Normale de Musique, in his former teacher’s honour. Blancard married Gaston Fetilleux, and had one son, Robert.
See:

Jeanne Blancard, *Lettre de Jeanne Blancard à Georges Dandelot*, in the BnF.
*Le ménestrel* (21 March 1897), page 96.

**Alice Boisnaudouin** (1868-19x)

(Alice Schiffler)

Born Alice Schiffler in 1868, Boisnaudouin won third prize in the piano preparatory class at the conservatoire in Paris in 1885. A year after her marriage to landlord Jules François Gobineau-Boisnaudoin in 1890, Alice published nine dance pieces for piano with Schott, consisting of waltzes, polkas, and marches; no further record of Alice is available after 1891.

See:

*Le XIX siécle*, 21 October 1890 (marriage announcement).

**Marie-Letizia Rattazzi** (1831-1902)

(Marie-Letizia Bonaparte-Wyse)

Rattazzi was the aristocratic illegitimate daughter of Captain Studholme John Hodgson, an officer in the British Army, and the Napoleon Bonaparte’s niece Princess Letizia. Though Ratazzi was born in Ireland, she grew up and was educated in Paris after her mother separated from her husband, Sir Thomas Wyse. In 1848, At the age of 17, Rattazzi married the wealthy Frédéric Joseph de Solms, who left for America soon after their union. Rattazzi embarked on an affair with Count Alexis de Pommereu, and became pregnant; their son Alexis de Solms was born in 1852. One year later, Rattazzi and her son were ordered to leave France based on rumours that Marie was hosting known subversives in her salons. After settling in the then-Sardinian territory of Savoy, Rattazzi established new salons in a chalet built for her by her lover, Pommereau.

In 1860, Savoy became French territory, and Rattazzi returned to Paris. After her husband’s death, Rattazzi scandalised society in 1863 with her marriage to Urbano Rattazzi, a statesman from Piedmont. The couple lived together in Florence, where Urbano was serving as the city’s first Prime Minister, and had one daughter, Romana Rattazzi. Widowed again in 1873, Rattazzi returned to
Paris, and in the same year married her friend Don Luis de Rute y Ginez, a Spanish politician. The couple adopted two daughters, Teresa and Dolores de Rute. In 1889, Rattazzi was widowed for a final time.

Primarily an author, Rattazzi spent her life amassing a large corpus of novels, poems, plays, and 17 musical compositions, which were frequently performed by herself and her friends in her salons. She also edited and made contributions to the *Nouvelle revue internationale*, and produced a set of memoirs. Rattazzi died in Paris in 1902.

**Mel Bonis** (1858-1937)

Mélanie-Hélène Bonis was born in Paris, to devout Catholic lower-middle-class parents who opposed her passion for music from the outset. Having taught herself the piano, Bonis was introduced to César Franck by family friend Jacques Maury, a cornet professor at the Paris Conservatoire. Maury convinced Bonis’s parents to allow their daughter access to a musical education, and Bonis took private piano lessons with Franck from the age of 16. Encouraged by her teacher, Bonis also started composing short pieces for keyboard, using the pseudonym Mel Bonis to conceal her gender. Bonis began attending the Conservatoire a year later, where she studied piano, accompaniment, and harmony alongside Debussy and Pierné. Despite winning first prize in harmony in 1880, Bonis’s parents removed her from the school after learning their daughter had formed a relationship with classmate Amédée Hettich, and arranged her marriage in 1883 to Albert Domange. Domange was a wealthy widower nearly 25 older than Bonis, with five sons from his first marriage; Domange and Bonis had three further children together.

After a chance encounter with Hettich not long after her marriage, Bonis was introduced to the publisher Alphonse Leduc, and began publishing keyboard works, and songs set to texts written by Hettich. An affair with Hettich produced a daughter, Madeleine, who was born secretly in 1899. After Madeleine’s birth, Bonis composed fervently, and she produced over 300 works for keyboard, organ, choir, orchestra, and chamber music. She became a member of the SCM, won prizes for her compositions, and had her pieces performed by the most prominent musicians of the day, such as Louis Fournier and Ricardo Viñes. Bonis died a widow in Sarcelles in 1937, at the age of 79.

See:

Elisa Bosch (18x-18x)
Pianist, teacher, and composer of 49 piano works between 1854-1898 in the BnF’s catalogue, a number of which have been digitised and are available on Gallica. Most of Bosch’s compositions are made up of waltzes, polkas, and romantic songs, and numerous dedications to (and from) students indicate that Bosch made a living teaching music from at least 1860. In 1890, Bosch was named as an Officier d’académie for piano teaching, and in 1893 a Mme Bosch appears as a piano and solfège teacher at the École National de Musique in Perpignan. Despite her compositional output and successful teaching career, no biographical information is available for Bosch, and she is similarly absent from French press of the period.

See:
*Annuaire des artistes*, 1893.

Laure Brice (18x-18x)
Laure Brice was a composer who was best known for her romances, which were popular in Parisian salons in the early part of the nineteenth century. Brice was a member of the Cercle Saint-Cécile, a group of composers headed by Berlioz, who met weekly to share their new works. Other members included Cherubini, Jules Maurel, and Loisa Puget. Brice also held regular concerts at the salle Herz in the 1840s, where her own romances were performed. The BnF holds 43 chansons by Brice, and 3 piano waltzes, mostly published by Mme A. Guerin.

