

# Hearts for Sale: The French Romance and the Sexual Traffic of Musical Mimicry

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Do you want to buy it? / My heart is for sale, / Do you want  
to buy it without haggling? / . . . / Pay, and be my master.  
—Pauline Duchambge, “La Sincère”

Pronounced by the critic Henri Blanchard as “the era of dilettantism-mania” (l’époque de dilettantismomanie), the 1830s witnessed the thriving commercial success of the French *romance* in the music salons of Paris.<sup>1</sup> In a *Ga-*

*zette musicale* article entitled “Albums de romances: Hommage aux dames,” an anonymous writer stated:

Amateurs should be perfectly reassured of the availability of romances in 1835. Thanks to the fortunate fecundity of authors and the no-less-fortunate competition between vendors, we have never before seen such a heavy shower of albums of all sorts and forms upon the musical public. . . . The abundance of this musical commodity called the romance should alarm neither those who consume it nor those who produce it. Paris will never cease to be a place predestined for this output. The Parisian has always enjoyed easy pleasures, and of course, of all musical pleasures, the romance . . . can very well be regarded as the easiest.<sup>2</sup>

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The original text of this French romance (in the epigraph) reads: “Veux-tu l’acheter? / Mon cœur est à vendre, / Veux-tu l’acheter sans le marchander? / . . . / Donne, et sois mon maître.” The song’s poem was written by Pauline Duchambge’s friend and frequent collaborator Marceline Desbordes-Valmore. Translations in this article are mine unless indicated otherwise.

<sup>1</sup>Henri Blanchard, “Revue critique: Romances, nocturnes, chansonnettes et chants sacrées, par MM. Bergerre et Nigel. Méthode d’Ophicleïde, par M. Cornette,” *Gazette musicale de Paris* (22 May 1836).

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<sup>2</sup>“Les amateurs de romances doivent être parfaitement rassurés sur leur consommation de l’année 1835; grâce à l’heureuse fécondité des auteurs et à la, non moins heureuse, concurrence des marchands, jamais on n’a vu tomber sur le public musical une pluie aussi abondante d’albums de tous genres et de toute forme. . . . L’abondance de cette denrée musicale qu’on nomme romance, ne doit effrayer ni ceux qui en usent, ni ceux qui en font; Paris ne cessera jamais d’être une terre prédestinée pour cette pro-

According to the estimates of the journalist J. A. Delaire, 250,000 copies of romances were printed in Paris each year.<sup>3</sup> As strophic songs for voice and keyboard accompaniment, romances generally accommodated the musical interests of amateur musicians, but writers during this period tended to spotlight women in particular as fertile producers of the genre as well as its hungriest consumers. In 1837 an unnamed critic published a teasing admonition in *Le Ménestrel*: “You might wonder whether this flood of [romance] albums responds to a musical need. Not at all. They are little tokens and nothing more. Children are satisfied with a toy or a doll. But women! We cannot offer them objects of value—least of all to those with whom we are only casually acquainted—yet these bags of sweets [i.e., romance albums] are turning out to be sufficiently puerile.”<sup>4</sup> Romances were often characterized as objects of distraction and appeasement that allegedly exposed their female patrons as not only amateur artists but also amateur human beings. Such views had deep roots in Parisian society’s obsession with women’s purported obsessions. For although the romance did provide a creative outlet for a number of women musicians, the valorization of female amateurism largely—and rather conveniently—obscured the extensive participation of men musicians in the same venture. The reality was that men were just as engrossed in the culture of the romance, and, moreover, that male composers and poets of

the genre far outnumbered their female counterparts.<sup>5</sup> In their endeavors to pen marketable songs, hundreds of men capitalized upon poetic and aesthetic idioms that contemporary writers explicitly appraised as feminine. Naivety, modesty, chastity, domesticity, and sentimentality were all cited as traits that defined the ideal woman as well as the ideal romance. The reverential yet patronizing attitudes toward these humble attributes resonated with the Parisian bourgeoisie’s broader ambivalence toward musical amateurism and its feminine connotations. Indeed, by the mid-1830s, the romance was no longer just a musical genre. Rather, it had become a critical buzzword for dilettantism, a tremendously lucrative enterprise, and a veritable cultural institution fraught with veiled sexual politics. At the heart of this article is an attempt to understand the ways in which *romanciers* and *romancières* learned to perform feminine values in their quests to become professionals in the business of musical amateurism.<sup>6</sup>

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duction. Le Parisien a toujours aimé les plaisirs faciles, et, certes, de tous les plaisirs musicaux, la romance . . . peut bien être regardée comme le plus facile de tous” (“Albums de romances: Hommage aux dames, album de romances et de nocturnes inédits. Neuvième Année,” *Gazette musicale* [4 Jan. 1835]).

<sup>3</sup>Delaire further estimated that composers altogether produced five hundred new romances every year and that publishers on average received a 50 percent return on each romance sold. See J. A. Delaire, *Histoire de la romance, considérée comme œuvre littéraire et musicale* (Paris: Ducassois, 1845), p. 22.

<sup>4</sup>“Mais, me direz-vous, ce déluge d’albums [de romances] répond-il à un besoin musical? Nullement. C’est une question d’étreennes, et rien de plus. . . . Les enfans [sic] se contentent d’un joujou, d’une poupée. Mais les dames! On ne peut leur offrir des objets de prix, surtout à celles avec qui l’on n’a que les rapports ordinaires du monde; puis le sac de bonbons devient passablement puéril” (“Correspondance: A Madame la comtesse L . . . de Ch\*\*\* à Vienne,” *Le Ménestrel* [8 Jan. 1837]).

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<sup>5</sup>Historical accounts of the French romance can be found in Florence Launay, *Les Compositrices en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2006); David Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs: A Background to Romantic French Song, 1830–1870* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002); Austin B. Caswell, “Loïsa Puget and the French Romance,” in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, ed. Peter Bloom (New York: Pendragon Press, 1987), pp. 97–115; Frits Noske, *French Song from Berlioz to Duparc: The Origin and Development of the Mélodie*, trans. Rita Benton (New York: Dover, 1970); Edward Lockspeiser, “The French Song in the 19th Century,” *Musical Quarterly* 26 (1940), 192–99; and Henri Gougelot, *La Romance française sous la Révolution et l’Empire: Étude historique et critique* (Melun: Legrand et fils, 1938).

<sup>6</sup>Musicological studies of gender and genre that I have found most pertinent to the arguments of this article include Marcia J. Citron, “Gendered Reception of Brahms: Masculinity, Nationalism, and Musical Politics,” in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, ed. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 141–59; Ruth A. Solie, “‘Girling’ at the Parlor Piano,” in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 85–117; Matthew Head, “‘If the Pretty Little Hand Won’t Stretch’: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999), 203–54; Jill Halstead, *The Woman Composer: Creativity and the Gendered Politics of Musical Composition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997); Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996); Matthew Head, “‘Like Beauty Spots on the Face of a Man’: Gender in 18th-Century North-German Discourse on Genre,” *Journal of Mu-*

The pursuit of prestige was a leading concern of the July Monarchy's newly empowered bourgeoisie. The consumption of domestic goods, the exhibition of marriageable youths, and the flaunting of musical talent all served as displays of power and as bids for an esteemed sense of social belonging.<sup>7</sup> Parisians were proud to hail the romance as not only a feminine but also an eminently French genre. Designated by writers as "this true and national song" (*ce chant national et vrai*)<sup>8</sup> and "this child of our soil" (*cette enfant de notre sol*),<sup>9</sup> the romance shored up tropes of woman-as-homeland and enabled its creators and consumers to cultivate patriotic sensibilities.<sup>10</sup> Claims to cultural superiority and anxieties about bodily health further manifested in descriptions of the romance as "pure-blooded" (*pur-sang*) and "hygienic" (*hygiénique*).<sup>11</sup> But although such remarks pro-

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*sicology* 13 (1995), 143–67; Judith Tick, *American Women Composers before 1870* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1995), esp. pp. 73–125; Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), esp. pp. 124–45; Marcia Citron, "Women and the Lied, 1775–1850," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 224–48; and Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954).

<sup>7</sup>Examples of domestic goods that carried feminine connotations in early-nineteenth-century France included furniture, paintings, silverware, etiquette books, marriage manuals, and decoration guides. See Leora Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France," in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, ed. Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 79–112.

<sup>8</sup>Henri Blanchard, "Soirée musicale chez M. Zimmerman," *Revue et Gazette musicale* (6 Dec. 1840), 595–96.

<sup>9</sup>Arthur Pougin, *Albert Grisar: Étude artistique* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1870), p. 37.

<sup>10</sup>Concerning ideological resonances between femininity and nationalism, see, for example, *Woman, Nation, State*, ed. Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989); *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms, and the State*, ed. Caren Kaplan, Norma Alarcón, and Minoo Moallem (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); and Gayatri Gopinath, "'Bombay, UK, Yuba City': Bhangra Music and the Engendering of Diaspora," in *Popular Culture: A Reader*, ed. Raiford Guins and Omayra Zaragoza Cruz (London: Sage, 2005), pp. 294–308.

<sup>11</sup>Blanchard insisted that a collection of romances "can only do you good; it is hygienic. The album soothes your sad memories and future worries" (*ne peut que vous faire du bien; c'est hygiénique. L'album dulcifie les tristes souvenirs et les sombres prévisions de l'avenir*) ("*Revue critique: Album 1843—Album de Mlle Loïsa Puget*," *Revue*

et *Gazette musicale* [18 Dec. 1842], 502–04). On the poetics of social degeneration, see Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), and Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), esp. pp. 46–51 and 207–31.

<sup>12</sup>"Le mérite de la romance, c'est d'exprimer les sentiments qu'éprouve tout le monde" (Henri Blanchard, "Romagnesi," *Revue et Gazette musicale* [14 Oct. 1838]).

<sup>13</sup>"Admirablement aux besoins de toutes les classes de la société" (Henri Blanchard, "Album de Mlle Loïsa Puget," *Revue et Gazette musicale* [14 Jan. 1841]).

<sup>14</sup>"Convient à toutes les classes, à tous les âges, à toutes les bourses, et il faudrait ne pas avoir un franc dans sa poche pour [l'apprécier]" (Henri Blanchard, "Revue critique: Deuxième Acte de foi religieuse et musicale de Mlle Loïsa Puget," *Revue et Gazette musicale* [17 Oct. 1841]).

<sup>15</sup>As historian Robert Tombs points out, the peasant "as a type, whether stigmatized or idealized, was a creation of non-peasants. . . . In unresolved contradiction was the image of the peasant as pure and unspoilt: the same primitiveness, but this time idealized as the honest and healthy embodiment of the best of French and human values" (*France 1814–1914* [New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1996], pp. 285–86). For more on charity and bourgeois identity in the nineteenth century, see Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 73–77 and 232–62.

afford to indulge in extensive musical consumption.<sup>16</sup> The perceived accessibility and utilitarianism of the romance hence invoked hazy images of penniless peoples only to cover up the gritty realities of class difference and to reinforce the insulation of bourgeois privilege.<sup>17</sup>

Historian Peter Gay has suggested that the bourgeoisie of this era developed a craving for idols: "Nineteenth-century nostalgia for ancient legendary giants bestriding the earth; the adulation of military leaders, concert singers, or piano virtuosos; the susceptibility to those pseudo-heroes, the demagogues—all were symptoms of an inner void waiting to be filled with idealized images."<sup>18</sup> The idealized image associated with the romance, however, was not some ancient or fabled monster but rather the exemplary Woman—a figure with its own mythicized status. Insofar as it was socially and economically profitable for *romanciers* to compose like women—or more accurately, to

compose in ways that women were expected and imagined to compose—femininity accrued considerable symbolic capital in the romance industry as well as in Parisian society more broadly. As historian Claire G. Moses declares, "Romanticism not only valorized difference, it valorized—even idealized—women and qualities traditionally thought to be feminine. Male romantic writers and artists *claimed* a 'feminine' sensibility, and the male leaders of Saint-Simonianism were loving 'like women.'"<sup>19</sup> Literary scholar Alan Richardson likewise remarks that the "Romantic tradition did not simply objectify women. It also subjected them, in a dual sense, portraying woman as subject in order to *appropriate* the feminine for male subjectivity."<sup>20</sup> But in calling this sort of social practice the "colonization of the feminine," Richardson ascribes excessive fixity to what is arguably a pliable abstraction.<sup>21</sup> A rhetoric of ownership—one that underscores men's capacity to "claim" or "appropriate" femininity *from* women—rests too comfortably on essentialist assumptions that femininity somehow belongs to women in the first place. It might be helpful to apprehend both femininity and amateurism not as reified categories of natural existence but instead as historical constructs that gained visibility and cultural currency via performances of stylized acts by men and women alike. Questions of who exactly was imitating whom (and to what ends) in the business of the romance are confounded by poststructuralist understandings of gender as "a kind of imitation for which there is no original."<sup>22</sup> This is not to suggest that the notions of colonization posited by writers such as Moses and Richard-

<sup>16</sup>Regarding the consumption of leisure as social privilege, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 255–56.

<sup>17</sup>Catherine Kudlick has described the bourgeoisie of the July Monarchy as "a highly fragmented (and, as we have seen, relatively small) group [that] understood itself as having a universalizing role in French society" (*Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris: A Cultural History* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996], p. 24). On the problem of defining a middle class, see William Weber, "The Muddle of the Middle Classes," this journal 3 (1979), 175–85; Peter N. Stearns, "The Middle Class: Toward a Precise Definition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21 (1979), 377–96; and Adeline Daumard, *Les Bourgeois de Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1970). For a broader discussion of the heterogeneity of Parisian identities during this era, see Christopher Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 1–30. Also see Nancy B. Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 125–46.

<sup>18</sup>Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud—Volume 4: The Naked Heart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 159. Regarding nineteenth-century bourgeois audiences, Richard Leppert similarly remarks that "music was the sonorous sign of inner life, and inner life was the sign of the bourgeois subject, the much heralded, newly invented, and highly idealized 'individual'" ("Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry, and the Piano Virtuoso: Franz Liszt," in *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano*, ed. James Parakilas [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999], p. 245).

<sup>19</sup>Claire G. Moses and Leslie W. Rabine, *Feminism, Socialism, and French Romanticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), p. 21 (emphasis added). Regarding the influence of Saint-Simonianism on the "ideal of music as a noble, moralizing, 'social' art," see Ralph P. Locke, *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 229 and passim.

<sup>20</sup>Alan Richardson, "Romanticism and the Colonization of the Feminine," in *Romanticism and Feminism*, ed. Anne K. Mellor (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 22 (emphasis added).

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>22</sup>Judith Butler, "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," in *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*, ed. Linda Nicholson (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 306.

son have no place alongside this discourse. As Anne McClintock has insisted in her study of intersections between gender, sexuality, race, and class, "imperialism is not something that happened elsewhere—a disagreeable fact of history external to Western identity."<sup>23</sup> Inquiries about borrowing, appropriation, and mimicry—musical and otherwise—can cast valuable light on the sexual politics and power struggles within a nation's borders. With this in mind, I set out in this article to investigate the following: first, critical dialogues surrounding the proliferation of romances during the July Monarchy; second, the Parisian bourgeoisie's fetishization of femininity and female amateurism; third, the poetics, politics, and economics of gender mimicry in the culture of the romance; and lastly, the challenges of music criticism and analysis with regard to the ambivalent significations of so-called *easy* music.

