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CÉSAR FRANCK AS A PIVOTAL FIGURE IN THE
REVITALIZATION OF FRENCH ORGAN
MUSIC AFTER THE REVOLUTION

A Dissertation
Presented to
the faculty of
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements of
Doctor of Musical Arts

by
Anna Pan
December 2012

APPROVAL SHEET

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Anna Pan

Read and Approved by:

Thomas W. Bolton (Chair)

Janet E. Hamilton

Gregory Brewton

Date _____

To my deceased father, my mother, and Père et Mère Thomas W. Bolton
for their unceasing love, prayers, and support.

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PREFACE

Thanks be to God for His faithfulness and guidance, without which this dissertation would not have been completed as hoped.

Thanks be to my chair, Dr. Thomas W. Bolton, for his willingness to serve as chair on my committees, for his expertise, guidance, patience, and tireless editing.

Thanks be to Dr. Janet Hamilton for her willingness to serve on my committees, for her expertise and encouragement.

Thanks be to Dr. Greg Brewton for his willingness to serve on my committees, for his expertise and encouragement.

Soli Deo Gloria.

Anna Pan

Louisville, Kentucky

December 2012

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

French organ compositions written between the 1850s and the end of the twentieth century hold a significant position in organ repertoire.¹ These compositions include Camille Saint-Saëns's *Fantaisie* in E-flat major and *Sept Improvisations*, Op. 150; César Franck's dozen pieces for organ; Alexandre Guilmant's sonatas; Charles-Marie Widor's ten organ symphonies; Louis Vierne's six organ symphonies and twenty-four *Pièces de fantaisie*; Charles Tournemire's *L'Orgue mystique* and organ symphonic works; Marcel Dupré's *Symphonie-Passion*, *Le Chemin de la croix*, *Vision* (a symphonic poem) and *In Memoriam*; Jehan Alain's *Trois danses*; Olivier Messiaen's *L'Ascension*, *La Nativité du Seigneur*, and *Méditation sur le mystère de la Sainte-Trinité*; Jean Langlais's *Trois paraphrases grégoriennes*; and Maurice Duruflé's "Suite," "Prélude, adagio et choral varié sur le 'Veni Creator,'" and "Prélude et fugue sur le nom d'Alain." Many of these compositions belonged to a new organ genre, the organ symphony, which first found its first expression in Franck's *Grande pièce symphonique* (according to its manuscript, it was completed on September 16, 1863). These organ monuments did not just suddenly appear on the scene, but were written as a result of the efforts of a small group of organists and organ builders who fostered a gradual rebuilding

¹Barbara Owen, "Organ Music from c. 1750," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/14945pg2> (accessed November 9, 2011).

of French organ music in the decades following the bloody and destructive Revolution of 1789-99. During these early decades little organ music of any lasting distinction was composed. One occasionally finds some serious efforts from this time, including the organ works of Alexandre Boëly (1785-1858), Charles-Alexander Fessy (1804-56), and Louis-James-Alfred Lefébure-Wely (1817-69).² However, many of these pieces seem to reflect the light and simple musical taste of their day.³ A few other composers of the mid-nineteenth century, notably Saint-Saëns (1835-1921), also attempted to write serious music for organ. It was César Franck, however, who not only took organ composition more seriously, but also was conversant with the music of J. S. Bach, French Baroque composers, Franz Liszt, and Richard Wagner. Thus he was able to write organ music in a style that Burkholder, Grout, and Palisca describe as a blending of “traditional counterpoint and classical forms with Liszt’s thematic transformation, Wagner’s harmony, and the Romantic idea of cyclic unification through thematic return.”⁴

Thesis

This dissertation argues that Franck played a pivotal role in the revitalization of French organ music after the Revolution. It further argues that Franck’s contribution to this revitalization is seen not only in his compositions, but also through his teaching and performing. Franck wrote only twelve pieces for organ: *Six pièces* (composed between

²Corliss Richard Arnold, *Organ Literature: A Comprehensive Survey*, vol. 1, *Historical Survey*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2003), 197.

³Gerard Brooks, “French and Belgian Organ Music after 1800,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, ed. Nicholas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 265.