La Comtesse G. J. de Bullet (18x-18x)
Pianist and composer of dance music for piano published in 1875-1876, particularly mazurkas and quadrilles. Bullet also wrote a religious song for soprano and baritone solo, with chorus, harp, flute, violon, cello, double-bass and organ accompaniment.

Madeleine Mathilde Cahen (18x-1911)
Piano teacher in the late nineteenth century living and teaching from rue Vieille-du-Temple, Cahen also published 11 dance pieces for piano, including polkas, waltzes, and quadrilles.

See:
*Annuaire des artistes*, 1894-1899
Louisa de Caraman Chimay (1837-1890)
(Marie-Clotilde-Élisabeth Louise de Riquet, comtesse de Mercy-Argenteau)
Belgian aristocrat, socialite, pianist, author, and composer of a handful of pieces for piano published by Flaxland, as well as a critical essay on Cesar Cui written in 1888; was the lover of Napoleon III, and a good friend of Franz Liszt.

See:
Louise de Mercy-Argenteau, César Cui, esquisse critique, par la Ctesse de Mercy-Argenteau (Paris: Fischbacher, 1888)

Marguerite Casalonga (1865-1935)
(Marie Marguerite Octavia Hélène Anne Casalonga; 'Vanina' (pseud.))
Pianist, singer, performer, and composer, and later a film director and contributor to twentieth-century theatre review journal Comœdia Illustré (1908-1935). Born in Paris, Casalonga was of Corsican heritage through her father, a civil engineer turned patenting lawyer, whose firm, Casalonga, still operates today. Casalonga was a student of Gounod, and was championed from early on in her career by both Gounod and Saint-Saëns; she was also a member of SACEM from 1896-1910. In 1897, Casalonga married writer, dramaticist, and journalist Lucien Victor Meunier, a radical socialist who wrote articles for the journal Rappel, and was secretary for the Association de la presse Française, who later became president of the Bordeaux section of the Human Rights League and was awarded a legion of honour. Casalonga performed Mozart’s O Salutaris at her own wedding at Saint-Honoré-d’Eylau church in Paris; after having a son and a daughter, Casalonga and Meunier divorced in 1903.

A keen performer, Casalonga was a regular fixture in the Opéra Comique and the Théâtre Lyrique from around 1891, and had a working relationship with fellow pianist and composer Hélène Kryzanowska. After a performance visit to London in 1907, she was featured in the first edition of the Comœdia Illustré in an article written by Charles Malherbe (Bibliothècaire de l’Opéra), and thereafter regularly contributed theatrical reviews to the journal under the pseudonym Vanina. She was also the co-author for the official programmes of the Russian Ballet’s dance seasons in Paris, and in 1922, Casalonga co-wrote and produced a film with René Carrère, Corsica, under the
pseudonym Vanina Casalonga; the film was released in July 1923 to positive reviews. Casalonga died at her home in Neuilly-sur-Seine in 1935, and was buried in her family plot at the Cimitière de Passy.

See:
*Comœdia Illustré*, 1908-1920.

**The Caussinus sisters**

Sophie Marie Victorine Caussinus (1849-1912)

Marie-Louise Felicite Caussinus (1855-1904)

The Caussinus sisters were pianists, composers, and music teachers. Daughters of well-respected musician Victor Caussinus, a piano and ophicleid professor at the Conservatoire Musical Militaire in Paris, and member of the Sociète des Concerts du Conservatoire. The back cover for Marie-Louise’s *1re grand valse de concert* (1899) advertises Victor’s popular compositions and texts on musical method.

Sophie Caussinus married at 17 and self-published two compositions - a polka (1884) and a waltz (1890) for piano - under her married name, Sophie Renaud-Caussinus. A letter in the BnF also indicates that she had some contact with Jules Massenet. Marie-Louise married a widower in 1892, taking on his eight-year-old daughter. She published 17 scores between 1880-1896, seven of which were waltzes. Some of her music was showcased at the Exposition Universelle in 1889, including an allegro militaire for piano, dedicated to the youngest Caussinus sister Eugénie and her husband, as well as a polka brillante (arranged for 2 hands, 4 hands, and orchestra), which was performed at the Fair on les pianos Lacape.

See:
Letter from Sophie Caussinus to Jules Massenet, held in the Bibliothèque-musée de l’Opéra, NLAS-120 (82); available to view on Gallica.

**Joséphine Caye[s] (1842-18x)**

(Louise Marie Joséphine Caye)

Born in Metz in 1842, Joséphine Caye was a pianist and composer who attended the Conservatoire National in Paris, winning 2nd runner up on piano at the age of 14. Caye married Charles Henri Damay in June 1872, and their only son was born the same year.
Caye composed a handful of pieces for piano between 1856-1862, including waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, and fantasies, which were published in Metz by Caye and in Paris by A. Grus; from time to time, Grus advertised Caye’s new compositions in *Le ménestrel*, recommending them as salon music.