#### THE OTHER EPIDEMIC

In the wake of the July Revolution, the Parisian bourgeoisie's growing anxieties concerning social mobility and the permeability of class boundaries were accompanied by widespread paranoia about the literal porousness of human skin. Cholera struck the city in the spring of 1832. The death knell became deafening as the body count soared into the tens of thousands. Entangled corpses piled up on boulevards and obstructed the routes of survivors attempting to flee the country. Salons—as sites of intimate entertainment and pretty things—might have felt like safe havens, but the epidemic had no difficulty penetrating brick walls and cutting across class barriers.<sup>24</sup> Disease was soon on the

tip of everybody's tongue: government officials, journalists, and medical professionals were charged with distributing health instructions, disseminating daily mortality figures, and submitting explanations for the modern plague. Writers also increasingly began to employ metaphors of pathology in their observations of musical phenomena. Heinrich Heine called piano virtuosos "a plague of locusts swarming to pick Paris clean" and later coined the term "Lisztomania" to describe the public fervor ignited by Franz Liszt.<sup>25</sup> In musical circles, the romance quickly became one of the most widely publicized symptoms and causes of dilettantismania. Critics regularly used words such as "flood," "shower," and "contagion" to capture the genre's sheer abundance and infectious popularity. The hygienic romance was simultaneously heralded as a cleansing force and dreaded for its diluvian magnitude of seemingly Biblical proportions. Henri Blanchard went so far as to suggest that "the editor who does not publish his album by the end of the year stands to be dishonored and lost. His musical trade withers, he must wander like a lost soul among his colleagues, and artists shun him."<sup>26</sup> Publishers were typically willing to pay a composer 500 francs for a single romance and up to 6,000 francs for an album of six romances.<sup>27</sup> On the market, a romance on average sold for two francs and an album for ten or more francs. People who subscribed to music journals such as *Le Ménestrel*, *Le Monde musical*, *L'Abeille musicale*, and *La Romance* often received individual romances with weekly issues and albums at the end of each year.

Parisians embraced romances as mass-consumed ephemera. As observed by Albert de Lasalle, "the best romances remain in vogue

<sup>23</sup>McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 5. Or, as Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff so succinctly put it: "Few would insist anymore that colonization necessarily involves spatial distance between centers and peripheries, rulers and ruled" (*Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997], p. 17).

<sup>24</sup>In the early stages of the cholera epidemic, wealthy individuals in Paris were falsely reassured of their physiological and cultural immunity by hygienists who fundamentally linked the disease with poverty and the working class. See Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris*, pp. 52–64 and 74–81.

<sup>25</sup>Quoted in Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years, 1811–1847* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 163. On the gendered valence of "Lisztomania," see Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, pp. 201–32.

<sup>26</sup>"L'éditeur qui ne publie pas son album au bout de l'année, se tient pour déshonoré, perdu! Son commerce musical est flétri; il se promène comme une âme en peine au milieu de ses confrères, et les artistes lui disent *raca*" ("Correspondance: A Madame la comtesse L . . . de Ch\*\*\* à Vienne," *Le Ménestrel* [8 Jan. 1837]).

<sup>27</sup>See Delaire, *Histoire de la Romance*, p. 22.

only for a short time. The only thing as fleeting as a romance is the fashion of our clothes."<sup>28</sup> But while the popularity of the romance was indisputable, there existed little consensus about its artistic value. In 1836 a critic for *Le Ménestrel* lamented:

Pedants will never have any success in France. While the puritans of musical art are consumed with bitterness against easy genres and declare the romance and the quadrille anathema—calling them worthless and placing them beyond the pale of public opinion and M. Berlioz—these genres continue their seductive propaganda among the masses, rule the public gardens, lounge in the salons, and smother the voices of critics [*aristarques*] with heavy blows to their throats.<sup>29</sup>

Several writers also denounced the romance for failing to contribute to the progress of art. One writer protested that a "taste for *easy* music paralyzes all musical progress and rejects the art that our forefathers [Beethoven, Weber, Rossini, and Meyerbeer] have established."<sup>30</sup> In 1837 the critic Ernest Legouvé similarly appealed to ideals of musical value and genius in predicting that the reign of the romance would

soon be ended by the growing popularity of Franz Schubert's Lieder in Paris:

The introduction of Schubert's melodies in France will inevitably kill the romance. We have had—and still have—certain *romanciers* . . . who lack neither grace nor charm, and Mme Duchambge above all has some melodic qualities and a very remarkable poetic sadness. But all of the compositions of these musicians are lacking in form. These musicians do not know any better: their accompaniments are a series of standard harmonies, of little lifeless, insignificant drummings that do not connect at all with the melody, and their works are old by the end of two or three years because there is no art in them. . . . Try, then, after you have been satiated with Schubert's generous and filling music, to fall back on the chirpings of Mlle Puget—it is impossible! . . . Indeed, Schubert is a man of genius.<sup>31</sup>

By 1840 even Blanchard, one of the most outspoken proponents of the romance, grudgingly admitted that "the simple and naïve romance . . . is no longer sufficient for our salon composers to express tender, sweet, or sad feelings. . . . Schubert is the model for young musicians who now dream only about the Lied and its pretentious and contorted melodies and harmonies, as well as its ambitious and ridiculous modulations."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup>"Les meilleures romances ne jouissent que d'une vogue passagère. On ne pourrait citer d'aussi éphémère que la mode dans la coupe des vêtements" (Albert de Lasalle, *Dictionnaire de la musique appliqué à l'amour* [Paris: A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven, 1868], p. 228). In 1838 Henri Blanchard likewise remarked: "Everything passes, falls, and perishes: let us therefore not be surprised if the romance is subjected to the caprices of fashion, if it has its days of neglect just as it had its days of glory, vogue, and fanaticism" (Tout passe, tombe et péric: ne nous étonnons donc pas si la romance subit . . . les caprices de la mode, si elle a ses jours de délaissement comme elle a eu ses jours de gloire, de vogue, de fanatisme) ("Romagnesi," *Revue et Gazette musicale* [14 Oct. 1838]).

<sup>29</sup>"Les pédans [*sic*] n'auront jamais de succès en France: pendant que les puritains de l'art musical se consomment en fiel contre le genre facile, frappent d'anathème la romance et le quadrille, leur disent *raca* et les mettent au ban de l'opinion publique et de M. Berlioz, le quadrille et la romance poursuivent leur séduisante propagande au milieu des masses, dominant dans les jardins publics, se prélassent dans les salons et étouffent la voix des aristarques à coups de gosiers et à grand renfort du piston" ("Avenir du quadrille," *Le Ménestrel* [21 Aug. 1836]).

<sup>30</sup>"Le goût de la musique *facile* paralyse tout progrès musical, et rejette l'art dans l'ornière où l'avaient placé nos aïeux [Beethoven, Weber, Rossini, et Meyerbeer]" ("Des Petites Virtuoses et de la musique facile," *Le Ménestrel* [14 Dec. 1834]).

<sup>31</sup>"L'introduction en France des mélodies de Shubert [*sic* et al.] tuera inévitablement la romance. . . . Nous avons eu et nous avons encore quelques *romanciers* . . . qui ne manquent ni de grâce ni de charme, et Mme Duchambge surtout a des qualités de mélodie et une tristesse poétique très-remarquables; mais toutes les compositions de ces musiciens pèchent par la forme: ils ne *savent pas*; leurs accompagnements sont une suite d'accords plaqués, de petites batteries plates et insignifiantes, qui ne se lient en rien avec la mélodie; et leurs œuvres sont vieilles au bout de deux ou trois ans, parce qu'il n'y a pas d'art chez eux. . . . Essayez donc, après vous êtes rassasié de cette généreuse et nourrissante musique, de retomber sur les gazouillements de Mlle Puget; c'est impossible! . . . Eh bien, Shubert est un homme de génie" (Ernest Legouvé, "Revue critique: Mélodies de Shubert," *Revue et Gazette musicale* [15 Jan. 1837]). By 1840 Charles-Simon Richault had published around two hundred and seventy of Schubert's Lieder with French translations. Adolphe Nourrit and his pupil François Wartel were among two of the most devoted champions of these songs in Paris (see Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs*, pp. 89–101).

<sup>32</sup>"La simple et naïve romance . . . ne suffit plus à nos compositeurs de salon pour exprimer un sentiment tendre, doux ou triste. . . . Schubert est le point de mire de la jeune école musicale qui ne rêve plus que Lieder d'une mélodie et d'une harmonie prétentieuses, contournées, et

Misgivings about the dilettantish romance were reflected in the activities of *Le Ménestrel*, a music periodical that published a wealth of individual romances and romance albums during the 1830s. This journal—despite its reputation as one of the leading endorsers of the genre—betrayed a conflicted attitude toward the romance's aesthetic and social worth. In its early years, *Le Ménestrel* showed support for popular genres by publishing a two-page romance with each weekly issue. In 1836 the editors even vowed to make a greater effort to include reviews of music performed in salons.<sup>33</sup> On 15 March 1840, however, came an announcement for a kind of counter-reform:

For a long time, *Le Ménestrel* has promised noteworthy improvements in the music that it offers. . . . We believe to have finally resolved this problem [of publishing too many romances] by the new system of publication that we are adopting from this day forward, a system that will permit us consistently to offer our subscribers compositions of the first order, and at the same time, to open up a greater domain for our musical critiques. As of today, *Le Ménestrel* will appear each Sunday with four large pages of text. Every two weeks, it will publish one new *romance* by MM. Meyerbeer, Donizetti, Halévy, Adam, Amb[roise] Thomas, Clapisson, Grisar, Masini, Am[édée] de Beauplan, d'Adhémar, de Flotow, Mlle Puget, etc., etc.<sup>34</sup>

à modulations ambitieusement ridicules" (Henri Blanchard, "Soirée musicale chez M. Zimmerman," *Revue et Gazette musicale* [6 Dec. 1840]). Although the romance by no means suffered a sudden death, its popularity did begin to wane during the early 1840s. As predicted by Legouvé, the genre was largely usurped by the Lied and the French *mélodie*. For more on the genre of the *mélodie* (which, until the early 1840s, had been more or less stylistically concordant and nominally interchangeable with the romance), see Katherine Bergeron, *Voice Lessons: French Mélodie in the Belle Époque* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), esp. pp. 4–8.

<sup>33</sup>See "Proclamation," *Le Ménestrel* (23 Oct. 1836).

<sup>34</sup>Depuis long-temps, *Le Ménestrel* avait promis de notables améliorations dans sa partie musicale. . . . Ce problème, nous croyons enfin l'avoir résolu par le nouveau système de publicité que nous adoptons dès aujourd'hui, système qui nous permettra d'offrir constamment à nos souscripteurs des compositions de premier ordre, et d'ouvrir en même temps un plus vaste champ à notre critique musicale. . . . A dater d'aujourd'hui, le *Ménestrel* paraîtra le dimanche de chaque semaine, en quatre grandes pages de texte. . . . Chaque quinzaine, il publiera une romance inédite de MM. Meyerbeer, Donizetti, Halévy, Adam, Amb. Thomas, Clapisson, Grisar, Masini, Am. de Beauplan,

With its new agenda of quality control, *Le Ménestrel* effectively cut the number of its weekly romance publications by half.<sup>35</sup> Months after this initial reform, the editors persisted in justifying their decision by stating: "We have believed it necessary to reduce the number of romances. From now on, by publishing only twenty-five romances from composers of the first order, we are going to make a real improvement."<sup>36</sup> And two years later, a front-page column in an issue of the journal suggested that plans for such improvement were still under way: "The new administration of the *Ménestrel* will continue its efforts to improve its publications and to earn the favor of people who have good taste and who prefer *quality over quantity*."<sup>37</sup>

The resolutions of *Le Ménestrel* exemplified much of the ambivalence that Parisians harbored toward the amateur genre. In the eyes of critics, this infestation of romances—the other epidemic—was also accompanied by an equally

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d'Adhémar, de Flotow, Mlle Puget, etc., etc." ("Nouveau Prospectus: Le Ménestrel réformé," *Le Ménestrel* [15 March 1840]). Under its revised format, *Le Ménestrel* included a cover page and a full-page advertisement in each biweekly four-page romance publication. Two weeks after announcing this "Nouveau Prospectus," the journal editors chastised subscribers who were complaining about not having received a romance with their most recent issue: "To those subscribers who are reproaching us, we have a reproach for you: it's that you are *not reading the journal*, for *Le Ménestrel* has sufficiently announced and explained the new plan that it has just adopted" (Aux abonnés qui nous adressent ce reproche, nous nous permettons d'en adresser un autre: c'est de *ne pas lire le journal*; car *Le Ménestrel* a suffisamment annoncé et expliqué la nouvelle mesure qu'il vient d'adopter) ("A Nos Abonnés," *Le Ménestrel* [29 March 1840]). What is suggested by these editorial comments is perhaps that some people subscribed to the journal primarily to collect romances rather than to read its articles cover to cover.

<sup>35</sup>From the season 1848–49 onward, *Le Ménestrel* ceased altogether to include publications of romances with its weekly issues. For a few years after that, however, the journal continued to provide its subscribers with annual albums at no additional cost. See "Avis important," *Le Ménestrel* (3 Dec. 1848).

<sup>36</sup>Nous avons cru devoir en réduire le nombre. En ne publiant désormais que vingt-quatre romances dues à des compositeurs du premier ordre, nous avons donc opéré une amélioration réelle" ("A Nos Abonnés," *Le Ménestrel* [29 Nov. 1840]).

<sup>37</sup>"La nouvelle administration du *Ménestrel* continuera ses efforts pour améliorer ses publications et justifier la faveur des gens de bon goût, qui préfèrent *la qualité à la quantité*" ("Avis important," *Le Ménestrel* [4 Dec. 1842]).

distressing horde of amateur women. This was the Other epidemic, which an anonymous writer described as follows:

Witness the phenomenon that the salons of the capital city have been offering for some time! Swarms of young girls no older than twelve years of age let their intrepid hands prance all over the keyboard! . . . We no longer know where to take refuge in order to evade these little pianists: they are invading our balls, obstructing our routes, appearing in groups and legions, and overwhelming us from all sides. . . . Look, thus, at one of the results of our musical education.<sup>38</sup>

Such sensationalist reports about the Invasion of the Little Girls might have given one the impression that the female population of Paris was doubling overnight. Young girls in particular were often derided for their lack of artistic refinement and conceived as metonymically standing for the bourgeois women of all ages who were infantilized as obsessive consumers of amateur music and domestic trinkets. Trivial genres such as the *quadrille* and the romance were seen to suit the limited skill level of women who found little opportunity for formal musical education. Due to the gender-discriminatory admission policies of the Conservatoire, many young girls received musical training only from their mothers.<sup>39</sup> In 1844 Blanchard complained that this enclosed system of mother-daughter homeschooling was responsible for perpetuating women's overall lack of musical ability. In condemning the selfish motivations of mothers who passed along their poor musical intuitions and technical habits to their daughters, Blanchard stated that "most parents who teach their daughters to play the piano only wish to satisfy a *childish vanity*, to see them shine in society,

turn heads, and ultimately reach the ears of a handsome, rich, young man, and plant ideas of marriage in his heart."<sup>40</sup> Musical performances in salons were frequently meant to serve as opportunities through which romantic prospects (or arranged marriages) could be negotiated. Young girls were urged to attract attention rather than to inspire outright awe, and for this purpose, they needed to show the correct amount of skill—that is, not too much.

