

Four Organizations, four Agendas: Expanding the Public for Serious Music in late 19th-Century Paris¹

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To understand the musical life of a city, scholars often focus primarily, if not exclusively, on one or two elite cultural organizations. Whether the opera or the city's most prestigious professional orchestra, we've assumed that these concert organizations have had a monopoly on the performance of serious music in European capitals. In this chapter on Paris, I argue that while the three best subsidized concert organizations in France – the two Parisian opera houses and the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire – maintained a certain prestige in terms of the quality of their performances and their elite publics, other institutions could boast of similar distinction and sometimes played more important roles in Parisian concert life. Not only were the Concerts Colonne praised as good as the Conservatory orchestra's concerts, they created a competitive atmosphere in which the Société des Concerts was often the follower rather than the leader, especially when it came to performing new French compositions. Even concerts at the zoo performed more music by living French composers in the 1890s than the Conservatory orchestra did. By the end of century, the Opéra too, on which the government spent most of its national arts budget, became more a museum than a trend-setter. Years before it would produce these operas, a small private organization created by and for the city's wealthiest elites, the Société des Grandes Auditions Musicales de France, gave the French premieres of Richard Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* (1893), *Götterdämmerung* (1902), and *Parsifal* (1903).

This study throws into question conventional notions of center and periphery as well as the division between serious and popular culture. In concerts at the Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation (the city zoo) and the Bon Marché department store, for example, we encounter repertoire and performers from the Opéra. This suggests a migration of music and musicians within Paris and a dialectical interaction among these institutions. With the repeti-

¹ The research for this paper was conducted in the private archives of these institutions between 1988 and 1999. I am very grateful to the following individuals for permission to consult these materials: Guy Amaud, Director of the Concerts Colonne; Guy François, Secrétaire général of the Bon Marché and their archivist Elisabeth Russo; Valérie Magnier of the Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation; and the (now deceased) Duchesse de Gramont, granddaughter-in-law of the Countess Greffulhe and executor of her estate. I devote fuller discussion to these organizations and their concert repertoire in my book, *Useful Music, or Why Music Mattered in Third Republic France*, forthcoming from the University of California Press.

tion of operatic repertoire in such venues, including works that the Opéra recently premiered, what began as “serious” or “high art” became “popular,” i.e. played over and over again and assimilated by large segments of the population. The same was true of “serious” orchestral music at the zoo.

It was much harder to appropriate from the Opéra and the Conservatory their public. Tickets for their concerts were sold largely through subscriptions and these remained in families for generations, causing audience tastes to become increasingly conservative. Therefore, with Opéra/Conservatory audiences largely uninterested in going elsewhere, the Concerts Colonne, the Société des Grandes Auditions, the zoo and the Bon Marché concerts had to reach out to new listeners. Their audiences, more complex than what is often implied in the term, “general public,” were multi-faceted and not necessarily co-extensive with social or political elites. Two were private non-profits; two were commercial organizations driven by the need to break even more than accumulate profits. All expanded the public for serious music in significant ways. The Société des Grandes Auditions attracted not only the financially privileged and socially connected, but also the politically disenfranchised who may have felt uncomfortable at State-supported institutions. The Concerts Colonne and the zoo concerts attracted not only the leisured classes, including their wives and children, but also students, teachers, and shopkeepers. The Bon marché concerts succeeded in bringing the store’s bourgeois and upper-class customers together with its workers and their families.

For those in control, what mattered was that music could be used to promote certain social agendas. All started at politically unstable times—three in early 1870s just after the Franco-Prussian war, and one in 1890 just after General Boulanger’s failed coup d’état, the end of Monarchists’ last hope of taking over the government. Their leaders were driven by the desire to educate as well as infuse pride. Such purposes underlie their modes of organization, leadership, performers, concert venues, concert seasons, repertoires, and publics. Also determinative was their social structure which differed depending on whether the concerts were run by non-musician patrons or performers, and whether the performers were professional, amateur, or some combination of the two. The extraordinary growth of organizations like these set an important foundation for the renaissance in French music at the time.

Origins: Serving the Public Good

From the Revolution through the Second Empire, French political leaders believed that music could help bridge the gap between what the French were as a people and what they could be. The huge Revolutionary festivals taught that music was a social bonding experience. It prepared people for political union through encouraging common feelings, the sense of being one. Music

also gave people a heightened sense of their identity by reflecting their tastes and values. After the devastating loss of the Franco-Prussian war in 1871 came renewed attention to music's potential to influence the masses. Its ability to *adoucir les mœurs* and elevate the listener's intelligence had been preached since the 1830s by those leading the huge number of amateur choral societies and wind bands. Those in power encouraged these musical groups as a way to teach respect for social institutions. Republicans saw them as a way to raise the quality of life for the lower classes. In 1860 Jules Pasdeloup founded his orchestral Concerts Populaires to attract by its lower prices and larger hall a much broader public than the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. He also co-directed the huge Orphéon de Paris from 1859 to 1872 in which many workers participated. In part inspired by his successes, in the 1870s the number of institutions promoting music among the masses increased dramatically.

It was in this idealistic spirit that concerts began at the department store, Le Bon marché. In 1872, nine years after the store opened, Aristide Boucicault began to offer his employees free music lessons (singing as well as wind instruments) along with free courses in English and fencing. He hoped to "encourage a taste for study" and wanted to do everything he could to help both male and female employees "use their evenings in an instructive and attractive manner." Perhaps he also wished to capitalize on the association between *orphéons* and the Republic as a way of building the store's credibility. After passing solfège classes, employees were allowed to join the choral society or, in the case of men only, the Harmonie (wind band). Boucicault agreed to pay one-quarter of the price of their instruments and subsidized all costs associated with traveling to *orphéon* competitions in the provinces. Although the choral society and wind band that formed from these classes remained strictly amateur activities, their concerts – whether within the store in winter, outside in the square in summer, or in competitions in Paris and the provinces – gave the store a way to advertise its efforts and largesse, to build good will, and to attract customers.

Concerts at the zoo began for a commercial as well as educational purpose: to attract people to the park and to aid in their "popular instruction". The Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation, opened in 1855 and immediately declared by the Emperor as "of public utility", was conceived as a place to introduce, domesticate, and reproduce foreign animals and plants. Its leaders hoped both to understand their use-value in the west and to render them popular by exhibitions and sale. After 1871, when people were tired from the war and needed places of leisure, the Jardin continued to encourage the study of natural history while also providing recreation and amusement. To attract people to the park on a day of low attendance, Thursday, they began to give concerts and provided bus service from the Porte Maillot. The idea was to excite the interest of a broader public than would otherwise visit the Jardin.

The success of these concerts financially, as demonstrated by an increase in admissions that day, led them in 1873 to give two concerts per week and to construct a special kiosk for their performances.

The Concerts Colonne also began in a commercial spirit.² In 1873 Georges Hartmann hired Edouard Colonne to conduct eight “Concerts nationaux” to promote the music he published. The concerts attracted a large and enthusiastic crowd, but lost money. Nevertheless, a year later Colonne decided to capitalize on the public’s nationalism and founded his own orchestra to promote French music. His challenge was to attract a mass public to serious orchestral music, educate his listeners, successfully compete with the other local orchestras (especially Padeloup’s Concerts populaires), and make music integral to city life.