⁴J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 7th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), 739.

1854 and 1864), *Trois pièces* (completed in 1878), and *Trois chorals* (completed in 1890). Although few in number, they are among those first serious French organ works that have withstood the test of time by remaining in the canon of organ music. Franck's *Six pièces* for organ, written as a set in which instrumental forms (fantasy, symphony, prelude, fugue, variations, etc.) are masterfully combined,⁵ stand out, according to Murray, as "a new creation of which century on century of organ art gave no foreshadowing."⁶ As previously noted, Franck's *Grande pièce symphonique*, one of the *Six pièces*, inspired organ composers of later generations to write similar pieces that further developed the genre in a highly artist way. These organ "symphonic" works, which do not include an orchestra (as opposed to Saint-Saëns's so-called Organ Symphony, No. 3, composed around 1886)⁷ and which were inspired particularly by the organs built by Aristide Cavaillé-Coll, formed a core of twentieth-century French organ music. They have been well and critically received, favorably reviewed, and internationally performed and recorded. They still remain widely performed, second only to J. S. Bach's organ works.⁸

Franck was named professor of organ in 1872 at the Paris Conservatoire, remaining in this position until his death in 1890. The organ class at the Conservatoire

⁵Joël-Marie Fauguet, "Franck, César-Auguste," in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 2nd ed., Personenteil 6 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2001), 1604.

⁶Michael Murray, *French Masters of the Organ: Saint-Saëns, Franck, Widor, Vierne, Dupré, Langlais, Messiaen* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 80.

⁷Sabina Teller Ratner, James Harding, and Daniel M. Fallon, "Saint-Saëns, Camille," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/24335> (accessed October 15, 2012).

⁸Mark DeVoto, "Paris, 1918-45," in *Modern Times: From World War I to the Present*, ed. Robert P. Morgan (London: The Macmillan Press, 1993), 36.

during those days focused on improvisation, since music played in church services was mostly improvised. Because Franck encouraged his students to examine new ways of improvisation and taught a great deal of composition in his organ class, he attracted not only organists but also other musicians, such as Georges Bizet and Claude Debussy.⁹ Franck's improvisatory skills amazed people who heard him perform at organ inaugurations. Vierne, one of Franck's students at the Paris Conservatoire, recalled in his memoir: "I have never heard anything that could compare with Franck's improvisation from the point of view of purely musical invention."¹⁰

In 1858 Franck was appointed organist at Sainte-Clotilde, where the following year a new organ built by Cavallé-Coll was installed. This organ, which was both larger and of better quality than its predecessor, encouraged Franck not only to compose more pieces for organ but also to improve his pedal technique due to the expanded pedal board of the new instrument.¹¹ According to Ochse, Franck's performances in inaugurations and recitals between 1854 and the year of his death in 1870, were "reviewed with respect, if not wild enthusiasm."¹² When Liszt was in Paris in 1866, Franck played a special program for him. Liszt "warmly complimented Mr. Franck on the elevated style of his works and his masterly performance."¹³ As a performer Franck was also known for his skillful registration. However, as John William Hinton, who was one of Franck's

⁹Murray, *French Masters of the Organ*, 88.

¹⁰Rollin Smith, *Louis Vierne: Organist of Notre Dame Cathedral* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1999), 43.

¹¹Murray, *French Masters of the Organ*, 79.

¹²Orpha Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing in Nineteenth-Century France and Belgium* (reprint, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), 57.

¹³*Ibid.*, 78.

students, pointed out, “It is unquestionable that beauty in the design and combination of ideas, not variety in colour display, was his principal quest.”¹⁴

Historical Background

France experienced a series of dramatic political changes after the storming of the Bastille in 1789, which marked the beginning of the Revolution. The National Convention was established in 1792, and France was declared a republic on September 21, 1792.¹⁵ The time from September 1793 to July 1794 marked what has been called the Reign of Terror, during which the Jacobins executed enemies of the Revolution and attempted to protect the country from foreign invaders.¹⁶ During this short time, thousands of people were guillotined, including Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.¹⁷ From 1795 to 1799 the Directory, consisting of five directors under the leadership of Maximillien Robespierre, was the ruling revolutionary authority in France.¹⁸ On November 9, 1799, Napoléon Bonaparte overthrew the Directory, replaced it with the Consulate, and crowned himself as emperor.¹⁹ When Napoléon’s Moscow campaign of

¹⁴Ibid., 50.