**M. T. Celestini** (18x-18x)
(Marie-Thérèse Jauzion)

Celestini was the artistic pseudonym of Marie-Thérèse Jauzion, who published around 44 compositions with Benoît aîné in the 1870s-1890s. The majority of Jauzion’s works are piano solos and romances, but also include some chansons, galops, and waltzes. Most of Jauzion’s music dated 1871-1873 comes inscribed with the words "Pour ceux qui manquent de pain" - for those who lack bread; in this period, she also dedicated and named a number of her pieces after her boarding school friends.

**Cécile Chaminade** (1857-1944)

Born in Paris, Cécile Chaminade was a pianist, and the first female composer to win the Légion d’Honneur. Chaminade was a private student of Conservatoire professors Felix Le Couppey (piano), Martin Pierre Marsick (violin), and Benjamin Godard (composition), but was discouraged from officially enrolling at the Conservatoire due to her father’s disapproval of her musical education. Nevertheless, Chaminade began composing from around the age of eight, impressing Georges Bizet with her earliest pieces. Chaminade would go on to publish around 400 scores, and although she was initially interested in creating chamber and symphonic music, Chaminade found most commercial success with her works for the salon, including keyboard dances and character pieces. Chaminade also enjoyed a successful performing career where she showcased her own popular compositions, and toured France, England, and the USA. The French press, however, frequently belittled Chaminade, the the criticism may have contributed to a decline in her popularity in the twentieth century.

Chaminade married the music publisher Louis-Mathieu Carbonel, in 1901. Sources suggest the relationship was strictly platonic, and after Carbonel died in 1907, Chaminade did not remarry. Having made various recordings on piano rolls between 1901-1914, Chaminade composed with less frequency after the first World War due to her declining health; she died in Monte Carlo in 1944.

See:
Ida Chapelle (18x-1901)

(Ida Jeaussau)

Composer of 21 pieces for piano under the pseudonym Ida Chapelle. Jeaussau began publishing waltzes, polkas, and romances with Schmitt and Alard in 1877, before regularly producing quadrilles with Masclet between 1878-79. A number of her quadrilles are dedicated to big names in Parisian artistic society, such as composer, conductor, and cornet virtuoso Jean-Baptiste Arban, high-profile stage actress Sarah Bernhardt, well-known conductor of the bals de l’Opéra de Paris Olivier Métra, and the celebrated writers Victor Hugo, Jules Verne, and Theodore de Banville. Many of Chapelle’s scores, particularly the quadrilles, are illustrated to a high quality by B. Delaroche.

Mme Chouville-Bodard (18x-18x)

Pianist, harmonium player, teacher, and composer, who at first published music in Paris with Chaillot between 1855-1858, then in Rouen with F. Tribout from 1901-1904. In 1874, Chouville-Bodard appears as a piano and harmonium teacher living with her husband at 36 Rue Saint-Nicaise, Rouen. Chouville-Bodard produced music for piano, organ, and romantic songs.

Hélène Collin (1864-19xx)

Collin was a child prodigy pianist, composer, and music teacher, who started her studies at the Conservatoire de Paris in 1874 at the age of 10. While at the conservatoire, Collin was under the tutelage of Felix Le Couppey (in the same class as Hélène Kryzanowska), and won an array of prizes, including first in prize in solfège in 1874, and first in piano in both 1876 and 1884. Collin also won the Prix Popelle in 1884 and 1885. Collin first began publishing her music in 1881, with a set of three dances - a mazurka, a polka, and a waltz - set in the context of a ball. After leaving the conservatoire, Collin performed works by Chavagnat, Gregh, Mendelssohn and Chopin at the salle Érard, which won her positive reviews in the French press. This period was also her most productive in composition, with 10 publications released between 1888-1890 under Louis Gregh. The dedications of her music imply a close relationship with her editor and his family, as Collin taught piano to Gregh’s two sons, Fernand and Henri. Collin also had a strong working relationship with fellow conservatoire alumnus Edouard Chavagnat, and the two devoted music to each other in 1888.
In around 1890, Collin began focusing more on her teaching and performing career, and was one of the professors on a “cours parisiens de musique et de déclamation” in the salons Flaxland alongside Chavagnat and Marguerite Balutet. In 1894, Collin’s appointment was announced as the new piano teacher at L’École classique de la rue de Berlin (now rue de Liege), directed by her friend, Chavagnat. The school was located two roads away from Balutet’s music school l’Ecole Beethoven on 80 rue Blanche, and performance reviews in Le ménestrel indicate that Collin’s relationship with Balutet, as well as her old conservatoire classmate Kryzanowska, was a positive one; in 1897 the three performed at a special concert dedicated to music by women composers given by Louise Filliaux-Tiger at the salle Pleyel. In 1905 Collin gave a series of concerts at the salle Pleyel, and performed Fauré’s Ballade (Op.19), accompanied by orchestra, in a special concert of the composer’s music in 1913; around this time, Collin was still teaching music from an address in rue de Turin, offering classes in piano, solfège, and harmony. One of Collin’s final performances was for the radio in 1824.

See:
Pierre, Le Conservatoire National, 880.