In 1890 the Countess Elisabeth Greffulhe likewise had patriotic and educational intentions in creating the Société des Grandes Auditions Musicales de France.³ Amidst the rising socialist movement and anarchist attacks, many were turning to music as a means of transcending political differences not only between Monarchists and Republicans, but also among Monarchist factions, the Orléanists and Legitimists, neither of whom would ever return to political power. Countess Greffulhe was one of the most important and richest to respond to deputy Georges Berger’s call for women to get involved in “the progress of the arts as an expression of their love of country” and as an “act of patriotism.” She and her peers often traveled to Germany to hear Wagner and some returned wanting to see not only Wagner’s operas produced in France, but also “the works of our own national genius.” Her friend, the composer Gabriel Fauré, and other members of the Société Nationale wanted help in resuscitating old masterpieces and in encouraging new work by French composers. The Countess’s ambitions went even further: to “attract all who love art and France” and “to fortify the musical education of everyone from the most humble to the most fortunate.” The society’s grandiose name and her promise to perform “first and foremost great composers from yesteryear” – complete works never before done in their entirety in France – appealed to titled aristocrats focused on past French glories, while the patriotic tone of her announcements and her projected premieres of Hector Berlioz and newer French works drew support from Republicans including President Félix Faure.

² For more on this organization, see my previous studies, “Building an audience for orchestral music: the Concerts Colonne,” in: Hans Erich Bödeker, Patrice Veit and Michael Werner (eds.), *Le concert et son public. Europe de 1780 à 1914 (France, Allemagne, Angleterre)* (Paris, 2000), p. 209-240 and id., “Concert Programs and their Narratives as Emblems of Ideology,” *International Journal of Musicology*, 2 (1993), p. 249-308.

³ For more on this organization, see my “Countess Greffulhe as Entrepreneur: Negotiating class, Gender and Nation” in: William Weber (ed.), *The Musician as Entrepreneur. 1700-1914* (Bloomington, 2004), p. 221-255.

With this kind of broad support, the society began as a cultural analogue to the political realignment and progressivism of the early 1890s.

All four of these musical organizations thus saw themselves as serving public needs, educational and political. Having a commercial purpose was not perceived as inconsistent with this, nor was the hope of making concerts fashionable and thus assuring themselves of a regular public. The State recognized this in the Concerts Colonne and the zoo by giving each small annual subsidies. When it came to the Société des Grandes Auditions, the press too, frustrated with the lack of renewal in the national theaters, pointed to their potential public utility as a private enterprise capable of making possible the performance of works otherwise ignored by the Opéra and Opéra-Comique. The only sector outside the State with the connections and money to produce large works, the Countess' organization had a power resembling that of the State.

These concert societies also served other needs. As envisaged by Boucicault, the Bon marché societies were meant to encourage the self-esteem and self-improvement of their workers. Concerts in the store probably functioned more for instruction in middle-class taste and behavior and outlets for amateur creativity than as ends in themselves. The store may have wanted a workforce that understood the upper mobility associated with the taste for serious music so that their employees might better understand the tastes and social ambitions of their customers. The Société des Grandes Auditions also encouraged pride and self-esteem among its members. The process of organization itself – raising the money, hiring the musicians, and contracting the hall – was a tribute to the accomplishment of its organizers. For its public, “the most aristocratic of Paris,” attendance at these prestigious concerts provided a similar sense of class privilege and power. Other concerts, to the extent that they performed French music, also helped promote pride and national identity among French audiences.

Organizational Structures

Notions of education and national identity were not necessarily the same from one organization to another. They depended on the leadership, organization, and who ultimately was in charge of these concerts. The Bon Marché societies and the zoo concerts were both directed in the beginning by Louis Mayeur, a clarinetist and saxophonist at the Opéra (see Table 1).

Table 1: Concert Organizations and their Directors

Société chorale et Harmonie du Bon Marché	Concerts at the Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation
Louis Mayeur (1872-1877)	Louis Mayeur (1872-1893)
Georges Paulus (1877-1894)	Louis Pister (1893-1896)
G. Wettge (1895-)	Jacques Lafitte (1896-)
Association des Concerts Colonne	Société des Grandes Auditions Musi- cales de France
Edouard Colonne (1874-1910)	Countess Greffulhe (1890-1913)

Mayeur brought not only the prestige of the Opéra and the assurance of quality performances, but also a practical understanding of musical life. As author of several saxophone method books and transcriber of numerous operas for wind band, Mayeur knew how to work with non-professionals. At the Bon marché he was assisted by a choral director, a committee of four to eight performers, and a president with officers elected by the membership. All employees of the store willing to pay dues of 1 franc per month could become members of the society either as performers or honorary members. The choral society consisted of 60 singers, the Harmonie, up to 120 players. All rehearsed two evenings per week at 8:30 PM – male singers and instrumentalists Tuesdays and Thursdays, female singers Wednesdays and Fridays. Honorary members were given a special concert each spring. The musicians seem to have been responsible for most internal musical affairs. However, because their summer concerts took place in a public park, they had to submit their programs to the police a few days in advance – certain music (i.e. Wagner in the late 1870s) was known to be capable of threatening the public order. Mayeur's two successors at the Bon Marché, Georges Paulus and G. Wettge, brought the distinction of the Garde Républicaine, the most important military band in Paris. As its director between 1855 and 1873, Paulus had turned the Garde into a prestigious institution of excellent musicians who, in their wildly successful 93-day tour of the United States, were hailed as the best of their kind in the world. Paulus not only assured his Bon Marché performers of high standards of performance, he helped the public associate their concerts with Republican ideals and thus the nation.

At the Jardin zoologique, Mayeur and his successor Louis Pister, previously assistant conductor of the Concerts Padeloup, worked under different conditions. Both had responsibility for recruiting their own musicians. The administration demanded they be selected from members of the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, the Opéra, and Opéra-Comique. Anyone who

could afford the price of admission to the zoo could thus hear some of the city's finest musicians. In the 1890s, their number consisted of 60 on Sundays and holidays and 25 during the week (except on Wednesdays); this rose to 40 on Thursdays in 1896/97. The conductors had to submit their choice of repertoire and guest soloists to the Jardin's administration which had its own internal committees. Whereas for the first 25 years the Jardin's *sociétaires* were titled nobility and property owners with an interest principally in science and anthropology, after the corporate reorganization in 1886, they became its stockholders. Ironically perhaps, this group understood the value-added that concerts brought to the Jardin and, after they hired Pister in 1893, increased the support for music. Even after financial problems forced cut backs in 1895, Pister earned a fixed conducting fee of 1200 francs per Sunday and 175 francs per Thursday (this out of expected revenues of 12,500 francs on Sundays and 2000 francs on Thursdays). However, he was forced to sign an exclusive contract to conduct only at the Jardin. Before 1895, he distributed earnings to each musician, making them responsible to him and fining them for each absence at the end of the month. After 1895 the Jardin paid musicians directly. With further cut-backs anticipated, Pister quit in May 1896 and was replaced by Jacques Lafitte of the Opéra orchestra, a first violinist in the Jardin's orchestra under Mayeur. The Jardin's budget for musicians was then reduced to only 500 francs per Sunday and 250 for Thursday concerts, conductor's fee included.