#### EASY TARGETS

In an 1843 pamphlet entitled *Petit Traité de composition mélodique appliqué spécialement aux valse, quadrilles et romances*, Adolphe-Clair Le Carpentier provided readers with some basic methods of composing the romance, which he defined as "a short melody adapted to rhyming text that is separated into small stanzas called couplets."<sup>41</sup> He proposed that a standard romance should contain a narrow melodic range, a simple harmonic progression, and formulaic accompanimental figurations—features that many writers were quick to associate with female sensibilities. Women were recognized not solely as avid consumers of romances but also as ardent composers of the genre. In 1813 Général Thiébault had already noted that "women, upon whom the success of the romance depends, are not satisfied with the mere glory of supporting the popularity of the genre: they also wish to partake in the glory of composition. Their lively sensibility, their fine and delicate organization, [and] their generally active and often enthusiastic imagination allow them to put to use, in this regard, their simple talents."<sup>42</sup> This view still echoed three decades

<sup>38</sup>"Aussi voyez le phénomène qu'offrent depuis quelque temps les salons de la capitale! Des essaims de jeunes filles, dont la plus âgée n'a pas douze ans, promènent sur le clavier leurs intrépides mains! . . . On ne sait plus où se réfugier pour éviter ces petites pianistes: elles envahissent nos bals, encomrent nos roûts, apparaissent par bandes et par légions, et nous débordent de toutes parts. . . . Voilà un des résultats de notre éducation musicale" ("Des Petites Virtuoses et de la musique facile," *Le Ménestrel* [14 Dec. 1834]).

<sup>39</sup>Regarding the Conservatoire's policies on the admission of women, see Launay, *Les Compositrices*, pp. 11–14 and 23–40.

<sup>40</sup>"Le grand nombre de parents ne font apprendre à jouer du piano à leurs filles que pour satisfaire une puérole vanité, pour les voir briller en société, fixer les regards, et faire enfin pénétrer par les oreilles dans l'esprit de quelque beau jeune homme riche, des idées d'hymen" (Henri Blanchard, "De l'Éducation musicale des femmes," *Revue et Gazette musicale* [7 Jan. 1844], emphasis added).

<sup>41</sup>"Une mélodie de peu d'étendue, adaptée à des paroles rimées, et séparées en petites Stances appelées Couplets" (Adolphe-Clair Le Carpentier, *Petit Traité de composition mélodique appliqué spécialement aux valse, quadrilles et romances*, Op. 76 [Paris: Heugel, 1843], p. 15).

<sup>42</sup>"Les dames, auxquelles le succès des romances est confié, ne se sont pas bornées à la gloire de les faire valoir: elles



later in J. A. Delaire's assertion that the romance, "a genre devoted to the expression of lively, delicate, and tender sentiments, must be suitable to the eminently sensitive constitution of women."<sup>43</sup> Thiébault's and Delaire's views on the essential femininity of the romance were voiced by numerous other writers during this period. In the following statement by an unidentified *Méneştrel* critic, I have experimentally inserted a female human subject in brackets throughout the translated text to show the potential semantic slippages that can arise in such a patronizing description of the romance:

How do we take a liking to the *romance* [a woman], which [who] presents itself [herself] in a manner so simple, modest, and without pretention? . . . If the *romance* [the woman] wished to enter into the league of grand music with the important compositions of great masters, we would have reason to protest, and it would not be difficult to take justice against such silly vanity. But it [*elle*/she] has never had—and will never have—such ridiculous pretentions. Do not give it [her] more importance than it itself [*elle même*/she herself] wants to have; it [*elle*/she] only asks to please you for a few moments and then to be forgotten.<sup>44</sup>

The nominal interchangeability of woman and romance in this passage testifies to the ease with which gender and genre can be conceptually

ally and rhetorically conflated. Writers anthropomorphized the romance by assigning it a feminine personality that was assumed to possess an effortless kinship with women's amateur proclivities. The final sentence in the above quote also calls attention to patriarchal fantasies of women as sources of short-lived pleasure and objects of sexual exchange. An 1832 issue of the Saint-Simonian separatist-feminist journal *Tribune des Femmes* included an article on prostitution that the writer addressed not only to the "35,000 [women], who . . . offer to every passerby their degraded charms" but also to the "young girl of the privileged class . . . [who] will be sold" in marriage.<sup>45</sup> Cultural and feminist anthropologist Gayle Rubin has influentially argued that "the 'exchange of women' . . . suggests that we look for the ultimate locus of women's oppression within the traffic in women, rather than within the traffic in merchandise."<sup>46</sup> This traffic in women played an integral role in the Parisian economy and its cult of domesticity. Several things were indeed transacted in the romance business: abstract feminine values; material musical scores; and above all, real live *romancières* and *salonnières* whose presumed penchant for subservient lifestyles promoted the circulation of these women through systems and spaces of male dominance.

It should come as no surprise that writers who extolled the romance for its domestic and recreational values were quick to insist that the genre—like women—should have little to do with political affairs or civic progress.<sup>47</sup>

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ont voulu partager celle d'en faire; et leur sensibilité vive, leur organisation fine et délicate, [et] leur imagination en général active et souvent ardente, leur ont rendu à cet égard l'emploi du talent facile" (Général Thiébault, *Du Chant et particulièrement de la romance* [Paris: Chez Arthus Bertrand, 1813], reproduced in Henri Gougelot, *La Romance française sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Choix de textes musicaux* [Melun: Librairie d'Argences, 1943], p. 173).

<sup>43</sup>"Un genre consacré à l'expression de sentiments vifs, délicats et tendres devait convenir à l'organisation éminemment sensible des femmes" (Delaire, *Histoire de la romance*, pp. 20–21).

<sup>44</sup>"Comment prendre goût en effet à la romance, qui, elle, se présente simple et modeste, sans prétention! . . . Si la romance voulait entrer en parallèle avec la grande musique, avec les compositions importantes des grands maîtres, on aurait raison de s'élever contre elle, et il ne serait pas difficile de faire justice d'une aussi sottise vanité. Mais elle n'a eu et n'aura jamais une prétention aussi ridicule. Ne lui donnez pas plus d'importance qu'elle même ne veut en avoir; elle ne demande qu'à vous plaire quelques instans [*sic*] et puis à être oubliée" ("De la romance," *Le Méneştrel* [6 Aug. 1837]).

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<sup>45</sup>Quoted in Moses and Rabine, *Feminism, Socialism, and French Romanticism*, p. 288. Early issues of the *Tribune* were published under the names *La Femme libre*, *Apostolat des femmes*, and *La Femme nouvelle*.

<sup>46</sup>Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*, ed. Linda Nicholson (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 37. Many Saint-Simonian feminists during this time expressed concerns about the political economy of gender and sex. Joséphine Milizet, for instance, declared: "I do not want to bear the name [wife]. . . . Since I don't have any wealth to regulate, it would be nothing but a contract of sale" (quoted in Moses and Rabine, *Feminism, Socialism, and French Romanticism*, p. 51).

<sup>47</sup>During the July Monarchy, feminists from various economic backgrounds sought to secure women's rights to political participation. In extending and reforming the socialist views of Saint-Simonianism, lower-class feminists

Blanchard observed that romances “resemble flowers that live only for a season. . . . They may not contribute much to the progress of music, but political products and public laws hardly do more for the happiness of the people. In the end, at least these albums leave us with some gracious and mirthful memories.”<sup>48</sup> The opinion that women should stick to their role as guardians of household leisure was emphatically voiced by the critic Jules Lovy shortly following the social upheavals of 1848:

Artists, take back your soirées! Virtuosi, pick up the broken chain of concerts and musical matinees! And

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such as Suzanne Voilquin, Désirée Veret, Claire Démar, and Flora Tristan envisioned a communitarian society that could offer fair wages and equal employment opportunities to both men and women. Tristan in particular insisted that feminist and socialist aims had to be achieved in tandem. But more privileged feminist writers such as George Sand, Marie d’Agoult, Hortense Allart, and Delphine Gay de Girardin remained somewhat wary of the radical principles espoused by socialist feminists. Sand, for example, believed that even though all women deserved equal opportunities for education, they should not become involved in politics until they had completed said education. See Whitney Walton, *Eve’s Proud Descendants: Four Women Writers and Republican Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000). Also see Evelyn Gordon Bodek, “Salonières and Bluestockings: Educated Obsolescence and Germinating Feminism,” *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976), 185–99, and Jolanta T. Pekacz, *Conservative Tradition in Pre-Revolutionary France: Parisian Salon Women* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

<sup>48</sup>“Ressemblement aux fleurs qui ne vivent qu’une saison. . . . Si ces manifestations ne font pas beaucoup de progrès à l’art musical, les produits politiques et de droit public . . . ne font guère plus pour le bonheur du peuple; mais enfin les albums nous laissent au moins quelques souvenirs gracieux et riants” (Henri Blanchard, “Des Albums de 1846: MM. Masini, Frédéric Bérat et Paul Henrion,” *Revue et Gazette musicale* [21 Dec. 1845]). Several other writers also used the metaphor of the flower to convey the ephemerality and diversionary functions of the romance. Général Thiébauld called the romance “a humble violet that does not seek tribute, but rewards those who approach it with its delicate perfume” (une humble violette, qui ne sollicite hommage, mais qui paie ceux qu’on lui rend, par le tribut de son délicat parfum) (Thiébauld reproduced in Gougelot, *La Romance française sous la Révolution et l’Empire: Choix de textes musicaux*, pp. 35–36). Another critic similarly asserted that “romances are like flowers. What does it matter if the morning rose dies in the evening if the next day we get to see the blossoming of others just as beautiful, fresh, fragrant, and lively in both color and splendor?” (Les romances sont comme les fleurs. Que nous importe que la rose du matin meure le soir, si le lendemain nous devons en voir éclore d’autres aussi belles, aussi fraîches, aussi odorantes, aussi vives de couleur et d’éclat?) (“De la Romance,” *Le Ménestrel* [6 Aug. 1837]).

you, mesdames, reopen your salons! Let the balls and the celebrations of the night be revived with splendor! Let all those who live by music, by the heart, and by charity leave to others the task of rebuilding the political edifice. Your role is all laid out, mesdames: with your grace and spirit, it is you who must safeguard the reputed traditions of Paris! It is you who must preserve the holy ark of pleasure! As long as you would desire, Paris will remain the center of arts, the supreme arbiter of elegance and good taste. Leave the republic to those flag-bearers marching proudly down the streets. In our salons, you will always be sovereigns.<sup>49</sup>

Advancing a notion of sovereignty as a potential euphemism for domestic confinement, Lovy identified women as valued members of society while justifying their exclusion from the public political arena.<sup>50</sup> His comments imply not so much that the domestic salon was unequivocally devoid of political energy but rather that the maintenance of the city’s patriarchal structures relied to a certain extent on the erection of symbolic boundaries between interior and exterior spaces.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>“Artistes, reprenez vos soirées! Virtuoses, renouez la chaîne brisée des concerts et des matinées musicales! Et vous, Mesdames, rouvrez vos salons! Que les bals et les fêtes de nuit se raniment avec éclat! Que tout ce qui vit par la musique, par le cœur et par la charité, laisse à d’autres le soin de reconstituer l’édifice politique. Votre rôle est tout tracé, mesdames: à vous de sauvegarder par la grâce et l’esprit l’antique renommée de Paris! A vous de préserver l’arche sainte du plaisir! Aussi long temps que vous le voudrez, Paris restera le centre des arts, l’arbitre suprême de l’élégance et du bon goût. Laissez la république aux frères allures promener ses drapeaux de rue en rue: dans nos salons vous serez toujours souveraines!” (Jules Lovy, “Rouvrez vos salons!” *Le Ménestrel* [27 Feb. and 5 March 1848]).

<sup>50</sup>The actual sovereignty of *salonnières* over domestic spaces was itself contestable. As suggested by William Weber, many women who presided over salons lacked financial independence and hence arguably “achieved power only of an unstable, weakly-defined order . . . [and] were still ultimately subordinate to their husbands” (*Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* [Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2004], p. 42).

<sup>51</sup>On the problematic distinctions between private and public social spheres in nineteenth-century bourgeois musical cultures, see Christina Bashford, “Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63 (2010), 292–93n3. A seminal critique of the private-public binary appears in Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989).

Poetic texts of romances understandably made few references to political events and instead focused on celebrations of feminine sensibility and heterosexual love.<sup>52</sup> In his 1846 treatise *L'Art de chanter les romances, les chansonnettes et les nocturnes et généralement toute la musique de salon*, Antoine-Joseph-Michel Romagnesi divided romances into five categories: "Sentimental romances; dreamy and solemn melodies; heroic and strongly rhythmic songs; passionate and dramatic romances; [and] the *chansonnette*, for which graceful gaiety is reserved."<sup>53</sup> Romagnesi maintained, however, that only "the sentimental and heroic romances are the real romances with regard to French taste and character."<sup>54</sup> It is telling that the two romance subgenres deemed authentic by Romagnesi were precisely the ones that most overtly connoted sexual difference. Sentimental romances propounded ideals of female naivety, chastity, and domesticity, whereas heroic romances, which "above all suited tenors whose voices are strongly accentuated," honored the political and militant prowess of men.<sup>55</sup>

Examples of apolitical and complacent female characters abounded in the songs of Loïsa

Puget (1810–89), one of the most popular *romancières* during the 1830s and early 1840s. Puget set the majority of her romances to the texts of Gustave Lemoine, a poet-playwright whom she married in 1845 following over a decade of close collaboration.<sup>56</sup> Most of Lemoine's poems featured female protagonists and exalted themes of love, marriage, and providence. In his *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, F. J. Fétis remarked that "the romances of Mlle Puget have a tenderness that is, in truth, a little bourgeois."<sup>57</sup> A more elaborate appraisal later appeared in Paul Scudo's *Critique et littérature musicales*:

[Puget] has composed a considerable number of *romances* and *chansonnettes*—perhaps as many as three or four hundred. They are a saga of bourgeois life in which one finds the simple gleaner of fields who tells her "Touching Story"; the coalman who seeks to marry his daughter to the son of the miller next door; and the grocer's daughter of the Rue des Lombards who aspires to the title of countess. It is thus neither passion nor fantasy that shines in the works of Mlle Puget. What characterizes her talent is a sweet sensibility tempered by good sense.<sup>58</sup>

The romances of Puget served as miniature lessons on female propriety and were accordingly performed not only in salons but also in convents and girls' boarding schools.<sup>59</sup> Examples

<sup>52</sup>Composers during earlier decades were more inclined to write topical romances that recounted historical events or provided oblique commentaries on contemporary political matters. Henri Gougelot lists several examples of such romances written during the French Revolution in *La Romance française sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Choix de textes musicaux*, p. 12. Also see Lasalle, *Dictionnaire de la musique appliqué à l'amour*, pp. 229–34. A type of French song that flourished as an explicitly political genre in the first half of the nineteenth century was called the *chanson*. See Ralph Locke, "The Music of the French Political Chanson, 1810–1850," in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, ed. Peter Bloom (New York: Pendragon Press, 1987), pp. 431–56.

<sup>53</sup>"Les romances sentimentales; les mélodies rêveuses et graves; les chants héroïques et fortement rythmés; les romances passionnées et dramatiques; [et] la *chansonnette*, qui se réserve la gaieté gracieuse" (Antoine Romagnesi, *L'Art de chanter les romances, les chansonnettes et les nocturnes et généralement toute la musique du salon* [Paris: Chez l'Auteur, 1846], p. 16).

<sup>54</sup>"Les romances sentimentales et héroïques sont les véritables romances, eu égard au goût et au caractère français" (ibid., p. 17).