¹⁵Alison Patrick, “National Convention,” in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 710-11.

¹⁶Richard Bienvenu, “Terror, The,” in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 942-46.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Marc Bouloiseau, “Robespierre, Maximilien-François-Isidore de,” in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 829-34.

¹⁹Lynn A. Hunt, “Council of Five Hundred,” in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 255-57.

1812-13 failed, he began to lose power, was deposed and was exiled to the Italian island of Elba in 1814.²⁰ Though Napoléon returned to France unexpectedly in 1815, attempting to regain his power, he was finally defeated at Waterloo.²¹ Meanwhile the Bourbon dynasty, which had ruled France before the Revolution, was restored. Louis XVIII, Louis XVI's brother, became king. The restoration of the Bourbon dynasty lasted from 1814 to 1848 (with a hundred-day interruption from March 20 to June 22, 1815, caused by Napoleon I's attempt to restore his empire).²²

The unstable political situation in France after the Revolution affected not only society, the economy, and every aspect of daily life, but also the church, its music and musicians, and music education in general. In an attempt to thwart the influence of the church and embrace humanistic atheism, the Constituent Assembly in 1789 ended the privileges of the clergy and took over all church property and monasteries.²³ In 1790 all clerics were required to take an oath of allegiance to the new constitution or face execution.²⁴ Many clerics fled the country or were persecuted because they refused to

²⁰Lee Kennett, "Russian Campaign," in *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799-1815*, ed. Owen Connelly (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1985), 427-28.

²¹Harold T. Parker, "Waterloo Campaign," in *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799-1815*, ed. Owen Connelly (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1985), 502-03.

²²"Abdication, First," and "Abdication, Second," in *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799-1815*, ed. Owen Connelly (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1985), 3-6; Ray E. Cubberly, "Hundred Days, The," in *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799-1815*, ed. Owen Connelly (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1985), 246-47.

²³David M. Epstein, "National Constituent Assembly," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 705-06.

²⁴Clarke Garrett, "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 190-92.

take the oath.²⁵ In addition, this new constitution supplanted the Catholic Church with a series of cults.²⁶ Former cathedrals and churches became meeting places, first of the Cult of Reason, then the Cult of the Supreme Being (which took place under Maximilien Robespierre in 1794), and finally the Cult of Theophilanthropy (which was invented by Louis Marie de La Révellière-Lépeaux in 1796).²⁷ Many organs in churches and monasteries were either sold or destroyed. According to Sabatier, only about 100 organs survived, and those only because they were bought back by some of the parishes at a bargain;²⁸ furthermore, atheist festivals replaced Christian church services.²⁹ The purpose of these revolutionary festivals was to carry out the message of political propaganda and to influence the participants verbally and emotionally.³⁰ These festivals frequently took place outdoors or in a large church building.³¹ In those days long before electric amplification had been invented, it was much more difficult to project speech to a large

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Michel Vovelle, "Dechristianization," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 296-300.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸François Sabatier, "Les Orgues en France pendant la Révolution," *L'Orgue* 143 (July-September 1972): 79.

²⁹Vovelle, "Dechristianization," 296-300.

³⁰James A. Leith, "Cult of Reason," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 274-78; Gordon H. McNeil, "Cult of the Supreme Being," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 278-81.