The Concerts Colonne grew into one of the most important orchestras in Paris in part because of the economic liberalism of the early 1880s and the democratic self-government of the orchestra. The *sociétaires* in this case were the orchestra members themselves. They agreed to work only for the Concerts Colonne. All revenues earned stayed within the society except for dividends paid to those who invested some of the 50,000 francs with which Colonne started the organization. By secret ballot, orchestra members elected their conductor and an administrative committee of 9 or 10 performers. This group met weekly to oversee the organization's finances, competitions for new players, new works to receive readings or performances, and audience reception. At the end of each year, this committee decided an orchestra musician's fee per appearance depending on the previous year's profits. Colonne, the orchestra's conductor for more than three decades, obviously played a significant part in such decisions, but so did the whole orchestra. In 1877, for example, all players were called to vote on whether to continue performing Berlioz' *La Damnation de Faust* an eighth Sunday in a row after sold-out performances the previous seven Sundays (they voted 17 for, 45 against). This self-organization and revenue-sharing meant that the orchestra as a whole shared responsibility for the various strategies to build an audience, including how much money, if any, to spend on guests soloists and choruses. Their successes led to an increase in each musician's fee from 2 francs per concert

in 1878, to 4 francs in 1883 and 4.5 francs in 1885, after which the fee stabilized to between 4.0 and 4.6 francs until after 1900. Colonne was paid only 3 times what his performers earned. But since, unlike Pister, he could conduct elsewhere to earn extra money, his orchestra benefited from the prestige he attained in serving, for example, as principal conductor at the Opéra in 1892-93 (where he premiered *Samson et Dalila*, *Salammbô*, and *Die Walküre*) and in conducting abroad.

The Countess Greffulhe wanted to give the impression that her society too reflected a team effort although it was she who almost singlehandedly and in only six weeks raised the 163,000 francs needed to produce their first event, the French premiere of Berlioz' *Béatrice et Bénédicte*. This was the equivalent of 20% of the State's annual Opéra subsidy, and 50% of the State's annual Opéra-Comique subsidy. The society's early publicity listed prestigious members of the Institut and Conservatory professors on her honorary committee and music committee, though it is not clear that they had much influence on the society's programming. Ernest Reyer, who was among them, thought of these committees as a "sort of protectorat" assuring her organization of credibility in the musical world. She also had an administrative committee that included leaders of the prestigious Central Union of the Arts, known for their interest in reviving French decorative art, and a women's committee, 86 Dames patronesses who included not only numerous aristocrats but also the wives of Gabriel Fauré and Vincent d'Indy. Their jobs were mostly just to show up, as Reyer put it, to set a good example by their good behavior, or, in the Countess' words, to "propagandize" i.e. spread the good word. The actual members of the society were the public who supported it, those who gave money. Founding members were those who gave between 100 and 1000 francs, but some gave much more – the Countess and the Princess de Scey-Montbéliard 10,000 each, the Baron de Rothschild 8000. Subscribing members contributed 25 francs per year. Each got tickets to dress rehearsals and first performances. By 1892 the published list of founding members had 408 names, including the composers Charles Gounod, Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray, and André Messager, the critic Willy, Claude Debussy's friend Henri Lerolle, and even more subscribing members. The Countess did not call their contributions dues, but rather treated them as stock in the corporation. To raise money for the French premiere of *Götterdämmerung*, for example, she promised a 5% dividend and 5% interest for each 500 francs donated, calculated on ticket sales less expenses. As for the Concerts Colonne but on a much larger scale, such private investment strategies borrowed from business guaranteed the society financial security even if it was not interested in nor motivated by commercial gain.

Concerts and Concert Venues: Building a Public

The limited commercial ambitions of these four concert organizations, that is, the need to make ends meet but no more, contributed to their longevity. So did their concert venues. All but the Société des Grandes Auditions performed in the same space throughout their existence and the latter had the clout and the money to rent any hall they wanted – the two opera houses, the Palais de Trocadéro, even the zoo’s concert hall. To perform *Götterdämmerung* and *Tristan* in 1902 the Société des Grandes Auditions used its resources to adapt the Château d’eau theater into one resembling Bayreuth with its sunken orchestra pit. The zoo, too, was wealthy enough to build its own spaces for music, not only a modest kiosk in 1873 and but also a huge Palais d’hiver 8000 m² in size, conceived in 1875 but not built until 1893. With its two halls – one 33.5 m x 23.5 m with two balconies, a Cavallé-Coll organ, over 2000 seats, and the ability to hold 8000, another in a 25 m x 50 m greenhouse 15 m high, a Palmarium full of 12 m palm trees and bamboo – they could give concerts and lectures all year long.

Stability of venue helped each of these organizations form a certain identity, which in turn helped build and maintain their public. In the beginning the performances of the Bon Marché’s music classes were called “musical meetings” (*réunions musicales*), as if an intimate sharing of a year’s work with one’s friends and colleagues. These took place in the store’s 120 meter employee dining room. They became so popular that in February 1881 4000 invitations were sent out and that fall administrators decided to move their two or three annual choral concerts to the store’s central hall. Each winter thereafter, the merchandise was cleared out, oriental rugs, curtains, exotic plants, and lighting were brought in, and the space was turned into a huge luxurious salon. To attract a sophisticated audience, in January 1883 they invited famous singers from the Opéra – M. Bosquin and Mme Brunet-Lafleur – who alternated numbers with those of the choral society. At the same time, the store began to print “CONCERT” in capital letters at the top of these choral society performances, implying that, with all this, they intended the performances to have a certain credibility. In 1884 and 1885 they also decided to reach out to popular tastes by inviting two famous cabaret singers, M. Paulus from La Scala and Mme Theresa from L’Alcazar. In 1886 the most famous Opéra singer of the day, Jean-Baptiste Faure, joined them (see Illustration 1) and in 1892 Mlle Bréval and the violinist M. Parent. Such tactics cost money and their concerts grew increasingly expensive.⁴

⁴ With adding opera soloists and famous popular singers, the expenses of the Bon Marché concerts rose from 5600 francs in 1883 to 7350 in 1884 and 8500 in 1885 and 1886.

COURS DE MUSIQUE
DES

Magasins du Bon Marché

CONCERT

du Samedi 27 Novembre 1886

AVEC LE CONCOURS DE

M. FAURE,

*M^{me} Masson & M. Delmas de l'Opéra. — M^{lle} Duparc & M. Paulus
des Concerts de Paris.*

PROGRAMME

- { Ouverture de **Guillaume Tell**, exécutée par l'HARMONIE ROSSINI.
- 1 { **Prélude** (*1^{re} audition*), exécuté par le CHORAL (*Dames*) et l'HARMONIE .. LAURENT DE RILLÉ.
- { **Les Huguenots**, bénédiction des poignards MEYERBEER.
Chœur, exécuté par le CHORAL (*Dames & Hommes*) et l'HARMONIE.
- 2 Air de **La Reine de Saba**, chanté par M^{me} MASSON GOUNOD.
- 3 Arioso de la **Coupe du Roi de Thulé**, chanté par M. FAURE . DIAZ.
- { **Rhapsodie Hongroise**, exécutée par l'HARMONIE F. LISZT.
- 4 { **Le Carnaval de Venise**, solo de cornet, exécuté par M. MELLET. ARBAN.
- { **Les Enfants**, romance chantée par M. FAURE MASSENET.
- 5 { **La Chanson du Printemps**, chantée par M. FAURE GOUNOD.
- 6 { **Hymne au Sommeil**.... } Chœurs chantés par le CHORAL (*Hommes*) LAURENT DE RILLÉ.
- { **Marche de Rakoczy**..... }
- 7 **Philémon et Baucis**, couplets de Vulcain, GOUNOD.
Chantés par M. DELMAS, de l'Opéra.
- 8 Duo de **Mireille**, chanté par M^{me} MASSON et M. FAURE GOUNOD.
- 9 **L'Été**, valse chantée, par le CHORAL (*Dames & Hommes*) et l'HARMONIE WITTMANN.
- 10 { **Les Myrtes** } Chantés par M. FAURE FAURE.
- { **L'Alleluia d'Amour** }
- 11 { **Les Écrevisses**, chansonnette comique, dite par M^{lle} DUPARC LUCIEN COLLIN.
- { **Scènes d'Imitation**, par M^{lle} DUPARC X***
- 12 { **Le Tambour Major**, chansonnette comique, dite par M. PAULUS. }
grands-marche militaire, dite par M. PAULUS. } COURTOIS.
accompagnée par l'HARMONIE.
- FINALE
- Le trot du Cavalier**, exécuté par l'HARMONIE SPINDLER.