<sup>55</sup>"Convient surtout aux ténors dont la voix est fortement accentuée" (ibid., p. 18). Romagnesi also called heroic romances "courtly romances" (*les romances chevaleresques*) (ibid., p. 12). Nominal subgenres of the romance included the *barcarolle*, *tyrolienne*, *chansonnette*, *nocturne* (usually for two voices), and *orientale*.

<sup>56</sup>Although Puget and Lemoine enjoyed a period of great success in the romance business, one of Puget's students later observed that Puget, after marrying Lemoine, seemed to abandon "her glorious career in order to devote herself entirely to family life" (sa glorieuse carrière pour se consacrer entièrement à la vie de famille) (Paul Fournier, "Obsèques de Loïsa Puget," *L'Indépendant des Basses-Pyrénées* [18 Oct. 1889]).

<sup>57</sup>"Les romances de mademoiselle Puget ont de la tendresse, un peu bourgeois à la vérité" (F. J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, V. 4 [Paris: Claude Tchou pour la Bibliothèque des Introuvables, 2001], p. 143).

<sup>58</sup>"[Puget] a composé un nombre considérable de romances et *chansonnettes* qui peuvent atteindre le chiffre de trois à quatre cents. C'est toute une épopée de la vie bourgeoise où l'on trouve depuis la simple glaneuse des champs qui raconte sa *Touchante histoire*, depuis le charbonnier qui projette de marier sa fille au fils du meunier son voisin, jusqu'à la demoiselle de l'épicier de la rue des Lombards, qui aspire au titre de comtesse. Ce n'est donc pas la passion ni la fantaisie qui brillent dans l'œuvre de Mlle Puget. Ce qui caractérise son talent, c'est une sensibilité douce, tempérée de bons sens" (Paul Scudo, *Critique et littérature musicales* [Paris: Amyot, 1850], p. 374).

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

of her songs that championed the bourgeois ethos of female modesty and moderation included "Les deux âmes" (1837), "La fidèle" (1838), "Amour et charité" (1840), "Dis-moi: Je t'aime!" (1840), "La demande en mariage" (1842), "Le véritable amour" (1842), "La bénédiction d'un père" (1842), and "Le nom de Marie" (1845).<sup>60</sup>

In an early romance entitled "Je veux vous plaire" (1836) by Puget, the female protagonist expresses a fervent desire to please her male lover:

Moi je veux vous plaire  
Et je vous plairai;  
J'étais boudeuse, capricieuse,  
Au point de vous faire enrager;  
Plus de caprices, plus de malices,  
Pour vous, monsieur, je veux changer.  
Plus que personne, je serai bonne,  
Si bonne, qu'il faudra m'aimer.

(I want to please you  
And I *will* please you;  
I was sulky, capricious,  
To the point of enraging you;  
No more caprice, no more mischief,  
For you, sir, I want to change.  
More so than anyone, I will be good,  
So good that you will have to love me.)

A disquieting subservience can be detected in the total willingness of the woman to tailor her actions to the demands of her beau. Her monologic delivery might further convey to listeners that she does not even need to be asked to change her ways. As a well-worn product of patriarchy, she is conveniently self-correcting. A woman's loyalty to a man is likewise the topic of Puget's "Je t'aime parce que je t'aime!" (1836):

Vous m'aimez, parce que l'on vante  
ma danse et mes pas gracieux;  
Vous m'aimez, quand ma voix touchante  
tire des pleurs de tous les yeux;

Vous m'aimez, si dans une fête la foule,  
aux murmure flatteur,  
Admire tout haut ma toilette  
et jalouse votre bonheur!  
Mais moi . . . mais moi, je t'aime,  
parce que je t'aime!  
Je t'aime, je t'aime,  
et ce que j'aime en toi, c'est toi!

(You love me because they boast about  
my dancing and my gracious steps;  
You love me when my touching voice  
Draws tears from all eyes;  
You love me if during a party,  
the crowd, murmuring flatteries,  
Admires my attire  
and envies your happiness!  
But I . . . but I, I love you,  
because I love you!  
I love you, I love you,  
and that which I love about you, is you!)

In this song, the female speaker appears incapable of explaining her affections. Her tautological declarations of love are troubling in light of the fact that her lover apparently has very specific justifications—or requirements—for loving her. In accordance with customs of sexual difference, she embodies female sentiment, whereas he possesses male reason.

In stressing abstract ideals of "love," "soul," and "heart," the texts of romances refrained from representing women as sexual beings. An infamous exception—one that proves the rule—was Hippolyte Monpou's "L'Andalouse" (ca. 1830),<sup>61</sup> the scandalous performance of which the critic Théophile Gautier recounted with great flair:

When [Monpou] sat down at the piano, his eyes on fire and his mustache bristling, a group of people would gather around him in respectful awe. At the first verse of *L'Andalouse*, the mothers would send their daughters to bed and bury their noses in their bouquets with an air of embarrassed modesty and shame. The melody was as alarming as the words! Little by little, however, we got used to it, although we replaced "tanned breast" with "tanned color," and "my mistress, my lioness"—which seemed too

<sup>60</sup>Prints of these particular romances can be found at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and Harvard University's Isham Memorial Library.

<sup>61</sup>Regarding the problematic dating of "L'Andalouse," see *Romantic French Song 1830–1870*, vol. 1, ed. David Tunley (New York: Garland, 1994), p. xxxii.



Plate 1: Caricature of Monpou in *Le Charivari* (13 January 1840). The text “C’est ma maîtresse, ma lionne” drifts out of Monpou’s mouth. A poem at the bottom of the illustration reads: “The beautiful woman toward whom hope / Drives Monpou the seducer / Can be mad about the romance / Without being crazy about the composer” (La beauté vers qui l’espérance / Conduit Monpou le séducteur / Peut raffoler de la romance / Sans être folle de l’auteur).

bestial and monstrous at the time—with “the mistress who yields to me.”<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup>“Quand [Monpou] s’asseyait au piano, l’œil en feu, la moustache hérissée, il se formait autour de lui un cercle de respectueuse terreur: aux premiers vers de *l’Andalouse*, les mères envoyaient coucher leurs filles et plongeaient dans leurs bouquets, d’un air de modeste embarras, leur nez nuancé des roses de la pudeur. La mélodie effrayait autant que les paroles! Peu à peu, cependant, l’on finit par s’y faire; seulement, on substituait *teint à sein bruni*, et l’on disait: C’est la maîtresse qu’on me donne . . . au lieu de: C’est ma maîtresse, ma lionne . . . qui paraissait, en ce

Other sexually suggestive lines in “L’Andalouse” include: “Her supple body and her shapely leg” (Son corps souple et sa jambe ronde); “How superb she is in her disarray, / When she falls, her breasts uncovered” (Qu’elle est superbe en son désordre, / Quand elle tombe, les seins nus); and “She makes, when she bends to one side, / Her satin bodice crackle!” (Elle fait, sur son flanc qui ploie, / Craquer son corset de satin!).<sup>63</sup> Whether the mothers and daughters in Monpou’s audiences were scandalized by the explicit text, the uncharacteristically aggressive music, or Monpou’s bristling moustache (see plate 1)—whether they were scandalized at all—is difficult to confirm given that Parisian society’s tendency to valorize female bourgeois modesty might have motivated Gautier to exaggerate (or altogether fabricate) his descriptions of women’s bashful behavior. What can be gleaned from Gautier’s account of “L’Andalouse” is that a woman’s body was regarded as a potential site of sexual power and insubordination, and as such, tanned breasts, lionesses, and other such references were taboo.<sup>64</sup> The cover illustration of Monpou’s romance depicts the titular Andalusian woman in all of her untamed glory (see plate 2). A focal point in the picture is the woman’s long neck and exposed breast, which together form one of the few bodily surfaces untouched by shadows. The dark hair and flowing dress of the woman melt into the cascading curtains. The backdrop is lavish and yet somewhat foreboding in the way strands of lightness and darkness twist

temps-là, par trop bestial et monstrueux” (Théophile Gautier, *Histoire du romantisme: Suivie de notices romantiques et d’une étude sur la poésie française, 1830–1868* [2nd edn. Paris: Charpentier, 1874], p. 255).

<sup>63</sup>Although such explicit language was unusual for a romance, references to a woman’s “beau sein” also appear in Monpou’s “Le Lever” (text by Alfred de Musset) and Romagnesi’s “Belle rose, charmante fleur” (text by Marie-Louise-Rose Levesque).

<sup>64</sup>On Romantic concerns about female sexuality and its ability to destabilize patriarchal authority, see Claire G. Moses, *French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), pp. 33 and 249; Judith R. Walkowitz, “Dangerous Sexualities,” in *A History of Women in the West*, ed. Geneviève Fraisse and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 369–98; and Elizabeth A. Fay, *A Feminist Introduction to Romanticism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 187–235.



Plate 2: Cover illustration of Monpou's "L'Andalouse."

wildly into one another. This lioness exudes obvious exotic and erotic appeal, but as a quasi-silhouette against the yellow wallpaper, she might also appear to viewers more as a prisoner of patriarchal fantasy than as the free spirit delineated by the poem.

Most romance illustrations, as one might expect, were not so raunchy. Cover art drawn by Achille Devéria and François Grenier for

Puget's romances portray modestly dressed women in familiar domestic settings (see plate 3). Expressions of love and devotion typically adorn the faces of these women as they stare into the eyes of their lovers. Art historian Abigail Solomon-Godeau has pointed to ways in which the female iconography in lithographs and other visual media established a "libidinal economy of commodity culture" in nineteenth-



Plate 3: Cover illustrations of Puget's "Je t'aime parce que je t'aime" (left) and "Je veux vous plaire" (right).

century France.<sup>65</sup> But although the male heterosexual gaze did take stock in the exchange value of women, female characters in romances also tended to be *de-objectified* insofar as their embodied feminine values were detached from lewd representations of the female form. These women, in short, were oftentimes readily reduced to floating signifiers of idealized femininity that men could in turn seize for their own artistic and social aims.

Most romance performance treatises thus predictably emphasized feminine essence over showy presence. Général Thiébault insisted that singing a "*romance . . . requires nothing more than simplicity, sentimentality, grace, and naturalness.*"<sup>66</sup> In 1841 Alexis de Garaudé likewise stated that the performance of a romance "requires a profound sensibility and a touching

charm, with a focus on the heart that sentiment alone can produce."<sup>67</sup> Vocal virtuosity was uniformly admonished. Thiébault, for instance, believed that "in singing a romance, to shine through the voice alone is to spoil the romance without good cause."<sup>68</sup> And in *L'Art de chanter les romances*, Romagnesi declared that "a simple and tender song must be interpreted with soul. In this case, attempting to shine by the prestige of ornaments or by the sole beauty of the voice is to show a lack of taste and sensibility."<sup>69</sup> To the extent that performers were expected to "adapt the inflections of the voice to the expression of sentiments," physicality had to remain secondary

<sup>65</sup>Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "The Other Side of Venus: The Visual Economy of Feminine Display," in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, ed. Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 144. Also see Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

<sup>66</sup>"La romance . . . ne demande que de la *simplicité*, du *sentiment*, de la *grâce* et du *naturel*!" (Thiébault reproduced in Gougelot, *La Romance française sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Choix de textes musicaux*, p. 29).

<sup>67</sup>"Demande une profonde sensibilité, et ce charme touchant, ces accents [*sic*] du cœur, que le sentiment peut seul produire" (Alexis de Garaudé, *Méthode complète de chant ou théorie pratique de cet art, mise à la portée de tous les professeurs, même instrumentistes . . . seconde édition, considérablement augmentée et améliorée* [Paris: Chez l'Auteur, ca. 1841], p. 143).

<sup>68</sup>"Vouloir briller en chantant une romance, est gâter sans profit la romance que l'on chante" (Thiébault reproduced in Gougelot, *La Romance française sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Choix de textes musicaux*, p. 28).

<sup>69</sup>"Un chant simple et tendre doit être interprété avec l'âme. Chercher en ce cas à briller par le prestige des ornements ou par la seule beauté de la voix, c'est se montrer privé de goût et de sensibilité" (Romagnesi, *L'Art de chanter les romances*, p. 12).

to sensibility.<sup>70</sup> Romagnesi also recommended the following bodily restrictions for the romance performer: "One must sing without making faces. Open the mouth neither too much nor too little; avoid or resist sounds coming from the nose or the throat; attack the notes with purity and accuracy. . . . Avoid inhaling or exhaling too loudly; . . . carefully avoid contractions of the body and the face. . . . Without a doubt it would be in poor taste to behave like a theater actor in front of one's audience."<sup>71</sup> Although there must have been a variety of ways in which romances were actually sung, surviving treatises and reviews speak to what writers valued in performances of these songs and of amateur genres more broadly. Discouraging flashy (and fleshy) theatricality and checking undue aspirations toward diva-hood served as a means of mitigating the sexual prowess of women performers in the salon.<sup>72</sup> Granted, the de-objectification of amateur female singers would not have entirely erased the putative object of the male gaze. Women were expected to forfeit their own sense of sexual and artistic agency, but their actual bodies—made newly vulnerable by apparent naivety—remained ripe for desire. As such, masculine authority was seemingly rooted not only in conquering a chaste woman but also in watching—and listening to—the woman conquer herself.

#### LIKE A NATURAL WOMAN

A critic for *La Revue musicale* once made the following observation with regard to the audience at the Théâtre-Italien in 1829: "Not knowing if he should applaud, [a dilettante] quickly

turns to a neighbor, sounds out his opinion on the person . . . and if he finds some evidence of knowledge he promptly takes up the same view; if the neighbor does not seem any more knowledgeable than he, on the other hand, the question circulates until it finds some enlightened listener, who then decides."<sup>73</sup> This amusing vignette portrays audience members as social mimics who were exceedingly conscious of public etiquette and matters of musical taste. Insofar as fitting in was a pressing concern for these aristo-copy-cats, emulating others served as a dependable means of feigning knowledge and eliding deviance amid the tricky tides of the *beau monde*. In recent years, music scholars have begun to remark specifically upon women's strategic exhibition of masculine ideals in the domain of instrumental virtuosity. Maiko Kawabata has noted the ways in which female violin virtuosos in the early nineteenth century enacted masculine tropes of militant heroism in order to win critical praise. Because the violin and its tone were often analogized to a woman's body and voice respectively, the affirmation of heterosexually coded talent required "its player . . . to be performatively 'masculine'—whatever the biological gender."<sup>74</sup> In similar fashion, professional female pianists in the 1830s and 40s were urged to perform

<sup>70</sup>"Conformer les inflexions de sa voix aux sentiments qu'il est appelé à exprimer" (ibid., p. 16).

<sup>71</sup>"Il faut chanter sans grimace, ouvrir la bouche ni trop, ni trop peu; Éviter ou combattre les sons provenant du nez ou de la gorge; Attaquer les notes avec pureté et justesse. . . . Évitez l'aspiration et l'expiration bruyante de l'air; . . . évitez avec soin les contractions du corps et de la figure. . . . Sans doute il serait de mauvais goût de se placer en face de son auditoire comme un acteur sur le théâtre" (ibid., pp. 8 and 14).

<sup>72</sup>Romances were performed in salons not only by amateurs but also occasionally by professional singers. Popular celebrity dedicatees and performers of romances included Maria Malibran, Laure Cinti-Damoreau, Julie Dorus-Gras, Adolphe Nourrit, Gilbert Duprez, and Nicolas-Prospere Levasseur.

<sup>73</sup>Quoted in James Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 194–95. On cultures of dilettantism in Paris, also see Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, pp. 29–35.