Louise Contenet de Sapincourt (1834-1919)
(Louise Cécile Elvire Poan de Sapincourt)
Born in Château-Thierry on 2 October 1834, Sapincourt was aristocratic pianist, composer, and poet whose father. Sapincourt married landlord Victor Henri Contenet (1822-1872) in 1856. As a composer, Sapnicourt published 22 piano romances and dances and religious songs in the 1860s-1900s. A keen author, Sapincourt also published a book of poetry in 1885 (reprinted 1905), and submitted a number of her verses and musical compositions to public competitions. In 1890, Louise was accepted into the “group d’honneur de l’Athenée des Troubadours,” and was also a member of l’Association des dames françaises.

See:
Louise Cécile Elvire Poan de Sapincourt, Rimes écossaises (Avec une preface par Edward Sansot) (Auch, France: G. Foix, 1885).
Bulletin de l’Association des dames françaises/Croix-rouge française (July 1890), 229.
L’Écho des jeunes: journal littéraire (1 December 1899), 136.
L’Écho des trouvères: journal poétique, artistique, scientifique, théâtral et industriel (01 September 1891), 133.
Marie de Cournand (1822 or 1824-1917)
(Anne Marie-Fortunée Cournand)
Born in St. Petersburg in 1824, Anne Marie-Fortunée Cournand was a concert pianist and composer. Cournand attended the Paris conservatoire, winning second prize in Solfège in 1836, and was the final student of Chopin before his death in 1849. As a composer, Cournand was most active in the 1850s, publishing a number of piano romances and waltzes with Challiot. In 1841, Marie married Maurice Martin Thadée Roubaud (1820-1869), an architect born in Odessa. The pair had two children, both born in Odessa - a son, Marie Jean Robert (1842-1867), who died aged 25, and a daughter, Adelaide-Marie (1844-1897). Cournand and her daughter, who was a singer, would often perform together at high-profile soirées in Paris, including a concert at the salle Pleyel in 1866, which featured musicians from the conservatoire and the Théâtre-Italien. Adelaide later perished in the fire at the Bazar de la Charité in 1897, which killed 125 other people.

See:
Édouard Ganche, Dans le souvenir de Frédéric Chopin, Mercure de France, 1925
Livre d'or des martyrs de la charité, hommage aux victimes de la catastrophe du 4 mai 1897 (Paris: Bureau des oeuvres d'Orient), 205.

Laure Dancla (1824-1880)
(Alphonsine Geneviève Laure Dancla)
Pianist, teacher, and composer from Bagneres-de-Bigorre, and youngest sister of the Dancla brothers Jean-Charles (violinist, b. 1817), Arnaud-Philippe (cellist, b. 1819), and Jeanne-Pierre Léopold (b. 1822). Dancla and her brothers moved to Paris with their violinist father after each winning a place at the Conservatoire. Laure Dancla won runner up in Solfège in 1836, then first prize one year later. As well as teaching music, Dancla was a celebrated pianist, performing at concerts with the societe philharmonique; she also stayed close to her brothers, teaching piano and performing with them as part of a string quartet. In the 1850s, Dancla published a number of compositions for piano - mainly waltzes, mazurkas, and romances - with a string of editors. In 1862 Dancla married Jean-Georges Dalifard, an orchestra conductor in the military who served in Algeria, and holder of the legion of honour. Georges died in Tarbes on 11 February 1880, and Laure followed just over a month later, on 22 March 1880.
Louise Farrenc (1804-1875)

(Jeanne Louise Dumont)

Born in Paris in 1804, Louise Farrenc was a pianist, composer, and professor of piano at the Paris Conservatoire. At a young age, Farrenc initially began piano lessons with Muzio Clementi’s former student Cecile Soria, then studied with Ignaz Moscheles and Johann Hummel. From 15, Farrenc also received tuition in composition with Anton Reicha of the Paris Conservatoire. After marrying flautist Aristide Farrenc in 1821, the pair toured France giving concerts together, before settling back in Paris and opening the publishing house Éditions Farrenc; Louise also resumed her lessons with Reicha.

Farrenc’s reputation as a virtuoso pianist was significant, and in 1842 she was appointed as Professor of Piano at the Paris Conservatoire, where she continued to teach for the next thirty years. As well as performing and teaching, Farrenc published over 100 works for keyboard, chamber music, and orchestra; in 1849, her third symphony was performed at the Conservatoire’s Société des concerts. Farrenc was also greatly interested in the revival of early keyboard music, and contributed to nineteenth-century understandings of historically informed performance and technique.

During their marriage, Louise and Aristide had a daughter, Victorine, who was also a successful concert pianist and Conservatoire student, but who died at the age of 33. Farrenc died a widow in Paris in 1875.

See:


**Louise Haenel de Cronenthal (1839-1896)**

Daughter of piano-maker François-Jules Haenel de Cronenthal, Louise Haenel de Cronenthal was born in Graz on the 18th of June 1839. Cronenthal was accepted into the Paris conservatoire at 17 years old, and later dedicated her scores to five of her professors at the school. Cronenthal produced nearly 100 works across a variety of genres, including symphonies, a string quartet, and piano music. One of Cronenthal’s most experimental compositions was a set of Chinese music transcriptions, which were performed every day at the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris to positive reviews; she won an exhibition medal for her efforts. Cronenthal married Gabriel Léonce du Trousset, comte d’Hericourt, in 1862, and died in Paris around 1876.