L'HARMONIE sera dirigée par M. GEORGES PAULUS ex-chef de musique de la Garde Républicaine ;
les CHŒURS, par MM. JACOB et AUDONNET, professeurs.

Le Piano, sortant des Ateliers de MM. ÉRARD et C^{ie}, sera tenu par M. MANGIN.

Illustration 1: Concert at the Bon Marché, 27 November 1886

The public of the Bon marché came for free and, because of the advertising potential of these concerts, store administrators set the dates. When they moved the concerts to the store's main hall, they decided the first should take place between the exhibition of new coats and the end of the fall season, and the second should coincide with the January white sale, a marketing tactic invented by M. Boucicault. Ads for the white sale were occasionally inserted in the programs. To encourage attendance, they sent out color-coded invitations – over 6000 of them for each concert in the 1880s. Signalling different entrances, these gave their customers, the press, wives of employees, and other employees access to seating on the main floor or the balconies overlooking it. By the mid-1880s, the guest list included not only the editors of newspapers read by the upper classes, *Le Gaulois* and *Le Figaro*, the occasional aristocrat such as the Baroness Salomon de Rothschild, and (beginning in 1887) well-known musicians such as Colonne, Charles Lamoureux, Gounod, and Ambroise Thomas, but also 300 pink invitations for female employees and 2000 green ones for male employees. Four thousand free programs were printed (presumably for all but their employees). They also took out ads in local newspapers and music journals, 23 of them in 1885. All of this worked, for the concert on 28 November 1885 (with two opera singers, Mme Theresa, and M. Paulus) got no less than 15 press reviews and at least 6000 people attended the concert undoubtedly from a wide range of social classes and aesthetic tastes.

The summer concerts of the Bon Marché wind band, occasionally accompanied by the choral society, were open to all. As for military band concerts c. 1900, one-thousand programs were printed per concert. Interestingly, the largest type on their programs is always the name of the store, as if the Bon marché provided its identity for the public. For many reasons – including their conductor, the wind ensemble, and the *plein air* performance venue – this public may have resembled that of the Garde Républicaine and other military bands which played summer afternoons in other Parisian gardens.

Of the four concert organizations here studied, the Jardin was the most conscious of the diversity of its potential publics and the need to address the desires of each. In the 1880s, a subscription for its outdoor summer concerts cost men 25 francs, while women and children paid only 10 francs, perhaps to make it easier for more of the latter to attend. Free programs distributed during concerts, as they were at the Bon Marché and Concerts Colonne, contained color depictions of the other activities they might encounter at the zoo – elephants to ride, exotic birds to admire, etc., concerts being only one form of instruction and amusing diversion. In 1893, however, as they were reconceiving their musical activities with the construction of the Palais d'hiver, the Jardin decided to target three types of public with their concerts. The Sunday Popular Concerts in the kiosk or the Palais d'hiver presented works by well-known masters. Costing from 1.5 francs to 20 centimes, these were

meant to be listened to seriously even if they presented “easy and likeable music.” Four or five days a week from 3 to 5 PM, they offered a second series specifically conceived for the Palmarium. These were called Promenade-concerts, a name perhaps inspired by Arthur Sullivan’s concerts at Covent Garden. As the ads put it, listeners were invited to come “relax under the shade of the trees while their children worked and they conversed with their friends or did some work” – in other words, with music serving as background for leisure activities. The idea was to be “like a big salon in which the warm temperature, the evergreen trees, and the presence of fresh flowers gave the illusion of eternal spring.” Reviewers considered them a “prelude” to the Sunday concerts, perhaps a way to educate the less sophisticated and prepare them for Sundays concerts.

On Wednesdays beginning in 1893, the Jardin presented a third series in their main hall. These concerts were addressed to more sophisticated music lovers, an “initiated” public interested enough in the “progress of art” to come to the zoo primarily for music. As for the Société des Grandes Auditions’ concerts, they were conceived to present “classic works by old as well as modern masters.” Organizers hoped this public would “take pleasure in the historical part of their programs” as well as works by young composers. For these concerts, the Jardin increased the size of the orchestra to 90 musicians, invited guest soloists, pianists, organists, and opera singers and, to cover the increased expenses, raised ticket prices to from 4 to 1 francs. At the inauguration of the Palais d’hiver, at which 120 musicians performed, not only did the French President attend, so too did Princesse Mathilde (who considered the Jardin her favorite promenade), the ambassadors of Algeria, Russia, Persia, Greece, and the USA, the composers Thomas and Gounod, and reputedly 7000 others. In 1896 as a result of these three series, administrators could brag they had been able to attract the high society of Paris as well as the middle class, businessmen, and government employees, though admittedly not many factory workers. To remedy this, they asked the State to underwrite 1500 tickets for their visits on the first Monday of each month.

The Concerts Colonne performed in the same hall for decades, the Théâtre du Châtelet. This theater, with its 2200 seats, had an important advantage over the circuses where their main competitors performed for there audiences were far more comfortable. While this might have encouraged concert subscriptions, with so many concerts given on Sunday afternoons, most listeners preferred to keep their options open. Unlike for the Conservatory orchestra’s concerts, subscriptions to Colonne’s averaged only 8 % of their revenues and fluctuated from year to year. To keep his public growing, Colonne decided to: (1) keep ticket prices moderate and comparable to those of their peers, that is, 5 to 1 francs, (2) respond to audience preferences, such as with repeat performances of favorite works, and (3) try to attract more women. To do this, beginning in the 1880s they marketed their concerts as an educational forum

presenting a history of music. This resulted in a huge increase in honorary members from 109 the first season and 365 in 1876 to 905 in 1885. With this growth came a shift from two times as many men as women honorary members (and mostly musicians and music lovers), to an equal number of men and women in 1885, to slightly more women than men thereafter. The ads in their programs, increasingly addressed to women and children, document this shift in the mid-1880s. Families became so important to them that from 1889 to 1894 Colonne had two family magazines, *La vie de famille* and *Figaro musical*, publish their concert programs.⁵

Perhaps hoping to attract Opéra subscribers to orchestral music, in the 1880s Colonne too, like the Bon Marché, frequently hired opera singers. Ticket-sales for performances with soloists like Gabrielle Krauss and Faure constituted 80% of Colonne's revenues in the 1880s. By the 1890s their public was known for being "brilliant and numerous" and their hall usually filled to capacity. Complaints about insufficient lighting at a concert in 1896 make it clear that even in the cheap seats up in the amphitheater, the public was musically literate enough not only to take an interest in the extensive program notes, but also to read miniature scores.⁶

The Société des Grandes Auditions was also a forum for domesticating and seducing new audiences to art music. In 1891, Louis Fourcaud, an influential Monarchist critic, noted in *Le Gaulois* that one of the society's goals was "interesting the upper classes in serious art for which they had rarely any concern." To do this, the society made concerts into an elite social occasion. The musicians the Countess hired – the Concerts Lamoureux, the Concerts Colonne, and soloists from the Opéra – were first rate, giving her concerts an aura of distinction and perhaps attracting some of their audiences. Having hired distinguished soloists for concerts in her home for years, she was used to paying huge fees.⁷ The cost of attending the Société's concerts consequently was double that of the Colonne's concerts, with tickets ranging from 10 to 2 francs. This meant a substantial concentration of wealthy in the audience. For those who preferred events limited to elites, this restricted access may have been part of the appeal of the Société's concerts.