<sup>74</sup>Maiko Kawabata, "Virtuoso Codes of Violin Performance: Power, Military Heroism, and Gender (1789–1830)," this journal 28 (2004), 106. Mimicry in general has been a prominent theme in critical writings on instrumental virtuosity. Robert Schumann inveighed against second-rate musicians from outlying French provinces who sought to imitate the compositional and performance styles of front-ranking Parisian virtuosos such as Liszt and Paganini (see Leon Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967], pp. 196–207). E. Douglas Bomberger has also described how Sigismond Thalberg's famous three-hand technique inspired a "flood of imitators [that] eventually had a detrimental effect on Thalberg's reputation" ("The Thalberg Effect: Playing the Violin on the Piano," *Musical Quarterly* 75 [1991], 201). Regarding virtuosos as social strategists and the performative nature of virtuosic identities, see Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, pp. 1–17; Paul Metzner, *Crescendo of the Virtuoso: Spectacle, Skill, and Self-Promotion in Paris during the Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 239–90; and Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Knopf, 1977), pp. 199–205.



Table 1  
Men and women composers, dedicatees/performers, and poets of romances  
published in *Le Ménestrel* between 1833 and 1842

Men composers	91 (348)
Women composers	15 (33)
Men dedicatees/performers	72 (122)
Women dedicatees/performers	79 (89)
Men poets	150 (302)
Women poets	21 (33)

Numbers in parentheses refer to the total number of romances produced by or dedicated to the corresponding group.

purportedly masculine repertoires and yet were often denounced for doing so. A unique success was achieved by Marie Pleyel, who, in the words of Katharine Ellis, “matchlessly [combined] masculine authority and feminine grace . . . to shock critics into treating her as an artist and not as a mere woman.”<sup>75</sup>

Yet *mere* womanhood—that is, the social construct of bourgeois femininity—was exactly what held sway for *romanciers* and *romancières*. With a booming market for the romance, femininity was up for sale and men were among the most prosperous dealers. Table 1 summarizes the number of men and women composers, dedicatees, and poets of romances that were published in *Le Ménestrel* between 1833 and 1842.<sup>76</sup> A detailed chart listing the names of these individuals can be found in the Appen-

dix. Of the 381 romances that appeared in the journal during these years, 211 contained dedications, which in some cases might have referred to the singers who premiered (or were intended by composers to premiere) the songs.<sup>77</sup> Given that digests of *Romances et chansonnettes populaires* published by *Le Ménestrel* made notable efforts to include songs transposed for multiple voice types, it is likely that many romances—irrespective of the gender of the narrative voice—were performed by both men and women.<sup>78</sup> Although the table’s binaristic gender divisions on their own might look somewhat reductive, they show the huge extent to which men were engaged with the romance. The prolificacy of *romancières* such as Pauline Duchambge and Loïsa Puget must have heightened popular perceptions of women’s involvement, but men composers and poets (according to these *Ménestrel* figures) still vastly outnumbered their respective female counterparts.<sup>79</sup> This is far from the impression one would get simply from reading critical descriptions of the

<sup>75</sup>Katharine Ellis, “Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50 (1997), 376. Also see Katherine Kolb Reeve, “Primal Scenes: Smithson, Pleyel, and Liszt in the Eyes of Berlioz,” this journal 18 (1995), 211–35, and Lucy Green, *Music, Gender, Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. pp. 82–115. For discussions of mimicry, mimesis, and impersonation in postcolonialist and poststructuralist perspectives, see, for example, Homi Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” in *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 121–31; Celia Lury, *Prosthetic Culture: Photography, Memory and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1998), esp. pp. 37–40; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, esp. pp. 61–71; and Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>76</sup>The nine-year period between 1833 and 1842 was chosen for this data analysis because these years constituted the height of the romance’s popularity during the July Monarchy. *Le Ménestrel* is also an obvious choice since it was one of the most widely distributed romance journals in Paris at the time.

<sup>77</sup>On rare occasions, the sheet music of a romance indicated a formal dedicatee as well as an additional performer. For instance, A. B. d’Adhémar’s “Ballade” (published in an 1844 issue of *Le Ménestrel*) was dedicated “à Mme Labadie” but “chantée par M. Alfred Clémenceau.” Forty-six of these 381 romances did not specify a poet; in these instances, the composer was most likely the author of the text.

<sup>78</sup>*Le Ménestrel* placed the following indicators next to song titles in its romance catalogues: “1” (baritone or contralto); “2” (tenor or soprano); “B” (bass); and “P” (song) “with lyrics appropriate for boarding schools” [avec paroles convenables pour les Pensionnats].

<sup>79</sup>For further statistics on the romance according to performance reviews published in *Revue et Gazette musicale*, *Le Ménestrel*, and *Le Monde musical*, see “Appendix A: List of private salon recitals in Paris 1834–1870,” in Tunley,

genre's mass feminine appeal and hyperbolic accounts of the city's flood of amateur women. In actuality, hundreds of men composers were instrumental in upholding the amateur musical aesthetic of the romance. The predominance of men as poets likewise enabled them to dictate the kinds of topics that were made available to composers of the genre.<sup>80</sup> Sentimental heroines—such as those in Puget's romances—were the principal mouthpieces through which many of these poets chose to speak. As in many other examples of poetry and song during this time, images of women in romances were manufactured in large part by masculine forms of representation.<sup>81</sup>

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*Salons, Singers and Songs*, pp. 144–229. For data on romances published during the Revolution and the Napoleonic era, see Henri Gougelot, *Catalogue des romances françaises parues sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Les Recueils de romances* (Melun: Legrand et fils, 1937) and *Catalogue des romances françaises parues sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Les Romances séparées* (Melun: Argences, 1943).

<sup>80</sup>Jeffrey Kallberg has likewise remarked on the dominance of male authoriality and the male gaze in the performance culture surrounding Chopin's nocturnes. He notes that a female pianist “likely played in a house in front of men; the nocturne was probably written by a man; its expressive message was determined by men, and the ultimate point of the message was the satisfaction to be gained in being wooed by a man” (*Chopin at the Boundaries*, p. 47).

<sup>81</sup>In a study of eighteenth-century German songs and keyboard works published “for the fair sex,” Matthew Head posits that “the sociological reality of the female musical amateur was problematic: she was first and foremost an ideal, produced by and fantasized within the music that was published in her name” (“If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch,” p. 247). Ruth Solie has similarly observed that Adelbert von Chamisso's poems for Robert Schumann's *Frauenliebe und -leben* (1840) were an “impersonation of a woman by the voices of male culture” (“Whose Life? The Gendered Self in Schumann's *Frauenliebe* Songs,” in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. Steven Paul Scher [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], p. 220). In response to Solie's argument, Kristina Muxfeldt suggests “we should recognize that Schumann's work took a step in the direction of filling a sizeable gap, providing women singers with a remarkable cycle of songs that did not require *them* to impersonate a male persona” (“*Frauenliebe und Leben* Now and Then,” this journal 25 [2001], 35). Although Muxfeldt offers an important counterpoint, it should be noted that women who performed the poetic roles of female characters were nonetheless arguably “impersonating” an idealized female figure. It cannot be readily assumed that women singing as “women” were performing personas any more natural than women singing as “men.” On the possibilities of female empowerment in performances of *Frauenliebe*, also see Elissa S. Guralnick, “‘Ah Clara, I Am Not Worthy of Your Love’: Rereading ‘Frauenliebe und Leben,’ the Poetry

Even though the visible participation of women in the culture of the romance was needed to sustain the genre's feminine reputation (and, by extension, its commercial viability), men were primarily the ones responsible for shaping what femininity was imagined to sound like.<sup>82</sup> In attempting to pen successful romances, many men composers—including Adolphe Adam, Amédée de Beauplan, Edouard Bruguère, Frédéric de Flotow, Chevalier Lagoanère, and Adolphe Vogel—adhered to what critics and musicians of this period conceived as a feminine aesthetic. Adopting musical values associated with femininity arguably provided amateur men with a range of artistic liberties. These men could safeguard their masculinity and conceal any lack of musical ability by passing off their compositional choices as a faithful tribute to the conventions of the romance. For a *romancier* to call a composition a romance was in itself a way of affirming that the amateur and feminine qualities therein were fully intentional. A romance allegedly does not lack harmonic complexity or monumental form because of the composer's incompetence but rather because the genre does not condone such sophistication. Only men, however, could hide behind these generic mandates, for women were in any event prejudged as feminine and amateur. On the surface, then, women were still the natural (and incorrigible) amateurs, whereas the amateurism of men could have been seen not as an essential reflection of the male gender but instead as an honorable imitation of the

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and the Music,” *Music & Letters* 87 (2006), 580–605, and Suzanne G. Cusick, “Gender and the Cultural Work of a Classical Music Performance,” *Repercussions* 3 (1994), 77–110.

<sup>82</sup>In a study of Schubert's “Die Forelle” and the “Trout” Quintet, Lawrence Kramer remarks on nineteenth-century fantasies that “[invited] men to identify with feminine subjects or subject-positions [and] set up femininity as an alternative mode of masculinity” (*Franz Schubert: Sexuality, Subjectivity, Song* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], p. 78). Kramer goes on, however, to say that this did not “necessarily involve any departure from a normalized misogyny, on which the fantasies usually depend” (*ibid.*). On anxieties surrounding social and musical modes of masculine and feminine identification, also see Corissa Gould, “Aspiring to Manliness: Edward Elgar and the Pressures of Hegemonic Masculinity,” in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, ed. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 161–81.

opposite gender. Yet men's deployment of feminine values in romances was not nearly as conspicuous as, say, George Sand's masculine attire or trouser roles at the Opéra. Currencies of gender mimicry and hegemonic masculinity in the romance industry did not leave much of a paper trail because a feminine aesthetic was ubiquitously employed and accepted as an innate and even mandatory component of the genre.

Antoine Romagnesi's "Je suis loin d'elle" (1830) and Auguste Panseron's "Appelez-moi: Je reviendrai" (ca. 1830) are two examples of romances that demonstrate ostensibly feminine musical and poetic characteristics. The text of Romagnesi's romance was written by Sylvine Gènevois for a male singer-narrator who pines for his absent female lover. The male subject remarks in the second stanza on the sentimental attributes of the female object: "I am far from her, and her sweet and tender voice / no longer charms my heart with its accents! / I no longer see, spreading across her brow, / A timid and modest blush."<sup>83</sup> The moderate vocal range and sparse accompaniment likely rendered the music suitable for amateur performers (ex. 1). With the exception of a two-measure cadential extension (mm. 13–14) at the end of the vocal melody's first eight-measure period (mm. 5–12), the phrases in the song abide by regular 2 + 2 and 4 + 4 mensural patterns. The vocal melody does become more florid in later stanzas (not shown here), but notated ornaments (especially chromatic ones) remain scarce overall. The discreet keyboard accompaniment comprises a steady half-note pulse in the left hand and arpeggiated eighth notes in the right. A  $\text{Vb}^9$  in m. 3 of the introduction prefigures two instances of minor coloration later in the song (mm. 12–13 and 19–21), but aside from these moments of mode mixture and a protracted dominant pedal in mm. 14–22, straightforward fifth-relations prevail.

Although Panseron's "Appelez-moi" demands a slightly wider vocal range than Romagnesi's romance and is more varied in its accom-

panimental figurations, it observes similar musical tendencies: four-square periods (8 [4 + 4] + 12 [4 + 4 + 4]); a conjunct and minimally embellished vocal melody; and a diatonic harmonic language that makes only occasional forays into secondary dominants (ex. 2). The female subject in Emile Barateau's text remarks: "I know it: you have betrayed me; / Another woman has charmed you better than I; / But when your heart forgets me, / I will want to love you still."<sup>84</sup> As in the case of Puget's "Je t'aime parce que je t'aime!" and "Je veux vous plaire," the unconditional affection that this woman expresses for her lover verges on self-deprecating devotion, especially when she tells him: "If you are ever abandoned, / . . . / Even if you must only speak of her [the other woman]; / Call me: I will return."<sup>85</sup> The trope of female submission is as evident in the song's lithograph as it is in Barateau's lyrics (see plate 4). The drawing shows a seated woman with one hand clutching a handkerchief and the other hand timidly outstretched toward a man cloaked in shadow. His darkened countenance is inscrutable and his averted, mannequin-like stance betrays an air of utter indifference.

Several men composers of the romance also tried their hands at operas, symphonies, and other large-scale forms. Because they were not stigmatized as essential amateurs, they could dabble in a wide range of genres without encountering significant resistance. As Anne McClintock puts it, "privileged groups can, on occasion, display their privilege precisely by the extravagant display of their *right to ambiguity*."<sup>86</sup> Men were accorded greater prerogative than women to straddle social dichotomies such as the amateur-professional, the private-public, and—by association—the feminine-masculine. Certain men composers who tried to push the stylistic boundaries of the romance were actually met with approval if not outright admiration. Hippolyte Monpou's claim to fame, for instance, rested on a manner of composing

<sup>83</sup>"Je suis loin d'elle, et sa voix douce et tendre / De ses accents ne charme plus mon coeur! / Je ne vois plus sur son front se répandre / Une timide et modeste rougeur."

<sup>84</sup>"Je le sais: vous m'avez trahie, / Une autre a su mieux vous charmer; / Pourtant quand votre coeur m'oublie, / Moi, je veux toujours vous aimer."

<sup>85</sup>"Et si jamais on vous délaisse, / . . . / Dussiez-vous ne parler que d'elle; / Appelez-moi: Je reviendrai."

<sup>86</sup>McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 68.

Cantabile

Je suis loin d'elle! et mon âme attristée ne sou-rit

plus à l'attrait du plaisir, à l'attrait, du plaisir, par les re-

grets, par la peine agitée, elle languit sans

force et sans desir: je suis loin d'elle, je suis loin d'elle.

Example 1: The first complete stanza of Romagnesi's "Je suis loin d'elle."

Andante

Je le sais vous m'a-vez tra-hi-e une autre a su mieux vous char-mer, pour—

tant quand vot-re coeur m'ou-bli-e moi je veux...tou-jours...vous ai-mer oui je con-ser-ve-rai san-

Example 2: The opening of Panseron's "Appellez-moi: Je reviendrai."

that Fétis described as "a bizarre originality that knows no rules except those of fantasy."<sup>87</sup> In his romance "L'Andalouse," Monpou perhaps chose to stray from the genre's aesthetic conventions as a way of musically reflecting the Andalusian woman's violation of traditional feminine ideals (ex. 3). The sharp rhythms and block chords in the accompaniment produce a strong percussive effect that was uncommon even for most *romances héroïques*. Prevalent tonic and dominant pedals throughout the song enhance the bluntness of the dense homophonic texture. The harmonic rhythm is frequently upset by a time signature that alternates erratically between  $\frac{4}{4}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ , and  $\frac{2}{4}$ . This general metrical ambiguity is compounded by cross-beat phrasings (e.g., m. 3) and off-beat accents (e.g., the *forte* and *piano* dynamic markings on the upbeat and downbeat respectively of mm. 11 and 12). According to Fétis, Monpou's compositional "faults, which revolted the sentiments of mu-

sicians, were precisely those which obtained success in a world that has taken up the deification of *ugliness*."<sup>88</sup> Yet certain romances by Monpou demonstrate that he was quite capable of adhering to the genre's stylistic formulas. His "À Genoux" (1838), for example, which highlights themes of pastoral livelihood and spiritual love, features a slow and undulating accompaniment, regular periods, a predictable harmonic progression, and passages variously marked *andante espressivo*, *legato*, and *sostenuto*. That Monpou was nevertheless lauded for the crudeness of "L'Andalouse" and his other more unusual romances suggests that he was able to achieve recognition through an ugly style as well as an elegant one. By contrast, any

<sup>87</sup>"Une originalité bizarre, qui ne connaît d'autres règles que celles de la fantaisie" (F. J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, V. 3 [Paris: Claude Tchou pour la Bibliothèque des Introuvables, 2001], p. 661).