See:

**Anna Karl (1851-1831)**

(Anne Melkior)

Anne Amélie Victoire Melkior was born on 30 May 1851 in the poorest district of Brussels. The only recorded child of a locksmith, little else is known about her early life. Some time before 1871, Anne met Alfred Forest (1844-1918), a radical socialist and son of an attorney at the court of appeals in Paris, who had fled France in 1869 to avoid his conscription to the army. In Brussels, Forest began running a café-concert under the pseudonym Armand Karl. Anne and Alfred had five living children between 1872-1879, the youngest of whom was born after the couple relocated to Paris in 1879. Forest and Melkior married in Paris in 1893.

After settling in Paris, Melkior began publishing her compositions using the surname of Alfred’s old pseudonym - Anna Karl. Initially producing dance music for piano, Melkior turned her attentions to exclusively composing chansons from 1882, setting music to text by Edmond Martin, Émile Duham and Jean Bonin, A. Henriot, and Albert Lambert. Melkior would go on to write around 40 chansons, and 20 keyboard pieces, a number of which were arranged for orchestra and military ensembles, and performed at various venues in Paris. In 1888, Forest set up a music publishing business, which he sold to Melkior a year later for 10,000 francs. Melkior continued publishing her compositions under A. Forest up until 1891. The business was then sold to Voiry in 1894/1895, before Forest and Melkior moved away to Neuilly-Plaisance, Plateau d’Avron; from this point, Anna published no more new compositions. The Forests returned again to Paris in around 1899, where they lived at their former editing business address - 22 boulevard st. Denis - which was also where
their second son Armand, now attending the Paris conservatoire, had been giving violin lessons from in the period his parents lived away.

Forest died in 1918 at their home in the rue Dancourt; Melkior followed her husband in 1931. After winning first prize in violin at the Conservatoire in 1895, Armand went on to play in the orchestra at the Opéra Comique, before touring the USA as a virtuoso. The Forests’ youngest daughter Marie also attended the Conservatoire, winning first prize in piano in 1898; she won second in 1899, losing out to Jeanne Blancard that year. The eldest Forest child, Alfred, was a musician in the military. The two middle daughters, Jeanne and Anne, do not appear to have had any musical career, marrying two businessmen brothers in a double wedding. While she was alive, Melkior performed with her son at a conference for the League of Human Rights in 1903, while her daughter Marie performed her mother’s piano waltzes in concert at a benefit for the socialist magazine La Lutte Sociale (1903).

See:
Pierre, Le Conservatoire National, 95.
La Lutte sociale de Seine-et-Oise et des cantons de Pantin et Noisy-le-Sec: organe de la Fédération socialiste révolutionnaire de Seine-et-Oise (20 June 1903). A3 N119, 20/06/1903

Kryzanowska (Marie-Louise-Hélène) (4 August 1867-1937)

Halina ‘Hélène’ Kryzanowska was born in Courbevoie in 1867 as the daughter of an exiled Polish family living in Paris. After being accepted into the preparatory piano classes at the Conservatoire, Kryzanowska won third prize in Solfège at the age of 12, then first prize in the same category one year later. In her inaugural year of moving into Felix Le Couppey’s highly competitive adult women’s class at just 14, Kryzanowska placed first runner-up for her performance of Chopin’s Ballade op.23. Kryzanowska won second place in piano in 1885, then first in (year).

A gifted concert pianist, Kryzanowska performed at various high-profile concerts around Paris, mostly held at the salles Érard, and Kriegelstein. Kryzanowska’s was also chosen as one of the pianists to perform at the opening of her former Conservatoire professor Le Couppey’s new salon in 1886. Specialising in interpreting music by Chopin and Liszt, Kryzanowska also started to organise her own concerts at these venues from approximately 1888, which is around the time that she began to gain a reputation as a promising young female composer.

Kryzanowska had initially begun publishing her music in 1887, while studying at the Conservatoire despite receiving no tuition in composition at the institution. Nevertheless, some of her first published works - a set of seven chansons based on poetry by Jean Chasse - were hailed a
After a successful European tour in which her own compositions were featured, Kryzanowska was appointed professor of the piano superieur class at the Conservatoire in Rennes in 1900, and was the first woman to lead the advanced course. While Kryzanowska greatly improved the standard of piano tuition, and was named as an Officier de l’instruction public in 1902, her time at the Conservatoire was fraught with disagreements, mainly between herself and the newly-appointed director Émile Boussagol; these disputes led to Kryzanowska’s resignation in 1908.

No longer teaching at the conservatoire, Kryzanowska remained in Rennes, giving private lessons from an address at 19, avenue Bois-Rondel. She also immersed herself in a personal, musical, and political project which had begun a few years earlier, culminating in a lifelong partnership with Les Amis de Pologne; in 1920, Paderewski named Kryzanowska as one of the principle contemporary Polish musicians of the time. Kryzanowska later returned to her post at the Conservatoire in Rennes, teaching there until her death in around 1939.*

*Although the BnF’s data pages say Kryzanowska died in 1937, notices of her students winning prizes in L’Ouest-Éclair indicate she was teaching at the conservatoire in Rennes right up to her death, and only mention her passing in 1939.