Study of these four concert organizations suggests that if the public for serious music were to grow in the late 19th century, it was important to draw more of all classes to concerts and to develop new concert settings. Both the

⁵ *La famille* (8 February 1891) noted Châtelet is "the family theater par excellence" (90).

⁶ The notes of the Secrétaire du chant for their 12 January 1896 concert indicate that "when Colonne arrived, there were lively complaints up in the amphitheater about the insufficient lighting that did not permit these listeners to read their programs or their scores.", cf. Concert Colonne Archives, Paris.

⁷ The baryton Faure, for example, received 4000 francs per concert for singing in her private salon, whereas at the Concerts Colonne he earned only 2000 francs per performance. It is not clear how much the Bon Marché paid him for singing at their concerts around the same time.

rich and the poor needed more venues where they felt comfortable listening to music, not just theaters where they might feel lost or just too anonymous. For some, this meant being surrounded by their peers, whether physically when listening to music or symbolically on a list of concert patrons. For others, it meant being in something resembling a salon, public spaces made to feel private. To thrive, each of these organizations also had to appeal increasingly to women. Before the mid-1880s, more men may have attended concerts than women. But with special ticket prices and new concert settings to attract women and children to Jardin concerts, an educational orientation to get them coming in greater numbers to the Concerts Colonne, and opera singers at the concerts of all four, women did come. With a noticeable shift from men's to women's clothing in the mid-1880s, the ads in concert programs reinforce this observation. The leadership of the Countess Greffulhe and her Dames patronesses was crucial for the success of the Société des Grandes Auditions, helping make concert attendance fashionable. Just as important were these organizations' attempt to turn their listeners into patrons through honorary memberships. Sold by the Bon Marché societies, the Concerts Colonne, and the Société des Grandes Auditions, these built loyalty and provided a basis of support on which these organizations could depend for years. The use of elite as well as popular venues and the interest in transforming all kinds of spaces into concert venues resulted in a clear message: concerts were no longer an activity reserved for elites and professionals, neither as organizers, performers, nor listeners.

Concert Repertoire and New Music

Certainly there were differences in the repertoire performed by the four concert organizations here studied, resulting in part from the background, politics, and social status of their organizers, the nature of their performers (professionals, amateurs, or mixed), and the kind of public they attracted. What is striking, however, are similarities in their repertoire, especially when it comes to contemporary music. By the 1890s, audiences of all sorts wanted challenges. To continue to attract them, these four organizations became increasingly open to a wide range of musics, even that which was judged difficult. In this context, certain composers and works achieved "popular" status, including Conservatory professors and members of the Institut.

The concerts of the Bon Marché choral society took place two to three times per year within the store, beginning in January 1873. These often began and ended with wind-band pieces, or wind band plus chorus. Typically there ten 10-minute pieces, one 5-minute piece, and three 15-minute pieces, with the only additional instruments being an Érard piano, an organ, and (once) harps. Concerts tended to alternate wind band, choral, instrumental solos,

and vocal works by members of the society and invited soloists. These concerts show an equal taste for variety in the succession of genres. They usually lasted 2 hours and 20 minutes – the same length as a typical concert by Colonne’s orchestra. The summer concerts of their Harmonie in the square outside the store, beginning in June 1876, resembled military-band concerts in their repertory and their length—one hour—although, unlike military bands, which played in the late afternoon, they performed from 8:30 to 9:30 PM. They gave 10 to 13 concerts per summer, usually one every other week. This allowed time for at least one performance at an *orphéon* competition in the provinces. Most concerts followed a fairly fixed formula of 6 works: an overture, an air, 1 to 3 opera fantasies (growing to 3 to 5 in 1887), a march or military piece, and a polka or instrumental solo. If there was only one march, it tended to begin the concert; if one polka, it ended the concert exactly as in military-band concerts of the time.

For both summer and winter concerts, no typology on their programs emphasized one work or composer over another, although increasingly in the 1880s, like the Concerts Colonne, they listed the names of guest soloists in bold over the list of works. It is interesting that organizers did not call upon German classics to educate their listeners as Padeloup had so forcefully tried to do at his concerts. Beethoven and Mozart are notably absent until 1890 and thereafter in only 3 performances that decade. Nor is there any Berlioz, promoted so often by Colonne. But they did perform Wagner. Only months after the Concerts Padeloup reintroduced him in 1879 after a 2-year hiatus, the Harmonie performed his music and with increasing frequency, although the choral society did not do so until 1890 except when sung by guest soloists. Women composers appear occasionally on these programs, but the most popular pieces and composers are Italian and French, especially Gounod, Thomas, Victor Massé, Léo Delibes, and Jules Massenet – all composers associated with the Paris Conservatory (see Table 2 and Illustration 1). Indeed the Bon marché societies performed a significant amount of recently composed work as well as earlier music by Étienne Nicolas Méhul, André Ernest Grétry, and Jean Philippe Rameau. A few composers wrote pieces for them, such as the mixed chorus, *Nuit d’été*, by Laurent de Rillé, and some – such as Rillé, Franz von Suppé, and others – granted them first performances. For the most part, the new works they performed were excerpts from new operas. Eighteen of the operas they did were based on works that had recently premiered at the Opéra or Opéra-Comique. These included Gounod’s *Roméo et Juliette*, Massenet’s *Hérodade*, Ernest Guiraud’s *Piccolino*, Camille Saint-Saëns’ *Henri VIII* and *Phryné*, and Émile Paladilhe’s *Patrie*. Most of these remained in their repertoire and were given multiple performances. In the case of Saint-Saëns’ *Samson et Dalila*, the Harmonie performed a transcription of it twice in summer 1891 just after the opera’s premiere at the Eden theater in October 1890 and *before* the Opéra produced it in November 1892. Invited soloists

from the Opéra also played a role in what was performed, for they apparently chose what they sang.⁸

The Bon Marché wind-band concerts allow us to trace the changing tastes of its audiences from 1873 through 1897 when the store's collection of programs ends (see Table 2).

Table 2: Concert repertoire of the Bon Marché's wind band

Most popular composers, performances, and number of works performed		
Gounod 42 (8)	Auber 20 (3)	Bizet 13 (4)
Verdi 39 (13)	Offenbach 19 (3)	Bellini 13 (4)
Wagner 37 (4)	Thomas 16 (6)	Paladilhe 11(2)
Donizetti 34 (8)	Massenet 15 (7)	Saint-Saëns 11(3)
Rossini 27 (1)	Lecocq 14 (3)	Planquette 11(2)
Meyerbeer 28 (6)	Delibes 13 (6)	Chabrier 11(1)
		de Joncières 10 (3)