³¹James A. Leith, "Festival of Federation," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 381-83; idem, "Cult of Reason," 274-78; McNeil, "Cult of the Supreme Being," 278-81; Joseph I. Shulim, "Indulgents," *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 471-76.

crowd in an open space or a huge building.³² Those in power saw the potential of music and used it as an effective way to carry out the messages of political propaganda as well as to motivate a large crowd to participate in these festivals.³³ Revolutionary hymns and songs tended to have simple melodies; familiar tunes were preferred as well as simple texts.³⁴ Organists were frequently expected to play for the revolutionary festivals that took place in former churches,³⁵ and most of the organists saw this as their only opportunity to play and therefore adapted to the current and popular taste.³⁶ “Judex crederis” (“Last Judgment”), which was based on one of the verses of the *Te Deum* and used to describe the latest battle, was one of the favorite themes for improvisations.³⁷

Before the Revolution, the *maîtrises*, which were choir schools attached to churches or collegiate churches,³⁸ were the most important institutions where church musicians were educated. During the Revolution, most of the *maîtrises* were closed. Some of them might have been reopened by 1810;³⁹ however, as Mongrédien points out, more documentation is needed in order to verify. The Paris Conservatoire was established by the state in 1795, with the purpose of furnishing compositions and training musicians

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴David Charlton, “Revolutionary Hymn,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/23287> (accessed February 4, 2012).

³⁵Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 5.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, 1789-1830*, trans. from French by Sylvain Frémaux (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1996), 11.

³⁹Ibid., 26.

for revolutionary festivals.⁴⁰ It was not until Napoléon, in the Concordat of 1801, reaffirmed the legitimacy of the Catholic Church that religious music was again produced. However, much of the structure that had fostered church music before the Revolution had already been destroyed.⁴¹ It fell to musicians like Alexandre Étienne Choron and Louis Abraham Niedermeyer to revive both church music and music education. Both men highly valued plainsong and music of earlier periods, particularly the Renaissance and Baroque.⁴² Both wrote educational publications on plainsong and music theory to educate church musicians in a music school, the first of which was established in 1818 by Choron but closed in 1834 when Choron died;⁴³ a similar school was opened in 1853 by Niedermeyer.⁴⁴ The efforts of Choron and Niedermeyer in reviving church music and music education after the Revolution paved the way for Franck. By the time Franck matured as a composer and took the teaching position as organ professor at Paris Conservatoire⁴⁵ in 1872, society was more prepared to appreciate

⁴⁰Ibid., 17.

⁴¹Thomas F. Sheppard, "Concordat of 1801," in *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799-1815*, ed. Owen Connelly (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1985), 12.

⁴²Sylvia L'Ecuyer, "Choron, Alexandre [Étienne]," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 3 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2000), 1012-14; Guy Ferchault and Jacqueline Gachet, "Niedermeyer, Louis," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/19919> (accessed March 16, 2012).

⁴³L'Ecuyer, "Choron, Alexandre [Étienne]."

⁴⁴David Charlton et al., "Paris," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40089pg6> (accessed March 14, 2012).

⁴⁵By the time Franck was engaged by the Paris Conservatoire, it had developed into the premiere music school in France, training composers and performers (mostly aspiring opera singers) with very little, if any, emphasis on church music.

serious compositions written in more learned styles.⁴⁶ Furthermore, many new organs had been built since the 1830s. The most significant French organ builder during this time was Aristide Cavallé-Coll, who used new inventions, such as Charles Spackman Baker's pneumatic levers, in his organs.⁴⁷ Cavallé-Coll's organs, with their expanded range and tonal colors, played a significant role in the development of the symphonic works for organ, of which, as mentioned earlier, Franck's *Grande pièce symphonique* was the first example.⁴⁸

Methodology

In this dissertation the writer presents evidence for Franck's pivotal role in revitalizing French organ music after the Revolution, paving the way for burgeoning French composers who turned their efforts to producing significant works for the instrument. Information is drawn from reliable and available contemporary accounts and resources as well as scholarly works. A thorough overview of the cultural, musical, political, and social background of Franck's time as it developed out of the turmoil of the Revolution is provided. Furthermore, the dissertation gives a complete overview of musicians who strived to revive church music, organ music, and music education in one way or another after the Revolution. An additional focus of this dissertation is to reflect on Franck's legacy as composer, particularly in the development of organ symphonic works.

⁴⁶Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 206.

⁴⁷Hans Klotz and Kurt Lueders, "Cavallé-Coll, Aristide," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/05199> (accessed February 6, 2012).

⁴⁸François Sabatier, "César Franck," in *Guide de la musique d'orgue*, under the direction of Gilles Cantagrel (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1991), 364.