See:
Letter from Hélène Kryzanowska to Charles Malherbe, held in the Bibliothèque-musée de l’opéra, LAS KRYZANOWSKA (HÉLÈNE) 1; available to view on Gallica.
MS autograph of Hélène Krysanowska’s Scherzo (Extract from the Second Sonata in fa minor), in Charles Malherbe’s collection of autographs by contemporary composers to mark the 1900 Exposition Universelle, Volume XVII. Held in the BnF: Bibliothèque-musée de l’opéra: BOB-3845
Constant Pierre, Le Conservatoire National, 784.

Laure Micheli (18x-18x)

Prolific composer and conductor with 78 scores in the BnF’s catalogue, ranging from 1847-1896, and the first recorded case of a female conductor of an all-male orchestra in Paris. Micheli taught piano and singing in Paris before she began publishing keyboard dance scores as musical supplements in Le ménestrel, who appears to have been her lifelong editor. In 1855, numerous influential conductors...
also attached to Heugel and *Le ménestrel* began scoring orchestrated versions of Micheli’s dances for performance at balls, public dances, and concerts around Paris. Soon, Micheli’s music became a permanent fixture at these events, contributing to the commercial popularity of her piano music.

Micheli made her conducting debut leading Musard’s dance orchestra in a concert held at the hotel d’Osmond in 1857. Micheli continued to conduct dance orchestras regularly throughout the 1850s-60s, and made appearances at the Hotel des Concerts de Paris, the salle Salle Saint-Cécile, and the Théâtre d’Orléans; her music continued to feature regularly in concert and ball programmes led by herself and other conductors, and was particularly popular at the Château des Fleurs, the parc d’Asnières, and the bal Mabille.

In 1865, Micheli was offered the opportunity to lead Alphonse Sax’s new, all-female brass ‘orchestra.’ Micheli made her first appearance conducting the ensemble in September 1865, at the salle Herz. Though public and press reactions to the group were mixed, the *fanfare féminine* performed in various Parisian venues for around a year, and Micheli regularly showcased arrangements of her own compositions in their concerts. By 1866, however, Micheli and Sax’s relationship showed signs of strain, and the group presumably disbanded soon after; though Micheli continued publishing new compositions for two more years with *Le ménestrel*, and her dances were performed at balls until at least January 1870, there is no further evidence of her activities as a conductor after the brass orchestra’s dissolution.

See:
Micheli’s debut as a conductor: *Le ménestrel* (23 August 1857), page 4.
Micheli’s inaugural concert conducting the *fanfare féminine*: *Le ménestrel* (3 September 1865), page 319.

**Cécile Marie d’Orni**: (18x-1918)

The Countess Cécile Marie d’Orni was an aristocratic pianist, composer, teacher, music editor, music school owner, and author of piano method texts living in Paris.

D’Orni first began publishing didactic texts in 1858, which focused both on learning and teaching techniques. In 1868, she turned her attentions to publishing keyboard melodies and romances with Chatot, before establishing her own music editing business the following year; d’Orni produced just over 30 scores under her own name, consisting mainly of melodies and dances. As an editor, d’Orni also produced keyboard music for a number of additional composers, and including her own works, her catalogue amounts to just under 100 works. After she ceased trading in 1874, d’Orni also stopped publishing music until 1888, at which point she began producing scores first with Colombier, then with Gallet.
In the 1870s, d’Orni began to focus on her performing career, and organised annual concerts at the salle Herz where she and her students played; in the summer of 1881, d’Orni opened her own music school, which she named the Académie Libre de Musique. The school offered classes in Solfège, piano, singing, and diction, and by 1883, with Gounod as president, the Académie Libre was considered regarded as a serious competitor to the Paris Conservatoire; the competitive concerts and prize-winning ceremonies for students at the school were held at the salle Kriegelstein until the late 1880s. d’Orni, meanwhile, continued to perform at concerts held at various prestigious locations, including at the ‘Palais de la femme’ alongside fellow female composers Cécile Chaminade and Gabriella Ferrari. She also organised high-profile soirées at the home she shared with her husband the Comte d’Orni on the rue Caumartin. In 1892, d’Orni was named an official member of SACEM, and her most was popular at various open-air concerts in Paris, such as the Jardin des Tuileries and Jardin du Luxembourg, throughout the 1880s-1890s.


Hortense Parent (1837-1929)

Born in London, Hortense Parent first lived in England and Scotland, before relocating to Paris with her French parents in 1850. She studied piano with Felix Le Couppey from the age of around 13, then studies at the Conservatoire from 1853-1857, under the tutelage of Louise Farrenc. At the Conservatoire, Parent won numerous prizes, including: 1st in harmony and accompaniment (1854; 1855), 1st acc. in piano (1855), 2nd in piano (1856), 1st in piano (1857). During this time, Parent also published her first two compositions with J. Maho - a waltz, and a polka.