Most popular works

ov *Guillaume Tell* (18), *Tannhäuser* (17), *Lohengrin* (17), *La fille du tambour major* (15), *Rondo for piccolo* [Donjon](14), *Robert le diable* (13), ov *La Muette de Portici* (13), *Faust* (13), *Roméo et Juliette* (12), *Espana* (11), *Carmen* (9), *Patrie* (9), ov *Zampa* [Hérold] (9), *Le Cid* (8), “*France*” [Thomas] (8), *Kosiki* [Lecocq] (8), *Les voltigieurs de la 32e* [Planquette] (8), *Poliuto* [Donizetti] (8), *Aida* (7), *Traviata* (7), *Samson et Dalila* (7) *L'Africaine* (6), *La Juive* (6), *Le chevalier Jean V* [Joncières] (6), *Sigurd* [ReyerJ] (6), air *Sommanbule* [Bellini] (6), *Maria de Rudenz* [Donizetti] (6), *Suzanne* [Marius] “*Gentil Babil*,” polka (6), *Le tribut de Zamora* (5), *Sylvia* march [Delibes] (5), *Hungarian Rhapsody* [Liszt] (5), “*Étoile de France*” [A. Lamothe] (5)

Changes over time

1870s: Donizetti (9) Verdi (9), Lecocq (6), Meyerbeer (4), Rossini (3), Auber (3), de Suppé (3), Guiraud (3), Bellini (2), Rameau (2), Wagner (2)

Italian opera 39% of 59 on this list

living French composers (14) 24% of those on this list

⁸ This conclusion comes from comparing the hand-written and printed versions of their 26 November 1886 concert. When Faure replaced Bosman and Duc, the program changed from a trio from Gounod's *Faust* to a duo from *Mireille* and two of Faure's works.

1880s: Verdi (17), Rossini (16), Donizetti (14), Gounod (14), Offenbach (12), Meyerbeer (11), Planquette (10), Auber (9), Joncières (9), Wagner (9), Massenet (7), Paladilhe (7), Lecocq (5), Halévy (5), Delibes (5), Bizet (5), Hérold (5), Reyer (5), Chabrier (5), Thomas (4), Liszt (4)

Italian opera 25% (53 of 209)

Gounod 7%

Wagner 4%

living French composers (83 of 209) 40%

1890s: Gounod (27), Wagner (25), Meyerbeer (13), Verdi (12), Thomas (11), Delibes (11), Saint-Saëns (10), Donizetti (10), Rossini (8), Massenet (8), Bizet (8), Auber (6), Chabrier (6), Bellini (5), Offenbach (4), Hérold (4), Paladilhe (4)

Italian opera 16%

Gounod 13%

Wagner 12%

living French composers (98 of 213): 47%

What is most remarkable is the gradual decrease of Italian opera fantasies, the rise of Gounod's popularity, and the dominance of Gounod and Wagner in concerts of the 1890s. During this time, living French composers comprised 24% of the music they played in the 1870s, rising to 47% of their programs in the 1890s. This refutes any assumptions we might otherwise have about workers' attitude toward new music or about people liking only what they already know. It also raises a question about the relationship between new music and fashion at the Bon Marché. Documents written by its administrators for visitors to the 1889 and 1900 Universal Exhibition suggest that the store wished to build its reputation on the basis of selling "the most important *nouveautés* in the entire world": "the Bon Marché is always in advance with everything that concerns good taste, true elegance, and the aesthetics of the art of finery."⁹

Along with this openness to mixing the new with the well-known, concert organizers were determined to blur the boundaries between what was serious or elite and what was popular. Not only did they invite both the leisured and working classes to mingle and enjoy the same concerts, they made blurring elite and popular tastes a principle of their concert planning. In both the choral society's *réunions musicales* and their subsequent *concerts*, serious genres appeared with lighter fare, opera airs by Conservatory professors alongside choruses for *orphéons*. They also interspersed poetry, monologues, and light-

⁹ Baille, "Le Bon Marché", *Le Moniteur de l'Exposition de 1889* (3 March 1889); *Guide illustré du Bon Marché. L'Exposition et Paris au vingtième siècle* (Paris, 1900), text of the inside front and back cover.

hearted *chansonnettes* – most of these written by those who performed them – as well as comic and military scenes (see Illustration 1). The performers too contributed to this sense of blurred boundaries in that professional singers performed with amateur chorists and top professionals from the Opéra and Opéra-Comique appeared on the same concerts as those from the equally distinguished cabarets, L'Alcazar and La Scala. The participation of Opéra singers and the Opéra conductor in the Bon Marché concerts for the 1889 Universal Exhibition suggests a mutual respect between the two organizations and a willingness of former to help the latter succeed – the ultimate bridge between their two worlds.

The Jardin's concerts too went through major changes in their repertoire during this period, especially after Pister took over in the 1893, and exemplify another attempt to use music to build bridges between elite and popular audiences. In the 1870s and 1880s, from May through the mid October, Mayeur conducted concerts twice a week on Thursdays and Sundays – over 50 per season. The cost of such concerts grew rapidly from 12,500 francs in 1872 to almost 30,000 in 1873 and 1874. These expenses were offset by the increased attendance on concert days. Sunday concerts had a formula similar to those of the Bon Marché wind-band which Mayeur also conducted until 1877. Their concerts, however, were longer with 8 to 10 works. Most started with a march, ended with a light work like a dance, and included opera fantasies and overtures.

Table 3: Repertoire of Concerts of the Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation

Concert formula for the 1881 season

March	Potpourri opera/march/other
Overture	Polka/solo
Opera fantasy	Opera fantasy
Waltz (Mayeur)	Dance/march

Most popular composers (Summer 1881)

Louis Mayeur (15), Daniel Auber (10), Adolphe Sellenick (9), Giacchino Rossini (8), Giacomo Meyerbeer (7), Gaetano Donizetti (5), Guiseppe Verdi (4), Louis Joseph Hérold (4), Richard Strauss (4), Victor Massé (3), Holtzhaus (3), Josef Gung'l (3), Carl Maria von Weber (3), Jules Massenet (2), Ludwig van Beethoven (2), Adam (2), Edmond Audran (2), Fromental Halévy (2)

Table 3 shows what they performed most frequently in 1881 – marches and waltzes by Louis Mayeur and Adolphe Sellenick (the conductor of the Garde républicaine from 1874 to 1884), overtures by Auber and Giacchino Rossini,

and opera fantasies by Giacomo Meyerbeer, Gaetano Donizetti, and Giuseppe Verdi – all also frequently performed by the Bon Marché's Harmonie during this period. In the context of the foreign animals, plants, and exotic people audiences might be encountering at the zoo, these concerts functioned not only as light entertainment, but also as another form of discovery, although premieres were rare on these concerts.

In 1893, with the new halls and the new conductor, the zoo turned to presenting more serious music, particularly by living French composers. Even if Mayeur's basic formula continued in the daily Palmarium concerts, Louis Pister included more music by serious French composers. During his first season, he performed not only lots of Gounod, but also Delibes, Guiraud, Massé, Gabriel Pierné, Théodore Dubois, Georges Bizet, Bourgault-Ducoudray, Charles de Bériot, Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, Pister, André Messager, Charles Lefebvre and Jean-Baptiste Lully. He also included works by two women, Cécile Chaminade and Marie de Grandval. Despite their low ticket prices, he also began to imitate major Parisian orchestras. This meant doing about 7 to 10 works per concert and a similar repertoire – overtures, orchestral suites, and vocal music, instead of polkas and opera fantasies. Unlike Colonne and Lamoureux, however, Pister did almost no Wagner and little Beethoven. Between October and May, Pister also engaged opera singers, chorists and instrumental soloists. And like the Bon marché concerts, occasionally he conducted excerpts of important works before they were done elsewhere, such as the overture to Emmanuel Chabrier's *Gwendoline* which they did on 10 December 1893, almost three weeks before the Opéra's first production later that month. They also did the occasional premiere (i.e. of Georges Pfeiffer's *Légende* and Modest Mussorgsky's *Ballet persan*). And in 1897 they presented music by a young Prix-de-Rome, Pierre Letorey, who had just returned to Paris. As a result, the Sunday series began to be listed in serious music journals such as *Ménestrel* just after the Sunday concerts of the Conservatory orchestra, Colonne, and Lamoureux. In this context, they were occasionally reviewed – an honor Mayeur never received from this press.