Chapter 1 presents a brief historical overview and briefly states the significance of twentieth-century French organ music and its indebtedness to Franck. It further states the thesis of this dissertation and how it is to be treated. Chapter 2 provides a more thorough overview of the cultural, musical, political, and social background of the time immediately before and during the Revolution. In addition, it examines to what degree the Revolution impacted French society, the church, and musicians' artistic life. Chapter 3 discusses organists who survived the Revolution, such as Nicolas Séjan, Gervais-François Couperin, and Guillaume Lasceux, and their efforts to revive music in its aftermath. It also discusses the more serious efforts of musicians, such as Alexandre Étienne Choron and Louis Abraham Niedermeyer, to revive church music and music education through their pedagogical publications and the establishment of institutions.

Chapter 4 focuses specifically on Franck, providing a thorough picture of his life. It further examines his role and significance as a teacher, performer, and composer. From this extended examination through a historical point of view, one may achieve a better understanding of Franck's importance to the burgeoning French organ school. Chapter 5 discusses how Franck's teaching, performing, and advanced compositional techniques influenced later generations of organists and composers. Chapter 6 presents a brief summary and conclusion to the dissertation.

Related Literature

The Cambridge Illustrated History of France by Colin Jones,⁴⁹ *The History of*

⁴⁹Collin Jones, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

France by W. Scott Haine,⁵⁰ *France in Modern Times* by Gordon Wright,⁵¹ *A Short History of the French Revolution* by Jeremy Popkin,⁵² and *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* by Jack R. Censer and Lynn Hunt⁵³ are good sources for the history of France before, during, and after the Revolution. Information on the impact of the Revolution on the church is drawn from entries in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*,⁵⁴ *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*,⁵⁵ *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*,⁵⁶ and books including Nigel Aston's *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe*,⁵⁷ Emmet Kennedy's *A Cultural History of the French Revolution*,⁵⁸ and Alexis de Tocqueville's *The Old Régime and the French Revolution*.⁵⁹ Entries from *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*,⁶⁰ and *Historical Dictionary*

⁵⁰W. Scott Haine, *The History of France* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000).

⁵¹Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times: From the Enlightenment to the Present*, 5th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995).

⁵²Jeremy Popkin, *A Short History of the French Revolution*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010).

⁵³Jack R. Censer and Lynn Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

⁵⁴*A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989).

⁵⁵*Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).

⁵⁶*The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2003).

⁵⁷Nigel Aston, *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe c. 1750-1830* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁵⁸Emmet Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁵⁹Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Régime and the French Revolution*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Doubleday, 1983).

⁶⁰*Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

of the French Revolution 1789-1799 on the Enlightenment and influential French thinkers provide helpful information. Bryan Randolph Simms's dissertation on Alexandre Choron⁶¹ and Sako Ikuno's dissertation on Louis Niedermeyer,⁶² along with Maurice Galerne's book on the Niedermeyer School⁶³ and entries from the *Grove Dictionary* and *MGG*⁶⁴ are great sources for understanding the founding and teaching activities of the Choron and Niedermeyer schools.

Orpha Ochse's *Organists and Organ Playing in Nineteenth-Century France and Belgium*⁶⁵ offers detailed documentation of organ inaugurations taking place between 1800 and 1900. *The European Organ 1450-1850* by Peter Williams,⁶⁶ *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time: North European Reflections, 1610-2000* edited by Kerala J. Snyder,⁶⁷ and Félix Raugel's *Les Grandes orgues des églises de Paris et du département de la Seine*⁶⁸ are good sources for the development of organ in nineteenth-century Europe; *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time* also includes information on the French organ builder

⁶¹Bryan Randolph Simms, "Alexandre Choron (1771-1834) as a Historian and Theorist of Music" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1971).

⁶²Sako Ikuno, "The Importance of Louis Niedermeyer in the Reform of Nineteenth-Century Church Music in France" (Ph.D. diss., University of Melbourne, Australia, 2007).

⁶³Maurice Galerne, *L'École Niedermeyer: sa création, sa but, son développement* (Paris: Editions Margueritat, 1928).

⁶⁴*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1994-2008).

⁶⁵Orpha Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing in Nineteenth-Century France and Belgium* (reprint, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000).