<sup>88</sup>"Défauts, qui révoltaient le sentiment des musiciens, étaient précisément ce qui obtenait du succès dans le monde à part qui avait entrepris la déification du laid" (ibid.). Concerning Monpou's "bizarre" compositions, also see "M. Hippolyte Monpou," *Gazette musicale* (9 Aug. 1836) and E. F. Jensen, "Hippolyte Monpou and French Romanticism," *Music Review* 14 (1984), 122–34. Léon Escudier further commented on Monpou's physical unattractiveness, claiming that "the poor boy was at least as ugly as his name" (le pauvre garçon était au moins aussi laid que son nom) (*Mes Souvenirs* [Paris: Dentu, 1863], p. 315).



Plate 4: Cover illustration of Panseron's "Appelez-moi: Je reviendrai."

woman who dared to revolt in this manner—or to be revolting—would most likely have been accused of partaking in unnatural expression.

A small number of romance composers included professional men whose core output of serious music ensured that their patronage of an amateur genre would not severely compromise their esteemed reputations. Hector Berlioz, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Louis Niedermeyer, Jacques Offenbach, Gioachino Rossini, and Gaetano Donizetti composed romances as both songs for the salon and numbers for operas.<sup>89</sup> Their operatic romances were in many instances extracted and performed as stand-alone pieces, while romances initially conceived as indepen-

dent songs were sometimes in turn cast as operatic numbers later on.<sup>90</sup> Many romances written by professional composers contained virtuosic melodies, chromatic harmonies, distant modulations, dense contrapuntal textures, and other complex musical properties not usually found in the average parlor song. Even more so than amateur men, these professional composers had considerable license to renegotiate the romance's stylistic frameworks. Not surprisingly, however, it was deemed inappropriate for women composers of romances—society's tokenized keepers of trivial music—to transcend their amateur status. Puget, for one, achieved little success with *Le Mauvais Œil*, a one-act opera that premiered at the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique on 1 October 1836.

<sup>89</sup>Berlioz, for instance, adapted his romance "Je crois en vous" (1834) into an English horn solo for the "Ariette d'Arlequin" in act I of *Benvenuto Cellini* (1838), while one of Meyerbeer's most famous romances—Raoul's "Plus blanche que la plus blanche hermine" from act I of *Les Huguenots* (1836)—was frequently performed as a stand-alone recital song.

<sup>90</sup>Annegret Fauser uses the phrase "promiscuity of genre" to describe the adaptability of the romance for both stage and salon ("The Songs," in *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, ed. Peter Bloom [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000], p. 111).

*Allegretto con spirito*

A - vez - vous vu dans Bar - ce -

lon - ne une an - da - louse au sein bru - ni - pâ - le comme un beau soir d'au - tom - ne C'est ma maî -

tres - se ma li - on - ne la Mar - que - sa d'A - ma ë gui.

J'ai bien fait des chan - sons pour el - le je me suis bat - tu bien sou -

vent - bien sou - vent j'ai fait sen - ti - nel - le pour voir le coin de sa pru nel - le quand son ri -

Example 3: Hippolyte Monpou's "L'Andalouse."

29

deau trem - blait au vent *mf* quand son ri - deau trem - blait au vent. *f* Elle est à

Example 3 (*continued*)

In a review of the opera, Berlioz commended Puget's amateur skills but pronounced them to be inadequate for larger forms. Erecting a distinction between true genius and mere talent, Berlioz asserted that, in order to compose successfully for the Opéra-Comique, "it is not absolutely necessary . . . to possess musical genius; talent will suffice."<sup>91</sup> He then proceeded to praise Puget for her *talent* as a *romancière*:

Nearly without any interruption, [Puget] has produced romance after romance, waltz after waltz, and all of the little melodies with which she fills her albums. Yet all of these pieces are written and coordinated with talent, with even more talent than that which ordinarily appears in the works of composers who have had long-standing associations with the Opéra-Comique. But let us not get ahead of ourselves. . . . Mlle Puget has embroidered this little poem [*Le Mauvais Œil*] with light and gracious music, which, in more than one passage, appeared very pretty even to the harshest critics [*aristarques*] least disposed toward this style of music that is heard in Parisian salons. . . . In brief, the young woman composer has done enough to double her reputation as a *musician-florist*. We await a more elevated work and pray that she, for her own sake, reserve for the salon the majority of the romances that bloom from her imagination every day.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup>"Il n'est pas absolument nécessaire . . . d'être doué de génie musical, le talent suffit" (Hector Berlioz, "Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: Le Mauvais Œil," *Revue et Gazette musicale* [9 Oct. 1836]).

<sup>92</sup>"[Puget] a fait se succéder presque sans interruption les romances aux romances, les valseaux aux valseaux, et toutes les petites phrases dont elle sait si bien enrichir un album. Pourtant tout cela est écrit et coordonné avec talent, avec plus de talent même qu'on n'en rencontre ordinairement chez beaucoup de compositeurs déjà installés depuis longtemps à l'Opéra-Comique. Mais n'anticipons pas. . . . Mademoiselle Puget à brodé ce petit poème [*Le Mauvais*

*Œil*], d'une musique légère, gracieuse, qui, dans plus d'un passage, a paru singulièrement jolie aux aristarques même les plus difficiles et les moins bien disposés pour le style des salons de Paris. . . . Somme toute, la jeune femme auteur a fait assez pour doubler sa réputation de *musicienne-fleuriste*. Nous l'attendons à une œuvre plus élevée, en la priant, dans son intérêt, de réserver pour les salons une bonne partie des romances que sa fantaisie fait éclore chaque jour" (*ibid.*).

Florence Launay has suggested that Berlioz was "blinded by Loïsa Puget's reputation as a '*romancière*,'"<sup>93</sup> while Austin Caswell similarly sees through these backhanded compliments in observing that "Hector Berlioz, reviewing the première of [Puget's] first operetta, *Le Mauvais Œil*, records that it delighted the audience for precisely the same reason that it was a flawed stage work—it consisted of a series of her best romances."<sup>94</sup> It was evidently difficult for Puget to shake her image as a musician-florist. According to critics, Puget was a good *romancière* not because she composed like a man but rather because she composed like a woman. Yet given that ideal femininity was burdened with connotations of amateurism and social subservience, the gynocentric discourse here was clearly just as patronizing as an androcentric one.

Various composers wrote fantasies, rondos, and other kinds of keyboard pieces based on the melodies of popular romances. The themes of Puget in particular were frequently adapted into flashier idioms by men composers who wished to capitalize on her enormous success and model femininity (see Table 2). These adaptations tended to use a *mélange* of virtuosic

*Œil*], d'une musique légère, gracieuse, qui, dans plus d'un passage, a paru singulièrement jolie aux aristarques même les plus difficiles et les moins bien disposés pour le style des salons de Paris. . . . Somme toute, la jeune femme auteur a fait assez pour doubler sa réputation de *musicienne-fleuriste*. Nous l'attendons à une œuvre plus élevée, en la priant, dans son intérêt, de réserver pour les salons une bonne partie des romances que sa fantaisie fait éclore chaque jour" (*ibid.*).

<sup>93</sup>"Aveuglé par la réputation de '*romancière*' de Loïsa Puget" (Launay, *Les Compositrices*, p. 387).

<sup>94</sup>Caswell, "Loïsa Puget and the French Romance," p. 101.



Table 2  
Composers who published keyboard adaptations  
of Puget's romances (compiled by author)

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Henri Bertini	“Son nom!” Rondo caprice pour le piano sur la romance favorite de Mlle Loïsa Puget,” op. 111 (1836)
Johann Friedrich Burgmüller	“Rondino pastoral sur ‘Le Garde Moulin’ de Mlle L. Puget, pour piano” (1842)
Adolphe Le Carpentier	“3 Rondinos,” op. 47 (1841) “Le Soleil de ma Bretagne,’ Romance de Mlle L. Puget, variée pour piano,” op. 74 (1843) “2 Nouvelles Fantaisies mignonnes sur les motifs de Mlle L. Puget,” op. 91 (1844) “Fleur des champs,’ Rondoletto pour le piano sur la romance de Mlle Puget” (1849)
Karl Czerny	“Rondeau brillant sur la romance favorite,” op. 456 (1837)
Jean-Baptiste Duvernoy	“Fantaisie sur deux nouvelles romances de Loïsa Puget pour piano,” op. 211 (1852)
Henri Herz	“Les Trois Genres” (1835)
Franz Hüntten	“Variations brillantes pour le piano sur la romance de l’opéra <i>Le Mauvais Œil</i> ” (1837) “Airs favoris” (1838) “Mélodies de Mlle Puget arrangées pour le piano et soigneusement doigtées” (1842)
Friedrich Kalkbrenner	“Fantaisies de salon pour piano,” op. 146 (1841)
Friedrich Kuhlau	“Fantaisie sur la romance ‘À la Grâce de Dieu’ de Mlle L. Puget” (1844)
Martin-Joseph Mengal	“Fantaisie brillante” (1844)
Henri Rosellen	“Fleurette’: Romance de Mlle L. Puget, variée pour piano,” op. 48 (1842) “Grande Fantaisie pour piano sur ‘Le Soleil de ma Bretagne’ de Mlle L. Puget,” op. 49 (1842)

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techniques common in keyboard transcriptions and paraphrases of this period. Henri Rosellen’s “Grande Fantaisie pour piano sur ‘Le Soleil de ma Bretagne’ de Mlle L. Puget,” op. 49, for example, published just one year after Puget’s eponymous 1841 romance (ex. 4), is a *tour de force* of brilliant pianistic figurations such as tremolos, running thirds, double octaves, and *fortissimo* outbursts. In Rosellen’s third variation—marked *adagio* yet boasting a highly florid style—the focal melody displays both registral and timbral mobility: at the beginning (mm. 1–

8), the melodic skeleton is fleshed out through sweeping scales and arpeggios; in the middle phrase (mm. 9–16), the tune migrates to the resonant tenor range and is sandwiched between chromatic strains in the right hand and block chords in the left (approximating the Thalbergian three-hand effect); and in the final stretch (mm. 17–36), the melody assumes a bell-like quality as it is traced by the thumb of the right hand and braced by chiming off-beat half notes in the left (ex. 5).

This musical maneuverability of Rosellen’s

**Allegretto**

7 *ritenuto*  
La mer m'at - tend, je veux par - tir de - main,

13 *dim.....* *p* *f*  
Soeur, lais - se - moi, j'ai vingt ans, je suis hom - me! je suis Bre - ton

19  
et je suis Gen - til - hom - me, sur l'O - cé - an je fe - rai mon che - min.

25 *plus lent et très doux*  
Mais si tu pars, mon frè - re, que fe - rai - je sur ter - re? tou - te ma vie à moi tu sais

The musical score is presented in a standard format with a vocal line on a treble clef and piano accompaniment on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor), and the time signature is 6/8. The score includes various performance markings such as dynamics (p, f, rf, p), articulation (accents), and tempo changes (Allegretto, ritenuto, plus lent et très doux). The lyrics are in French and are placed below the vocal line.

Example 4: First stanza of Puget's "Le Soleil de ma Bretagne."

31 *ad lib* *in tempo* *dim.*  
 bien que c'est toi!... oh! ne vas pas, loin de notre ber-ceun!

37 *animez* *cresc.*  
 reste a-vec moi ta soeur et ta com-pa-gne; on vit heu-

42 *dim.* *avec force*  
 reux à la mon-ta-gne et puis, de la Bre-ta-gne

47 *ad lib* *rf* *in Tempo I<sup>o</sup>*  
 le So-leil est si beau!

52

The image displays a musical score for a 19th-century piece, featuring both vocal and piano parts. The score is divided into systems, each corresponding to a set of lyrics. The first system (measures 31-36) includes the lyrics 'bien que c'est toi!... oh! ne vas pas, loin de notre ber-ceun!'. The second system (measures 37-41) continues with 'reste a-vec moi ta soeur et ta com-pa-gne; on vit heu-'. The third system (measures 42-46) contains 'reux à la mon-ta-gne et puis, de la Bre-ta-gne'. The fourth system (measures 47-51) begins with 'le So-leil est si beau!'. The fifth system (measures 52-56) shows the continuation of the piano accompaniment. The score is annotated with various performance directions such as 'ad lib', 'in tempo', 'dim.', 'cresc.', and 'avec force', along with dynamic markings like 'f' and 'rf'. There are also some editorial markings like asterisks and a double bar line with a repeat sign at the end.

Example 4 (continued)

Adagio (♩. = 40) *Con espressione*

*p*

4 (8)

*p*

7 *A* *p* *p*

9 *A* *A* *A*

*un poco marcato il basso*

11 *A* *A* *A*

13 *A* *A* *A*

Example 5: Variation III of Henri Rosellen's "Grande Fantaisie pour piano sur 'Le Soleil de ma Bretagne' de Mlle L. Puget," op. 49 (mm. 1–22).

15

8

17

*pp*

19

21

*cresc.*.....*poco*.....*a.*.....*poco*

Example 5 (*continued*)

melody might be heard as a sonorous analogue for the kinds of social mobilities and artistic freedoms possessed by men composers of the romance. Rosellen's flashiness flew in the face of the modest romance aesthetic and typified a style that Puget would not have been able to adopt without appearing transgressive. In this way, Puget made virtuosity possible for adapters of her music but not for herself, such that her giftedness actually became a literal gift for others. Instrumental reworkings of her romances padded her fame and yet drew attention to the limitations of that fame. In this case, the relationship between a motherly romance and its boisterous offspring was one fraught with covert politics of gender and privi-

lege. In the act of metaphorical child rearing, Puget resided under the glass ceiling while her progeny danced above it.

BAD ROMANCE—OR,  
IT'S NOT EASY BEING EASY

"To be sensed and tasted, the romance requires a particular disposition of the soul. Weak and timid, it needs to be encouraged. We kill the romance when we subject it to serious analysis. It cannot sustain much criticism."<sup>95</sup> In the

<sup>95</sup>"Pour être sentie et goûtée, la romance requiert une disposition particulière de l'âme. Foible [*sic*] et timide, elle a besoin d'être encouragée. On tue la romance quand on

first issue of *Tribune des femmes*, the Saint-Simonian activist Jeanne-Victoire (née Jeanne Deroin) proposed a feminist platform that could build alliances across class divisions: "Let us no longer form two camps, one with women of the common people and one with the privileged women; let our interests bind us together."<sup>96</sup> Yet despite the attempts of lower-class feminists to garner the sympathies of the upper class, few bourgeois or aristocratic women paid direct heed to this cause. Art historian Anne Higgonet suggests that "most women who undertook substantial artistic careers during the 19th century belonged to the bourgeoisie, that is, the group that had the most to lose under the social agenda set forth by feminists. Torn between these contradictions, these women artists did not represent themselves in a manner that was fundamentally different from that which men had assigned them."<sup>97</sup> It seems that the socialist-feminist appeal for interclass solidarity never reached (or was lost upon) the ears of salon-going women, but this does not mean that the latter were simply disempowered victims who spent all of their time oiling the patriarchal machine. One goal that might have been achieved by *romancières* and Saint-Simonian feminists alike was the reappropriation of feminine values that were being fetishized by Parisian society at large. Claire Moses explains that "Saint-Simonian women, in constructing their feminism of 'difference,'

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veut la soumettre à une analyse sévère. Elle ne supporte pas même la disposition à la critique" (Thiébaud, reproduced in Gougelot, *La Romance française sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Choix de textes musicaux*, pp. 35–36).