The year after leaving the conservatoire, Parent’s performance debut took place in Strasbourg in 1858, where she playing works by Henri Herz and Julius Schulhoff; Parent also performed in London and Paris. Parent’s next published compositions would not be produced until the 1870s, which, with her students in mind, included an album called Étude du piano, manuel de l’élève, conseils pratiques; most of Parent’s musical compositions from this point consist of exercises and instructional pieces for her students, and her unique methods for learning music by colour were influential in music pedagogy well into the twentieth century: the 20th edition of Rythme & Mesure: exercices pour piano en quatre parties. I : Exercices préparatoires (très faciles et faciles), for example, was printed in 1920, and the 5th edition of Répertoire encyclopédique du pianiste: analyse raisonnée d’œuvres choisis pour le piano appeared in 1930.

Parent seemed to find the greatest satisfaction in teaching, presenting her private students in concert once a year at the Salle Érard. In 1882, Parent authored her semi-manifesto Création d’une
école préparatoire au professorat du piano, fondée par Mlle Hortense Parent, proposing the foundation of a specialist school that would train women in teaching music, and asking for funding to make her concept a reality. After receiving support from the Association pour l’enseignement professionnel du piano, Parent established the École préparatoire au Professorat du Piano in 1822. Women could register for tuition at the school at low cost or with scholarships, and teachers on the programmes could also access books and materials free of charge through the school’s library. Two years after opening her school, Parent was awarded with an Officier d’académie.

An influential music pedagogue, Parent presented her innovative approach to learning and teaching music via a series of six lectures held at the Sorbonne in 1896 and 1897, and published papers based on these talks. In 1900, Parent once again discussed her school and methods in lecture for the Congres International de l’Histoire de la Musique, which took place during the Exposition International in Paris; Parent subsequently received a silver medal for didactic works from the Exposition’s judging panels. In 1916, Parent consolidated her various teaching methodologies and publications into one, large volume, called Analyses des ouvrages d’enseignement de Hortense Parent: Les Bases du mécanisme, Gammes et Arpèges, Rhythme et mesure, Lecture des notes dans toutes les clés, 25 Mélodies populaires transcrrites. Conscious of advancing rheumatism, Parent’s final concert took place for an intimate gathering of friends in 1924. Five years later, Parent died in Paris.

See:
H. de C., Le ménestrel (18 January 1929), page 32 (obituary).
Review on Parent’s lectures at the Sorbonne, in The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular Vol. 37, No. 641 (Jul. 1, 1896), page 479; available through JSTOR.

Marie de Pierpont (1844-1896)
(Marie-Héloïse de Pierpont)
Marie de Pierpont was a pianist, organist, and harmonium player born in Sevran in 1844. Pierpont published around 120 compositions for piano, organ, harmonium, and voice, as well as transcriptions and arrangements, exercises and methods, and music for dramas; some of Pierpont’s later works were orchestrated by Antony Lamotte. Pierpont is listed as an organ and harmonium teacher in Paris in the 1890s, and frequently performed for the SNM; one notable concert was with
Vincent d’Indy in 1888, where he and Pierpont played César Franck’s *Prelude, fugue, et variation* for harmonium and piano; little further information exists for Pierpont’s life and career.

See:

Freia Hoffman, *Pierpont, Marie de*, in The Sophie Drinker institut website: [https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/pierpont-marie-de](https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/pierpont-marie-de)


**Louise-Marie Pigneret-Moutié (1868-1941)**

(Louise Marie Godar-Perraut)

Louise Marie Godar-Perraut was born the illegitimate daughter of Caroline Marie Godar-Perraut, a 19-year-old florist and seamstress, and a then-unnamed father. In 1870, Caroline married Louise’s father, chemical engineer Jean Joseph Moutié, legitimising their daughter. The family relocated to Belgium after Pigneret-Moutié’s father was appointed general manager of factories in Charleroi, and Pigneret-Moutié began taking lessons at the Brussels Conservatoire. After studying with Dupont, Warnots, and Lemmens, Pigneret-Moutié returned to Paris, where she began publishing keyboard dances, then later, sacred vocal songs and music for organ with Vernede in the 1880s-1920s.

From around 1900, the publisher Pinatel started producing orchestrated versions of Pigneret-Moutié’s keyboard music, greatly increasing her popularity. Pigneret-Moutié’s compositions were regularly performed at the Grand Concerts du Trocadero, the Concordia, the Athenée Saint-Germain, and the Theater d’Antin; a talented pianist, Pigneret-Moutié regularly accompanied the singers performing her vocal works at these events. A member of SACEM and the Academies of Maine and the South-West, Pigneret-Moutié also won numerous prizes and medals in composition. In addition to composition and performance, Pigneret-Moutié contributed to the journals *Le Luth français* and the *Voix des Muses*.

Pigneret-Moutié married her neighbour, the doctor and amateur poet Émile Pigneret, in 1889. The couple entered arts compositions together; in 1901, for example, Pigneret won joint first prize in the poetry section of a competition held by journal *L’Echo des Jeunes*, while Pigneret-Moutié was awarded joint first prize in the same competition for her composition *Fleur brisée*, and joint second for *Pensée romantique*. In 1921, Pigneret-Moutié was married once more to Octave Jourdain.

See:

*Annuaire des artistes* (1903), page 463 (full biography and photograph).