Because Zoo administrators believed there were enough listeners interested in the “progress of art” to merit a special Wednesday series in spring 1893, they spent a lot of money on opera instrumental soloists for it and charged ticket prices analogous to those of the Concerts Colonne. The press followed this series because it was almost entirely dedicated to the work of living French composers and presented first performances. Whole concerts were dedicated to Saint-Saëns, Massenet, Charles Marie Widor, and the Hillmacher brothers and some, as Illustration 2 shows, conducted their own works as they did occasionally at the Concerts Colonne and elsewhere. In this series, the Jardin presented symphonies for the first time – such as Saint-Saens' Symphony no.3 and Beethoven's Symphony no. 1 – as well as some German classics. Interestingly, they included no marches. Reviewers were quick to

JARDIN D'ACCLIMATATION DU BOIS DE BOULOGNE

CONCERTS DU PALAIS D'HIVER

AUDITIONS DU MERCREDI
(Dernière de la Saison)

Programme du Mercredi 17 Mai 1893

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

1. 1^{re} *Symphonie*. BEETHOVEN.
Allegro. — Andante. — Menuet. — Rondo.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

2. *Tabarin*, Fragments EM. PESSARD.
a. — Prélude.
b. — Entr'acte.
c. — Chanson à boire,
chantée par M. LÉON MELCHISSEDEC, de l'Opéra.
Sous la Direction de l'Auteur.
3. *Les Folies Amoureuses*, Fragments. EM. PESSARD.
a. — Romance.
Le Solo de Hautbois par M. CLERC.
b. — Entr'acte.
c. — Marche du Médecin.
Sous la Direction de l'Auteur.
4. *Saint-Mégrin*, Fragments. P.-L. HILLEMACHER.
a. — 2^e Entr'acte.
b. — 1^{er} Entr'acte.
c. — Divertissement.
Airs de Ballets dans le Style ancien :
1^o Brause. — 2^o Menuet. — 3^o Pavane. —
4^o Passe-Pied.
Sous la Direction de l'Auteur.
5. a. *Rubezahl* GEORGES HÜE.
Légende de MM. CERFBERR et DE L'ÉGLISE.
Air chanté par M^{lle} ELÉONORE BLANC.
b. *Ouverture Dramatique* GEORGES HÜE.
Sous la Direction de l'Auteur.

Chef d'Orchestre M. LOUIS PISTER.

On commencera à 8 heures précises.
(Voir les prix des sièges à la page suivante.)

recognize the “distinction and originality” of the works they performed and praised Pister for the way he conducted “these difficult and interesting works by our best composers.”¹⁰

A comparison of Sunday concerts in 1895 and 1896 shows that Louis Pister, when he could, also imitated the Opéra. On 9 and 16 February 1896, for example, while Colonne and Lamoureux were both doing *La Damnation de Faust*, Louis Pister and the Concerts de l’Opéra both juxtaposed old dances (Jean-Philippe Rameau, André Campra and André Grétry) with newer works by French contemporaries.

In May 1896, as the zoo became increasingly commercial and worried about the bottom line, concerts returned to Thursdays in the Palmarium and Sundays in the main hall. Although Pister’s successor Lafitte started out with programs recalling Mayeur’s-marches, polkas and fantasies of Italian operas – he soon returned to Pister’s focus on music by living French composers, whether under pressure of his public or the Jardin’s administration. The biggest difference between his programs and Pister’s was his increase of Wagner and his *grands festivals*, Sunday concerts devoted to only one or two composers’ works. In summer 1896, for example, he dedicated his first festival to Wagner, then others to Berlioz and Bizet, Dubois and Saint-Saëns, and finally Meyerbeer. This idea may have come from Colonne who, by comparison, dedicated half of 8 concerts the previous season to Wagner, would do 8 more half-concerts and 2 full concerts to Wagner in 1896-97, and between 1893 and 1896 devoted 12 full concerts to Berlioz as well as half-concerts to Saint-Saëns, Gounod, Meyerbeer, and César Franck. Perhaps because listeners there were more sophisticated than he had at first imagined, Lafitte also gradually began to add contemporary works to his Palmarium concerts as well. However, this did not mean that Lafitte’s tastes were as advanced as Pister’s. Beginning in February 1899, when Jardin administrators supported the performance of 5 to 7 opera excerpts or entire opera acts on successive Sundays, Lafitte chose *Le Barbier de Séville*, *La Juive*, *Roméo et Juliette*, *Carmen*, *Mireille*, *Les Dragons de Vilars*, to *Les Noces de Jeannette* and later that fall *Guillaume Tell*, *Rigoletto*, *Le Trouvère*, *Faust*, and *Lohengrin*, *Favorita* and *L’Africaine*. These concerts may have entailed 6 or 7 soloists, chorus, and a large orchestra and offered a buffet afterwards, an opportunity for the public to meet the opera singers, but they also presented a very conservative program, far different from the Jardin’s concerts under Louis Pister.

The Concerts Colonne gave far fewer concerts than the Jardin – only 24 Sunday afternoons from October to April. Concert expenses varied greatly. From 1876 to 1883, they tripled their expenses, spending tenfold more on guest soloists and fourfold more on guest choruses (see Illustration 3). In this period, their receipts also tripled, as did their last-minute ticket sales. Part of

¹⁰ *Monde musical* (30 May 1893).

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

Dimanche 26 Mars 1882, à 2 heures précises

21^{ME} CONCERT DU CHATELET

PROGRAMME

1. OUVERTURE DE RUY-BLAS..... MENDELSSOHN
2. SCÈNES ALSACIENNES, Souvenirs (2^e audition)..... J. MASSENET
 - I. Dimanche matin.
 - II. Au Cabaret.
 - III. Sous les tilleuls.
Violoncelle, M. GILLET.
Clarinette, M. BOUTMY.
 - IV. Dimanche soir.
(Voir au verso).
3. JÉSUS DE NAZARETH, Chant évangélique..... CH. GOUNOD
M. FAURE et les chœurs
4. DANSE MACABRE, pour piano (1^{re} audition)..... F. LISZT
Paraphrase sur le thème grégorien « Dies iræ »
J. ZAREMBSKY.
5. DUO DE MIREILLE..... CH. GOUNOD
M. FAURE.
M^{me} BRUNET-LAFLEUR.
6. AIR D'ÉTIENNE MARCEL (1^{re} audition)..... C. SAINT-SAËNS
M^{me} BRUNET-LAFLEUR.
7. FRAGMENTS DU TANNHAUSER..... R. WAGNER
 - I. Ouverture (orchestre).
 - II. Romance de l'Étoile du soir.
Chantée par **M. FAURE.**
 - III. Septuor et final du premier acte.

<i>Tannhäuser</i>	MM. MEYER
<i>Walter</i>	MONTARIOL
<i>Heinrich</i>	TRUAL
<i>Welfram</i>	FAURE
<i>Biterhoff</i>	CLAVÉRIE
<i>Heinmar</i>	DETHURENS
<i>Le Landgrave</i>	CRÉPAUX
 - IV. Marche avec chœurs.