<sup>96</sup>"Ne formons plus deux camps: celui des femmes du peuple; celui des femmes privilégiées; que notre intérêt nous lie" (Jeanne-Victoire, "Appel aux Femmes," *La Femme libre: Apostolat des femmes* 1 [1832]). Concerning feminist consciousness among nineteenth-century French women composers, see Launay, *Les Compositrices*, pp. 144–60.

<sup>97</sup>"La plupart des femmes qui entreprirent des carrières artistiques d'envergure au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle appartenaient à la bourgeoisie, c'est-à-dire au groupe qui avait le plus à perdre sur le plan social à vouloir gagner sur le plan féministe. Prises entre ces contradictions, les femmes ne donnèrent pas d'elles-mêmes des images d'un style et d'un contenu fondamentalement différents de celles que donnaient d'elles les hommes" (Anne Higgonet, "Femmes et images," in *Histoire des femmes en Occident, XIX*, ed. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot [Paris: Plon, 1991], p. 252).

were recuperating the feminine not only from women's detractors but [also] from those men who would appropriate female virtues for a new kind of male dominance."<sup>98</sup> This agenda of recuperation was articulated by Jeanne-Victoire, who advised women to utilize feminine characteristics as a means of securing liberation: "Women of all classes, you have an important task to undertake; you are called to spread everywhere sentiments of order and harmony. Allow yourselves to improve society through the irresistible charm of your beauty and the sweetness of your lively voice."<sup>99</sup>

Women composers such as Puget seemed to have been experts in the art of performing their own feminine amateurism. They made the best of their subjugation by entering into a social contract that was both sacrificial and beneficial. According to feminist scholar Luce Irigaray, a woman can "assume the feminine role deliberately . . . to convert a form of subordination into an affirmation, and thus to begin to thwart it. . . . To play with mimesis is thus, for a woman, to try to recover the place of her exploitation by discourse, without allowing herself to be simply reduced to it."<sup>100</sup> An optimistic outlook might contend that *romancières* successfully reclaimed feminine values as a means of sustaining their otherwise limited opportunities for compositional activity. But although it is tempting to imagine the various ways in which these women might have stuck it to the Man—whether through subversive poetry, musical ciphers, or the lyric flight of their voices—it is impossible to reconstruct an independent or unified female authorial perspective from the texts of romances. If women were writing like men who were writing like women

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<sup>98</sup>Moses and Rabine, *Feminism, Socialism, and French Romanticism*, p. 21. Also see Tombs, *France 1814–1914*, pp. 220–21.

<sup>99</sup>"Femmes de toutes les classes, vous avez une action puissante à exercer, vous êtes appelées à répandre le sentiment d'ordre et d'harmonie partout. Faites tourner au profit de la société le charme irrésistible de votre beauté, la douceur de votre parole entraînant" (Jeanne-Victoire, "Appel aux Femmes," *La Femme libre: Apostolat des femmes* 1 [1832]).

<sup>100</sup>Luce Irigaray, "The Power of Discourse and the Subordination of the Feminine," in *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter and Carolyn Burke (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 76.

(and so forth), then to assume that a romance could be a direct expression of a woman's heart would risk what Bonnie Gordon has described as "falling into the trap of those feminist scholars who try to turn historically subordinated populations into fully-fledged subjects."<sup>101</sup> A cycle of appropriation and reappropriation has no defined beginning or end. Theoretical distinctions between performativity and mimicry likewise begin to blur when the femininity and amateurism of romances are recognized not as essential traits but instead as social inventions dependent on the stylized reproduction of musical texts and actions.

A study of the romance needs to account not only for women's works but also for women's *work*. Irigaray maintains that femininity "is a role, an image, a value, imposed upon women by male systems of representation. In this masquerade of femininity, the woman loses herself, and loses herself by playing on her femininity. The fact remains that this masquerade requires an *effort* on her part for which she is not compensated."<sup>102</sup> Even though *romancières* did receive compensation for their so-called masquerade—namely the chance to participate in the masculine domain of musical composition—the part they played was presumably neither easy nor natural. Some critics during this period actually pointed out that the simplicity of the romance was exactly what made the genre difficult to compose and to perform. Significant artistic discipline and creativity were regarded as necessary to counteract the romance's formulaic subject matter, standardized form, and exposed vocal melody. In a review of Le Carpentier's *Petit Traité de composition mélodique*, the journalist Edmond Viel declared that "it is not an easy thing, in effect, to find a new, striking, and expressive thought within an easy melody [and] a simple tone."<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup>Bonnie Gordon, "The Courtesan's Singing Body as Cultural Capital in Seventeenth-Century Italy," in *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 183.

<sup>102</sup>Irigaray, "The Power of Discourse," p. 84. Also see Irigaray, "Women on the Market," in *This Sex Which Is Not One*, pp. 170–91.

<sup>103</sup>"Ce n'est pas chose aisée, en effet, de trouver une pensée musicale neuve, saisissante, expressive, d'une mélodie facile

Thiébauld similarly acknowledged the deceptive simplicity of the romance, observing that "in order to be well-sung, the *romance* requires not only a lot of talent but also the apparent sacrifice of a great deal of that very talent."<sup>104</sup> Masking effort was a familiar chore not just for patrons of the romance but also for all the Parisian *salonnières* who were expected daily to preserve an external aura as glossy as the veneer of their furniture. Being a good hostess meant cloaking one's labor in outward expressions of ease so as not to trouble one's guests.

Yet it is, ironically, the easy music of romances that has posed a formidable problem to historians and scholars of the genre. In the epigraph that opens this section, Thiébauld portrays the nature of the romance as fragile and incapable of sustaining intensive inspection. More recent writers have likewise hesitated to defend the romance's musical worth. Both Frits Noske and Bea Friedland have positioned the romance as a foil to what they consider to be more refined genres of French music. In depicting the romance as a fledgling form of the *mélodie*, Noske insists that "it would be difficult to find a single page of real artistic value in the entire production [of the romance] of a quarter century."<sup>105</sup> Friedland praises the instrumen-

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[et] d'un ton simple" (Edmond Viel, "Revue Critique: *Petite Méthode abrégée d'harmonie et de transposition appliquée au piano—Petit traité de composition mélodique appliquée aux valse, quadrilles et romances*, par A. le Carpentier," *Le Ménestrel* [30 July 1843]). J. A. Delaire similarly cautions: "That which causes the infinite multiplication of mediocre or poor romances is the belief that a basic understanding of the principal elements of the musical language and of certain melodic ideas . . . is sufficient for the composer. This is a serious error! The more restricted the framework, the more the outline must be pure, free of commonalities and padding" (Ce qui multiplie à l'infini les romances médiocres ou mauvaises, c'est la croyance . . . que de légères notions des principaux éléments de la langue musicale et quelques idées mélodiques . . . suffisent pour en composer. C'est une grave erreur! Plus le cadre est resserré, plus les contours doivent en être purs, dégagés de lieux communs, de remplissages) (Delaire, *Histoire de la romance*, p. 21). For a similar comment, also see Jeanette Lozaouis, "De la Romance," *Le Ménestrel* (18 Oct. 1835).

<sup>104</sup>"Pour être bien chantée, la romance demande non-seulement beaucoup de talent, mais même le sacrifice apparent d'une grande partie de ce même talent" (Thiébauld reproduced in Gougelot, *La Romance française sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Choix de textes musicaux*, p. 28).

<sup>105</sup>Noske, *French Song from Berlioz to Duparc*, p. 11.

tal works of Louise Farrenc by comparing them with the “banal melodies, thin harmonies, trite sentiments, [and] spurious exoticism . . . [of the] simple-minded *romance*.”<sup>106</sup> She further states that “the *romance* was, despite occasional lapses into good taste, an affliction which plagued French culture for close to one hundred years.”<sup>107</sup> David Tunley also reckons that thousands of romances were written by “justly forgotten composers,”<sup>108</sup> echoing Henri Gougelot’s assertion that romances “consist of many lifeless parts that deserve to remain neglected.”<sup>109</sup> The rhetoric of valuation employed by these writers signals a collective prejudice against musical manifestations of ease and simplicity.<sup>110</sup> As Pierre Bourdieu suggests, “the refusal of what is easy in the sense of simple, and therefore shallow, and ‘cheap,’ because it is easily decoded and culturally ‘undemanding,’ naturally leads to the refusal of what is facile in the ethical or aesthetic sense, of everything which offers pleasures that are too immediately accessible and so discredited as ‘childish’ or ‘primitive’ (as opposed to the deferred pleasures of legitimate art).”<sup>111</sup> The easy music of the *romance*—despite (or in part due to) its massive *commercial* capital—lacks the *symbolic* capital that music historians have typically associated with aesthetic complexity and learned musicality. Yet the genre’s reputed triviality acquires a certain authority of its own by holding a mirror up to its would-be detractors and reflecting the faces of critical elitism. Inclinations to resist easy and utilitarian music can

stem from any number of social or intellectual motivations.<sup>112</sup> Maybe we (as scholars of music) feel that there is not enough material *in* the musical object to merit extended discussion. Maybe we are not very excited by the prospect of analyzing formulaic music that, we believe, we ourselves are capable of composing; perhaps what we prefer is to study repertoires that are beyond our own creative abilities but nonetheless appear (or are made out to be) ripe for theoretical dissection. Or maybe our unease with easiness stems from our suspicion that we do not possess a sufficiently sophisticated (read: academic) vocabulary to appraise music that looks and sounds exceedingly simple. It is not hard to talk around easy music and to treat it as a repository of popular culture, but talking squarely about it—finding enough words with which to adorn and discipline the music at hand—is a different matter. The allegedly bad *romance* in this regard can render us somewhat speechless as it leads us to question our ability and incentive to analyze and interpret music in the first place.

All of this speculation is not meant to suggest that one has a scholarly or ethical obligation to do away completely with valuative language, but rather that it can be productive to scrutinize individual as well as institutional contingencies of taste. Easy classical music continues to be relegated these days to the status of a fetishized Other *within* the Western art music tradition. Marcia Citron has observed that exhibitions of skill and complexity have served as predominant criteria for artistic value in Western societies. She cautions, however, that “skill is a relative term, and the demonstration of skill ‘to whose satisfaction’ is an open question. Valued in Western society as a symbol of dedication, learning, and hard work,

<sup>106</sup>Bea Friedland, “Louise Farrenc (1804–1875): Composer, Performer, Scholar,” *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974), 258.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid.

<sup>108</sup>David Tunley, “Solo Song: France,” in *The New Oxford History of Music: Romanticism (1830–1890)*, ed. Gerald Abraham (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 684. Tunley also makes reference elsewhere to the “veritable industry of uninspired *romance* compositions by amateurs and musicians of no true creative talent” (*Salons, Singers and Songs*, p. 68).

<sup>109</sup>“L’ensemble de ces romances de la Révolution et de l’Empire contient beaucoup de parties mortes qui méritent d’être laissées dans l’oubli” (Gougelot, *La Romance française sous la Révolution et L’Empire: Etude historique et critique*, p. 327).

<sup>110</sup>On resisting valuation in musical discourses of gender and genre, see Head, “If the Pretty Little Hand Won’t Stretch,” pp. 244–47.

<sup>111</sup>Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p. 486.

<sup>112</sup>Barbara Herrnstein Smith comments as follows on the prevalent skepticism toward the aesthetic value of popular and utilitarian art: “The recurrent impulse or effort to define aesthetic value by contradistinction to all forms of utility or as the negation of all other nameable sources of interest or forms of value—hedonic, practical, sentimental, ornamental, historical, ideological, and so forth—is, in effect, to define it out of existence; for when all such particular utilities, interests, and sources of value have been subtracted, nothing remains” (“Contingencies of Value,” *Critical Inquiry* 10 [1983], 14).



skill can assume many forms."<sup>113</sup> Indeed, skill-based rubrics can become scrambled in a study of the romance. It can be challenging to ascertain the degree to which amateur composers were unskilled and the degree to which they were skilled at appearing unskilled. Just as perplexing is why this distinction should matter to us to begin with; the answer, I suspect, is not necessarily an easy or a comfortable one. Genre—like gender—can be fruitfully understood foremost as a performed construct that coheres through repetition and ideological consensus. Some discursive flexibility can thus be achieved here by eschewing assumptions that the inkblots on the score of a romance represented the fullest extent (or true nature) of its composer's musical vocabulary. This mindset, after all, is how simplicity is occasionally valorized in the works of canonical composers such as Ludwig van Beethoven and Richard Wagner. Champions of such esteemed repertoire sometimes attempt to rescue (or fabricate) complexity by showing in sketches just how much *work* went into making a tune sound simple.<sup>114</sup> That we do not have extensive sketches of romances does not mean that such pieces underwent unproblematic cultural genesis. The restrictive creative filters and social frames of the romance established it as a salient product of professional amateurism. In the end, the music of a romance tells only half of a story. The other

half lies in music that did not—or rather could not—make it onto the page.

Can the salon composer speak? Or put differently: given the stylized performances of feminine values in the romance industry, is there a satisfactory way for historians to reclaim or invent a uniquely female—or, for that matter, male—authorial voice in the music and poetry of romances? Maybe that all depends on how intently one chooses to engage with easy music. Echoes of mimicry, oppression, opportunism, and capitalization resound in romances for those who keep an open ear. A responsible musicology—feminist, postcolonial, or otherwise—needs to interrogate the cultural work that music performs, and just as importantly, the work that people (musicologists included) make music perform. Easy music can be made to say so much precisely because it seems to say so little. It speaks the language of amateurs as well as professionals. It is fluent in Man and Woman. It can be called upon both to valorize and to infantilize the fair sex. It is even capable of summoning the specter of the uneducated peasant as a decoy for society's spoiled consumers of leisure. For all these reasons, the romance and its patrons demand nothing short of complex criticism. Only by embracing musical easiness in all of its ambivalence will we begin to grasp the various cultural struggles born of gender and genre.



<sup>113</sup>Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, p. 131. For more on music and canonicity, see William Weber, "The History of the Musical Canon," in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 336–55; *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); and Lawrence Kramer, "Charging the Canons," in *Critical Musicology and the Responsibility of Response: Selected Essays* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 57–67.

<sup>114</sup>See, for example, Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks: History, Reconstruction, Inventory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), esp. pp. 3–6; Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 135–54; Richard Kramer, "Ambiguities in *La Malinconia*: What the Sketches Say," in *Beethoven Studies 3*, ed. Alan Tyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 29–46; and Robert Winter, "Plans for the Structure of the String Quartet in C Sharp Minor, Op. 131," in *Beethoven Studies 2*, ed. Alan Tyson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 106–37.