*L’Echo des jeunes: journal litteraire* (1 August 8 1901), page 88.
Clara Pilet-Comettant (18x-1899)

(Clara Jeanne Comettant)

Clara Pilet Comettant was a piano teacher based in Rennes, who published keyboard dances - mainly waltzes - in Rennes and Paris. The sister of musicologist Oscar Comettant, she lived and taught from 1, rue Victor Hugo for most of her life, and married Stanislas Pierre Marie Pilet in 1851.

Although PC started publishing keyboard dances in the early 1850s, she is perhaps best known for inventing a game of musical bingo for children around the same time, called the Loto musical. Her game was developed in Rennes and printed by Oberthur, and was subsequently advertised and sold for around 15 francs in Paris for many years - particularly around Christmas and the New Year. Oscar Comettant also promoted the Loto musical in a review for Le ménestrel after his sister’s game was featured in the enseignement section of the Exposition Universelle in Paris, 1867. Comettant further recommended the game in his ethnographic study of 1869, La musique, les musiciens et les instruments de musique chez les différents peuples du monde.

After 55 years of performing, composing, and teaching, a retirement concert was held for Pilet Comettant in 1891. Pilet Comettant performed a concerto accompanied by orchestra and chorus, a piano duet composed by and performed with André Taponnier-Dubou (then the director of the Rennes Conservatoire), and a trio by Mendelssohn. Her death was reported in 1899.

See:
Annuaire des artistes (1893), page 447.
Oscar Comettant, La musique, les musiciens et les instruments de musique chez les différents peuples du monde (Paris: Michel Levy Frères, 1869), page 460.
Reviews of the Loto musical in Le ménestrel: 8 December 1861, page 15;
2 June 1867, page 213 (Oscar Comettant);
27 October 1867, page 213.
Le ménestrel (1 March 1891), page 72 (retirement concert).
For images of the Loto musical, see: http://www.jeuxanciensdecollection.com/pages/Loto-musical-8509621.html

Suzanne Pillevesse (1835-1895)

Suzanne-Louise Pillevesse was born in Paris, and attended the Conservatoire there, winning 2nd prize in Solfège in 1850. She married art dealer Étienne Adolphe Chailloux, and the pair had at least one child - a daughter called Juliette Caroline Pillevesse. Suzanne Pillevesse was widowed in 1887.

Pillevesse published around 30 keyboard compositions, but found most success with her waltz Les Ivresses, which appeared in a play of the same name by Théodore Barrière and Lambert Thiboust, staged at the Vaudeville theatre; following its success in the play, Les Ivresses was orchestrated by Olivier Métra in 1869. Another waltz, Les pays des roses, and a polka called Les marionettes were also played regularly in concerts at the Jardin d’Acclimatation in the mid-1880s.

**Nina Polak** (18x-18x)

Nina Polak (sometimes spelled ‘Polack’ in *Le ménestrel*) was a pianist, performer, and composer who was taught by composer Jean-Henri Ravina. Polak made numerous appearances performing in Parisian salons and concert halls, frequently with Ravina, in the 1840s-1850s; Polak often played her own compositions at these events, including at the salle Pleyel, salle Saint-Cécile, and the Palais Royale. In the 1860s, Polak started performing regularly in soirées held by historian Enest Lévi Alvarès and his wife, a pianist, socialite, and patroness of the arts. Dedications made to Madame Lévi Alvarèz indicate she possessed strong connections to Paris’s most influential conductors, performers, and composers of dance music, including Jacques-Louis Battmann.

Polak’s compositions were published almost exclusively by *Le ménestrel*/Heugel, and mainly consist of waltzes and polkas for keyboard.

**Félicie Thomas** (1837-1905)

Félicie Thomas was a pianist and teacher actively publishing keyboard dances with Benoît aîné between 1870-1890; Her compositions were frequently dedicated to her students. Thomas also regularly performed in salons across Paris.

See:


**Léonie Tonel** (18x-1886)

Léonie Tonel was a prominent pianist and composer whose works, numbering around 100 scores, were published throughout Europe and the United States. Many of her English titles are original compositions that seem to be specifically aimed towards North American markets, and can be found in the piano collections of nineteenth-century women living in London and the USA.

Though there is a total absence of any mention for Tonel’s origins or date of birth in the numerous press sources that mention her, she was likely related to horticulturalists Jean-Baptiste, Auguste, and Constant Tonel, from Ghent. In an unknown year, Tonel was awarded a place at the Conservatoire in Paris by unanimous decision by the entrance jury, making her exempt from the
entering the competition element; however, she is not on the list of laureats at the institution, and it is not clear if she failed to win any prizes, or simply did not take up her place.

Tonel’s first published composition was also one of her most famous, a piano mazurka called *Perles et diamans*; editions of the score exist in Paris, London, Copenhagen, Mainz, and New York all the way up to 1900. Tonel’s name first appears in the French press in 1854, where she performed her newly-released works in the salons of a Madame Rinaldi; this source also mentions that Tonel is a piano teacher, and studied with Czech composer and pianist Julius Schuholff. A year later, Tonel performed at the 1855 Exposition Universelle in Paris, where she played a piano by A. Bord. She also featured regularly in prominent concert venues including the salles Pleyel and Érard in the 1860s.

Reports suggest that Tonel profited quite well from composing, but after donating much of her fortune to charities and good causes, she died in the maison Dubois - a hospital for the destitute - in 1886.

See:


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