⁶⁶Peter Williams, *The European Organ 1450-1850* (London: B T Batsford, 1966).

⁶⁷Kerala J. Snyder, ed., *The Organ as a Mirror of its Times: North European Reflections, 1610-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁶⁸Félix Raugel, *Les Grandes orgues des églises de Paris et du département de la Seine* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1927).

Cavaillé-Coll. Fenner Douglass's *Cavaillé-Coll and the French Romantic Tradition*⁶⁹ and Stephen Bicknell's *The History of the English Organ*⁷⁰ are other good sources for gaining information about Cavaillé-Coll's organs built during Franck's lifetime. Information on music education after the Revolution and general music characteristics before and during the Revolution is drawn from *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789-1830* by Jean Mongrédien⁷¹ and *Music and the French Revolution* edited by Malcolm Boyd.⁷² Entries from *Grove* and *MGG*, such as "Paris" and "Frankreich," give general yet informative material on the French society, education, and musical life before and after the Revolution through the twentieth century. *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* by Katharine Ellis,⁷³ *French Music since Berlioz* edited by Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter,⁷⁴ and *French Music: from the Death of Berlioz to the Death of Fauré* by Martin Cooper⁷⁵ are useful sources for

⁶⁹Fenner Douglas, *Cavaillé-Coll and the Musicians: A Documented Account of His First Thirty Years in Organ Building* (Raleigh, NC: Sunbury Press, 1980).

⁷⁰Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁷¹Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, 1789-1830*, trans. from French by Sylvain Frémaux (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1996).

⁷²Malcom Boyd, *Music and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁷³Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁷⁴Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter, ed., *French Music since Berlioz* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).

⁷⁵Martin Cooper, *French Music from the Death of Berlioz to the Death of Fauré* (reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

understanding the musical tastes and trends in nineteenth-century France. Biographical information on César Franck is drawn from Léon Vallas's *César Franck*,⁷⁶ Joël-Marie Fauquet's *César Franck*,⁷⁷ Vincent d'Indy's⁷⁸ and Charles Tournemire's⁷⁹ books on Franck, and Laurence Davies's *César Franck and His Circle*.⁸⁰ Harvey Grace's *Organ Works of César Franck*,⁸¹ Herbert Haag's *César Franck als Orgelkomponist*,⁸² Armin Landgraf's *Musica Sacra zwischen Symphonie und Improvisation: César Franck und seine Musik für den Gottesdienst*,⁸³ and Rollin Smith's two books on playing Franck's organ works⁸⁴ are good sources for understanding Franck's organ music. Most of Franck's biographies provide useful information about his compositions in general, while entries (such as those on the symphony, symphonic poems, chamber music, string quartet, and others) give more specific details on Franck's compositions in these particular genres. Franck's memoirs, articles, and reviews in contemporaneous

⁷⁶Leon Vallas, *César Franck*, trans. Hubert Foss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951).

⁷⁷Joël-Marie Fauquet, *César Franck* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1999).

⁷⁸Vincent d'Indy, *César Franck*, trans. and with an introduction by Rosa Newmarch (reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1965).

⁷⁹Charles Tournemire, *César Franck* (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1931).

⁸⁰Laurence Davies, *César Franck and His Circle* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977).

⁸¹Harvey Grace, *The Organ Works of César Franck* (London: Novello and Company, 1948).

⁸²Herbert Haag, *César Franck als Orgelkomponist* (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1936).

⁸³Armin Landgraf, *Musica Sacra zwischen Symphonie und Improvisation: César Franck und seine Musik für den Gottesdienst* (Tutzing, Germany: Hans Schneider, 1975).

⁸⁴Rollin Smith, *Playing the Organ Works of César Franck* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1997); idem, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation of the Organ Works of César Franck* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983).

magazines and newspapers are excellent sources for Franck's performing and teaching activities.

Definition of Terms

The term 'organ symphony' is used in this dissertation for a work for solo organ that is considered to be symphonic in nature, either in length, formal structure, or use of developmental procedures. Its development was closely linked to the extended tonal and registration capabilities of Cavillé-Coll's organs. These organ symphonies are actually extended "suites" consisting of multiple movements of various lengths. They incorporate forms found in nineteenth-century instrumental symphonies, such as sonata-allegro form, variations, dance forms (scherzo), and song forms.