### **Abstract.**

This article argues that veiled practices of gender mimicry facilitated the meteoric commercial success of the French *romance* in Paris during the July Monarchy. The romance was commonly characterized as a feminine genre particularly suited to women's amateur proclivities. Many critics were quick to emphasize women's putative obsession with romances while downplaying (or altogether neglecting to comment on) the extensive participation of men in the same musical venture. Men composers and poets who sought to pen marketable romances capitalized on aesthetic idioms and values that contemporary writers explicitly appraised as feminine. This article sets out to examine the following: first, critical dialogues surrounding the proliferation of romances during this period of social upheaval; second, the Parisian bourgeoisie's valorization and fetishization of female amateurism; third, the poetics, politics, and economics of gender mimicry in

the romance industry; and lastly, the challenges of music criticism and analysis with regard to the ambivalent significations of so-called *easy* music. Underlying each of these investigations is an attempt to understand the ways in which *romanciers* and

*romancières* learned to perform femininity in their quests to become professionals in the lucrative business of musical amateurism. Keywords: French romance, mimicry, Parisian bourgeoisie, femininity, amateurism, easy music

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#### APPENDIX

#### List of men and women composers, dedicatees/performers, and poets of romances published in *Le Ménestrel* (1833–42)

##### Men Composers

Total number of romances published by men composers: 348

Total number of men composers of romances: 91

Amédée de Beauplan (28)	Gaetano Donizetti (2)
Edouard Bruguère (19)	Alphonse de Feltra (2)
Adolphe Adam (16)	Antoine de Kontski (2)
Adolphe Vogel (15)	Théodore Labarre (2)
J. Merlé (14)	A. Lamanière (2)
Chevalier Lagoanère (11)	Alfred Larmande (2)
Etienne Thénard (10)	Léonce Lenormand (2)
Joseph Vimeux (10)	Pierre Julien Nargeot (2)
Le C <sup>te</sup> Ab. d'Adhémar (9)	Jacques Offenbach (2)
Frédéric de Flotow (9)	Henri Ravina (2)
Francesco Masini (9)	Edouard d'Almbert (1)
A. Thys (9)	D. Denne-Baron (1)
Louis Clapisson (8)	Théophile Bayle (1)
Antoine-François Marmontel (8)	Alfred Lair de Beauvais (1)
Antoine Elwart (7)	Léon Bizot (1)
Charles Haas (7)	Auguste Blondeau (1)
Charles Plantade (7)	Allyre Bureau (1)
Louis Chollet (6)	Louis Festeau (1)
Joseph Doche (6)	Johann Friedrich Burgmüller (1)
F. Grast (6)	Prosper de Cambon (1)
Auguste Panseron (6)	Thomy Canonville (1)
A. G. Falandry (5)	Delcros-Costa (1)
Albert Grisar (5)	A. Demay (1)
Edouard Magnier (5)	Louis Dietsch (1)
Auguste Pilati (5)	M. Dolive (1)
Jacques Strunz (5)	Prosper Fornas (1)
Charles de Dufort (4)	Victor Fourgous (1)
Vicomte Edmond Dupin de la Guérivière (4)	Jules Gard (1)
Hippolyte Monpou (4)	Gabriel Guillaumo (1)
Auguste Andrade (3)	Hardelay (1)
J. Ennes Berr (3)	E. Henricet (jeune) (1)
Fourcy (3)	Henri Herz (1)
Paul Henrion (3)	Isidore Huot (1)
Auguste Morel (3)	J. B. Josse (1)
Quidant (jeune) (3)	Paul de Kock (1)
Edmond Stalber (3)	Henry Lanza (1)
Gustave Carulli (2)	Joseph Leroux (1)
J. Concone (2)	Jules Levino (1)
Eugène Déjazet (2)	Nicolo Lorenzo (1)

**Men Composers (cont.)**

N. Louis (1)  
Giacomo Meyerbeer (1)  
Isidore Milhès (1)  
Louis Niedermeyer (1)  
Ferdinando Paër (1)  
Adolphe Prevost (1)  
Louis Charles Ruotte (1)

André Simiot (1)  
Barrault de St. André (1)  
H. Systemans (1)  
Ambroise Thomas (1)  
Isidore Zerezo (1)  
M. \*\*\* (anonymous) (1)

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**Women Composers**

Total number of romances published by women composers: 33  
Total number of women composers of romances: 15

Mlle Pauline Duchambge (12)  
Mlle Loïsa Puget (6)  
Mme Gabriel de Lurieu (2)  
Mme Elise Rondonneau (2)  
Mme Bernardi (1)  
Mme A. de Berruyer (1)  
Mme Laure Brice (1)  
Mlle A. Carbeaut (1)

Mlle Eliza Chevalier (1)  
Mme Louise Farrenc (1)  
Mme de la Hye (1)  
Mme Molinos Lafitte (1)  
Mme Boulanger Kunzé (1)  
Mlle Joséphine Pion (1)  
Mlle Emilie Whately (1)

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**Men Dedicatees/Performers**

Total number of romances dedicated to men: 122  
Total number of men to whom romances were dedicated: 72

Gustave Roger (8)  
Charles Chaudesaigues (7)  
Achard (5)  
Ponchard (5)  
Alphonse Révial (4)  
Alexis Dupont (3)  
Abel Magnan (3)  
Alfred Clémenceau (3)  
Escolier Berniolles (2)  
Thomy Canonville (2)  
Emmanuel Carmier (2)  
Louis Clapisson (2)  
Jules Delsart (2)  
Charles de Dufort (2)  
Jansenne (2)  
Henry Lanza (2)  
Nicolas-Prosper Levasseur (2)  
François Wartel (2)  
Edouard d'Almbert (1)  
Abd-el-Kader (1)  
Albrecht (1)  
Alizard (1)  
D'Andrée (1)  
D'Armbert (1)

O. Barni (1)  
De Balzac (1)  
Amédée de Beauplan (1)  
A. de Bernard (1)  
Auguste Berton (1)  
Bigall (1)  
De Bournonville (1)  
Prosper de Cambon (1)  
Louis Chollet (1)  
Couderc (1)  
Dailly (1)  
A. Delaunay (1)  
Chéri Delsarte (1)  
Dunan (1)  
Antoine Elwart (1)  
Félix (1)  
Auguste Ferar (1)  
Gustave Fleury (1)  
Gaye (1)  
J. Géraldy (1)  
C. Glady (1)  
D. M. Guillemin (1)  
Victor Hanssens (1)  
Achille Hebert-Massy (1)

### Men Dedictees/Performers (*cont.*)

Hamelin (1)  
A. Husson (1)  
Husteaux (1)  
Albert Jousse (1)  
Lac (1)  
Félix de Lagarde (1)  
Laurent (1)  
Lincelle (1)  
Le Comte Louis de Marguerye (1)  
Masini (1)  
Le Comte de Mauni (1)  
Mauzé (1)

Le Vicomte de Montaigne (1)  
Adolphe Nourrit (1)  
Olivier (1)  
Achille Oudot (1)  
Napoleon Panel (1)  
Charles Plantade (1)  
Le Comte Henri de Pradel (1)  
Chevalier Richelmi (1)  
Le Baron Paul Sanegon (1)  
Tagliafico (1)  
Walckener (1)  
Le Comte Walsch (1)

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### Women Dedictees/Performers

Total number of romances dedicated to women: 89

Total number of women to whom romances were dedicated: 79

Mlle Elisa d'Henin (3)  
Mme Sabatier (3)  
Mme A. de Bretonnière (2)  
Mme Laure Cinti-Damoreau (2)  
Mlle Annette Lebrun (2)  
Mme Emilie Mens (2)  
Mlle Méquillet (2)  
Mme la Comtesse de Sparre (2)  
Mme Andryane (1)  
Mlle Sophie Barni (1)  
Mme Bartholdi (1)  
Mme la Baronne de Baulny (née Baudon) (1)  
Mlle Anais Bazin (1)  
Mme la Marquise de la Carte (1)  
Mme Charles Catelin (1)  
Mme Eugenie Pâquet de Chavagneux (1)  
Mlle Victorine Chégaray (1)  
Mme Casimir Cheuvreux (1)  
Mlle Jenny Colon (1)  
Mlle Darcier (1)  
Mlle Hermine Déjazet (1)  
Mme Auguste Donnet (1)  
Mlle Hélène Cundell (1)  
Mlle L. D. (1)  
Mme Deligny (1)  
Mlle Louis Despréaux (1)  
Mme Henry Doyen (née Senaiville) (1)  
Mme la Marquise Dubouchet (1)  
Mme la Comtesse de L'Espine (1)  
Mme Silvie de F\*\*\* (1)  
Mlle Cornélie Falcon (1)  
Mlle Nathalie Fitz-James (1)  
Mme C. de Forges (1)  
Mme Emile de Girardin (1)

Mme de Grammont (1)  
Mlle Adèle Guichard (1)  
Mme Sophie Guillemin (1)  
Mme Iweins-d'Hennin (1)  
Mme Honoré (1)  
Mme la Vicomtesse d'Hurbal (1)  
Mlle d'Ilenain (1)  
Mlle Janssens (1)  
Mlle Jessy (1)  
Mme la Marquise de Jouffroy (1)  
Mme Molinos Lafitte (1)  
Mlle Anna de Lagrange (1)  
Mme Lassabathie (1)  
Mlle Alphonsine Leclerc (1)  
Mme Leroy (1)  
Mme la Maréchale Comtesse de Lobau (1)  
Mme la Marquise de Lubières (1)  
Mlle Thaïda de Malachowki (1)  
Mlle Virginie Martin (1)  
Mme la Baronne Marie Antoinette de Maynard (née d'Yssoncourt) (1)  
Mme la Comtesse Molé (1)  
Mlle Monvoisin (1)  
Mlle Claire Payn (1)  
Mlle Aglaé Pelissier (1)  
Mlle Agathe Personneaux (1)  
Mlle Emilie Place (1)  
Mlle C\*\*\*. R\*\*\*. (1)  
Mme la Duchesse de Reggio (1)  
Mme Rifaut (1)  
Madame la Vicomtesse Philippine de Rigny (1)  
Mme Rinaldi (1)  
Mlle Rossi (1)  
Mlle Jenny Rossignon (1)

**Women Dedictees/Performers (cont.)**

Mme la Comtesse L. de Rumigny (1)  
Mme la Baronne d'Hiraumont (née  
Mme la Comtesse Schonental) (1)  
Mme Stella (1)  
Mme de St. Hilaire (née de Lachenaye) (1)  
Mlle Taglioni (1)  
Mme Anna Thillon (1)

Mlle Léonie de V . . . (1)  
Mme V\*\*\* (1)  
Mme la Vicomtesse Edouard Walsh (1)  
Mlle Emilie Whately (1)  
Mme Anne Widemann (1)  
Mlle Marie Willes (1)

**Men Poets**

Total number of romance texts written by men poets: 302

Total number of men poets of romance texts: 150

Emile Barateau (25)  
Crevel de Charlemagne (19)  
Eugène de Lonlay (18)  
Amédée de Beauplan (16)  
Aimé Gourdin (12)  
A. Bétourné (8)  
Adolphe Porte (6)  
Auguste Richomme (6)  
Gustave Lemoine (5)  
H. T. Poisson (5)  
Auguste Bressier (4)  
Edmond Burat de Gurgy (4)  
A. Macron (4)  
Théodore Polak (4)  
Léon St. James (4)  
Gustave de Beaunay (3)  
Emile Deschamps (3)  
Adolphe Favre (3)  
Ulric Guttinguer (3)  
Victor Hugo (3)  
Palmire Trinquart (3)  
Edouard d'Anglemont (2)  
Ernest Aubin (2)  
P. J. de Béranger (2)  
A. de Berruyer (2)  
J. Blum (2)  
Amédée le Bouleis (2)  
H. Cobourg (2)  
F. de Courcy (2)  
Dormoy (2)  
Laure Jourdain (2)  
Méry (2)  
Rocheffort (2)  
Camille de Roussel (2)  
Emile Souvestre (2)  
Thierry (2)  
Altaroche (1)  
Arago (1)  
Bayard (1)

L. de Beaubigny (1)  
Belanger (1)  
Blondeau (1)  
Sylvain Blot (1)  
Brice (1)  
Justin Cabassol (1)  
Adolphe Catelin (1)  
F. Charpentier (1)  
Chastain (1)  
De Chateaubrient (1)  
Choquart (1)  
Cogniard (frères) (1)  
Edouard Corbiere (1)  
Couailhac (1)  
De Coupigny (1)  
Delahaye (1)  
Michel Delaporte (1)  
Casimir Delavigne (1)  
André Delrieu (1)  
Eugène Desmares (1)  
Dovalle (1)  
Le Marquis C. Dubouchet (1)  
H<sup>te</sup> Dugied (1)  
Dumersan (1)  
Edouard (1)  
Elwart (1)  
Ferrère (1)  
Feuillide (1)  
Edouard Furguety (1)  
Gustave Fleury (1)  
Ernest Fouinet (1)  
Fourcade (1)  
Auguste Gaillard (1)  
Gallardet (1)  
Gustave Garrison (1)  
Gerald (1)  
Alcide Genty (1)  
Armand Gouffé (1)  
Louis Grangier (1)

### Men Poets (*cont.*)

Guillon (1)	Hégésippe Moreau (1)
Hammel (1)	Athénaïs Mourier (1)
Eugène Hangar (1)	Théodore Muret (1)
Victor Hanssens (1)	Edouard Neveu (1)
Henri Hardy (1)	Nibelle (1)
Henricet (1)	Léon Bruis d'Ouilly (1)
Edouard l'Hôte (1)	Léonce Oulès (1)
Jansenne (1)	Armand Overmay (1)
Paul de Julvécourt (1)	E. Partout (1)
F. B. de Keroüars (1)	Le Comte de Pastoret (1)
Ch. Paul de Kock (1)	Pellier (1)
Lacour (1)	Boucher de Perthes (1)
J. B. P. Lafitte (1)	Edouard Plouvier (1)
Molinos Lafitte (1)	Léonce Pontonnier (1)
Chevalier Lagoanère (1)	Poultier (1)
Alphonse de Lamartine (1)	Alfred Pourchel (1)
F. Langlé (1)	Eugène Prevot (1)
Jacinthe Leclère (1)	Michel Raymond (1)
Victor Lecomte (1)	Antony Raynal (1)
Henry Leducq (1)	J. Rébierre (1)
Lemore (1)	Antony Renal (1)
Achille Lestrelin (1)	Eugène Renault (1)
Franz de Lienhart (1)	G. Ménard de Rochecave (1)
Gabriel de Lurieu (1)	Romainville (1)
Amédée de Luynes (1)	Petit Senn (1)
Charles Magné (1)	Felix Servan (1)
Magron (1)	Isidore Simard (1)
Maillard (1)	Y. Simart (1)
Gustave Maireau (1)	Sylvain St. Etienne (1)
De Marand (1)	V. de Saint-Hilaire (1)
Evariste Marandon (1)	Le Telliep (1)
Marc Marcel (1)	Eugène Tourneux (1)
H. Massé (1)	Gustave Vaez (1)
Merlin (1)	Alfred Vanauld (1)
Molière (1)	Emile Villiers (1)
Théophile de Montour (1)	Edmond de Wailly (1)

### Women Poets

Total number of romance texts written by women poets: 33

Total number of women poets of romance texts: 21

Mme Desbordes-Valmore (6)	Mme Dormoy (1)
Mme la Comtesse de la Besge (4)	Mme Emilie Marcel (1)
Mme Lesguillon (née Hermance Sandrin) (3)	Mlle Elisa Mercoeur (1)
Mme Emile de Girardin (2)	Mlle Elise Moreau (1)
Mme Clara Francia Mollard (2)	Mme Eugénie Niboyet (1)
Mlle la Comtesse de la Bedollière (1)	Mme Virginie Orsini (1)
Mme de la Beige (1)	Mlle Joséphine Pion (1)
Mlle Eliza Chevalier (1)	Mme Pauline Systemans (1)
Mme Louise Colet (1)	Mlle Toller (1)
Mme Cormon (1)	Mme Valdor (1)
Mme Dennery (1)	