ORCHESTRE ET CHŒURS : 250 EXÉCUTANTS
sous la direction de **M. Ed. COLONNE**

Premières Loges, Baignoires, Fautouils de Balcon, 10 fr. — Fautouils d'Orchestre, 8 fr. —
Première Galerie, 6 fr. — Stalles d'Orchestre, Pourtour, 4 fr. — Parterre, Premier
Amphithéâtre, 2 fr. 50 — Deuxième et troisième Amphithéâtre, 1 fr. 50 c.
En location: Premières Loges, Fautouils de Balcon, Baignoires, 12 fr. — Fautouils
d'Orchestre, 10 fr. — Galerie, 8 fr. — Stalles d'Orchestre, Pourtour, 5 fr. — Parterre
et Premier Amphithéâtre, 3 fr.

26717 Imp. V^e RENOU, MAILLE et COCK, r. Rivoli, 544 Paris.

Illustration 3: Concerts Colonne, 26 March 1882

this was the programming which varied from year to year. In the 1870s, they gave multiple performances to large works, such as *La Damnation de Faust*, to help listeners get to know these works better, to learn to perform them better, and, when performances were well appreciated, to increase their profits. In the early 1890s, like the Jardin, they also took a pronounced interest in new music. In 1890-91, 17 of their concerts featured premieres of new works, with up to three premieres per concert. That year alone they premiered 29 new works, 26 of them by French composers, and 13 of their concerts featured second performances. The next season, 18 of their concerts had premieres – 29 new works, 23 of them by living French composers. In 1895-96 14 of their concerts had premieres, with 16 new works and 13 by living French composers. In sum, between 1889-1899, 46% of their concerts contained at least one premiere; at 28% they gave second performances of these works. In all, they performed 144 new works, 105 of which were by living French composers, not only Saint-Saëns, Massenet, Bizet, and to a lesser extent Dubois and Widor – for the most part the same composers performed at the concerts of the zoo and the Bon Marché – but also Franck, Édouard Lalo, Gustave Charpentier, Pierné, Indy and Augusta Holmès who rarely, if ever, appeared in popular venues. While Colonne devoted one entire concert and two half-concerts to Gounod in the early 1890s, in the second half of the decade he performed Gounod rarely – quite different than in the zoo and Bon marché concerts.

The Société des Grandes Auditions gave concerts irregularly and presented a range of genres and old as well as new works. Between 1890 and 1903, they produced two oratorios (Georg Friedrich Handel's *Israël en Egypte* and J.S. Bach's *Christmas Cantata*, the latter for the first time in France), masses by Handel and Beethoven, three comic operas (Berlioz' *Béatrice et Bénédicte*, Monsigny's *Le Déserteur* and Grétry's *Les deux Avides*), six operas (Berlioz' *Les Troyens*, Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*, Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, *Götterdämmerung*, and *Parsifal*, as well as a staged production of *La Damnation de Faust*). They also organized concerts of Gounod's music, Russian music performed for the first time in France, and one of music by French contemporaries. Perhaps this was meant to attract a wide variety of listeners as the mixture of serious and popular genres did at the Bon marché concerts. Still critics found much of this too lofty for most people and dubbed them the "Société des Grandes Déceptions"! In the first decade of the new century, however, they increasingly supported French premieres of new works, most of them by foreign contemporaries. This included the Ballets Russes, Gustav Mahler, Edward Elgar, and others. On 22 June 1913, for example, they co-sponsored a concert with the composer-run Société Musicale Indépendante. This consisted entirely of premieres of important works by 7 composers from 5 countries and had the benefit of 200 singers and instrumentalists and the comfortable Théâtre du Châtelet, though most of the seats cost between 10

and 20 francs. Such concerts, I would suggest, represented a form of international diplomacy.¹¹

In this short study, we have seen that four concert organizations valued variety and contrast not only in the genres they presented – vocal and instrumental – but also in the performing forces they used. For this reason among others, “popular” and “serious” music intermingled in all kinds of concerts. Marches, which we sometimes think of as light musical fare, were not only performed by amateur wind bands on the model of military bands, they were also composed for the orchestra and frequently embedded within operas. Some, like Berlioz’ *Marche hongroise*, are serious works deserving of the listener’s close attention; others are amusing pastiches designed merely to entertain. Most serve a precise function in concerts of the time – to begin or end concerts. On the other end of the spectrum, operas too could be heard virtually everywhere, whether performed by professional singers or transcribed for wind band. And while the German classics were rarely heard at the Bon marché or the zoo, just like Berlioz (perhaps because his music was so difficult to perform), music by Gounod, Thomas, Massenet, Saint-Saëns, Delibes, and others could be heard regularly not only at the concerts of the major orchestras, but also in popular venues such as at the Bon marché and the zoo. Piotr Tchaikovsky and other Russian composers also had a presence in all kinds of venues, especially during the decade of the Franco-Russian alliance. The “popularity” of new music in each of these concert organizations may have benefited from growing nationalism in the French public, the increasing interest in fashion among elites during the 1890s and 1900s, and the general cultural desire for progress in all realms.

Instead of the model of center and periphery and the assumption of stratified tastes reflecting social status, this study suggests a complex network of interacting organizations. Although their publics may have been relatively distinct, musicians and music traveled between them. Illustration 4, a concert of contemporary French music sponsored by the Société des Grandes Auditions on 29 May 1884, exemplifies this. For the occasion, the Countess hired Colonne (and presumably his orchestra) along with 5 opera singers, one of whom, Mlle Bréval, had just performed at the Bon Marché. The performance took place in the zoo’s Palmarium on a Tuesday afternoon when normally the audience would be ladies sewing and their children playing. This time, however, instead of opera fantasies and marches, they were treated to works and composers rarely heard at the zoo – old dances given modern sounds and symphonic poems. What made such a network function so well was that each of the concert organizations here studied achieved a certain distinction and stood for the glory and the honor of those associated with them.

¹¹ See Pasler, “Countess Greffulhe as Entrepreneur”, p. 242-249.

Société des Grandes Auditions Musicales de France

SALLE DU PALMARIUM
(Jardin d'Acclimatation)

Le Mardi 29 Mai 1894, à 2 heures et demie

CONCERT
d'Œuvres Françaises Modernes

Sous la Direction de M. Edouard COLONNE

AVEC LE CONCOURS DE

M^{me} DESCHAMPS-JEHIN, M^{lle} BRÉVAL
M^{me} AUGUEZ de MONTALANT
M. VERGNET, M. AUGUEZ

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

1. Polyeucte, ouverture pour la tragédie de Cornélie... P. DUKAS
2. Deux Mélodies X. PERRÉAU
a Chanson d'autrefois (V. Huco) M. VERGNET
b Recueillement (Ch. BAUDELAIRE) M. AUGUEZ
3. Penthésilée (poème symphonique) A. BRUNEAU
Poésie de M. CATULLE MENDÈS
M^{lle} BRÉVAL

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

1. Suite d'Orchestre, dans le style ancien A. MACNARD
I. Française. -- II. Sarabande.
III. Gavotte. -- IV. Menuet. -- V. Gigue.
2. La Caravane (Th. GAUTIER) E. CHAUSSON
M. VERGNET
3. a Clair de Lune (P. VERLAINE) GABRIEL FAURÉ
M. VERGNET
b Pavane pour Orchestre GABRIEL FAURÉ
c Madrigal à 4 voix (A. SILVESTRE) GABRIEL FAURÉ
M^{mes} DESCHAMPS-JEHIN
AUGUEZ de MONTALANT
MM. VERGNET et AUGUEZ
4. La Forêt enchantée (légende symphonique) VINCENT D'INDY

1722 Imp. A. MATHIAS, 14, rue de Rivoli.

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Illustration 4: Société des Grandes Auditions, 29 May 1894