Need for the Study

Although Franck has been recognized as a significant composer in late nineteenth-century France,⁸⁵ his role in the revitalization of French organ music after the Revolution has not been fully addressed. Much attention has been given to the compositions and virtuoso performances of Franck's successors, notably Widor, Vierne, Dupré, and Messiaen. The author's thesis is that the groundwork that paved the way for these outstanding composers, their compositions, and performances was laid by César Franck. After the Revolution, even though several French composers had begun the process of reviving the composition and performance of organ repertoire, Franck was the

⁸⁵Arnold recognizes Franck as "the greatest organ composer of the French school in the nineteenth century" (Arnold, *Organ Literature*, 200). Brook describes Franck as one of the "most influential early figures of the nineteenth-century French organ school" (Brook, "French and Belgian Organ Music after 1800," 272). Burkholder, Grout, and Palisca point out that "Franck has been called the founder of modern French chamber music" (Burkholder, Grout, and Palisca, *A History*, 739), which finds its echo in Stolba's words (K. Marie Stolba, *The Development of Western Music: A History*, 3rd ed. [Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998], 562).

first French composer of any consequence to add to a canon of music that rivaled the sophistication and rich heritage of German composers. Consequently, a study of Franck's music in relation to the revitalization of French organ music during the nineteenth century provides a deeper understanding of his place in history and his significance to the vibrant French organ environment of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 2

EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION ON THE STATE, THE CHURCH, AND ORGAN MUSIC

When the storming of the Bastille took place on July 14, 1789, it brought much upheaval to the state, the church, and the music and musicians of the church in France. As a result of rapid changes in governing regimes, the French state remained unstable for the next decade. Because of the hostility of the revolutionaries toward the church, the church was closed, cults replaced Christianity, and worship was prohibited. Church musicians, specifically organists, were either dismissed or came to a decision to play revolutionary hymns and songs in the church or to play organ for outdoor revolutionary celebrations. In order to understand the plight of organ music of this time, a more detailed discussion of the effects of the French Revolution on the state, the church, and organ music is appropriate.

The State

Many factors contributed to the onset of the French Revolution, a sweeping movement that resulted in radical political and social changes affecting the entire cultural fabric of the country. One of these factors was the inability of King Louis XVI (who ascended to the throne in 1774) to modernize the country's administrative structure (*parlements*) and to overcome its financial crisis by carrying out tax reform.¹ One of the

¹Patrice Louis-René Higgonnet, "France," in *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, ed. Jacob E. Safra, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 2002), 19: 492-93.

monarch's goals was to preserve and expand French territories within Europe and overseas through warfare.² The expenses of waging wars and maintaining military forces and navies were enormous and had gradually burdened the treasury long before 1789. France lost some of its international control after its unsuccessful participation in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).³ It was forced to hand over to Great Britain not only Canada, the western part of Louisiana, and most of its Caribbean islands, but also most of the merchandising places in West Africa; France also had to give the eastern part of Louisiana to Spain. Other factors also contributed to France's increasing large financial deficits. Beginning in 1776, France helped Americans win its revolution against Great Britain, and it regained some of the colonies (those in West India and Africa) lost after the Seven Years' War.⁴ However, France's financial picture worsened even more, since France had to finance ninety-one percent of its contribution to the American Revolution by borrowing.⁵

The thirteen *parlements*, which existed in France on the eve of the Revolution and of which the one in Paris was most prominent, were created by the monarchy during the Middle Ages.⁶ These parliaments were charged with practicing justice in the king's name and dealing with both civil and criminal affairs. In addition, they could issue laws

²Michael Kwass, *Privilege and the Politics of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century France: Liberté, Égalité, Fiscalité* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 33-34.

³Higgonnet, "France," 492.

⁴William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 66.

⁵Gail Bossenga, "Taxes," in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 586.

⁶Higgonnet, "France," 493.

on a variety of matters, such as banning publications, namely those that contained offensive and critical expression about the church and state.⁷ They also held power to supervise meetings and organizations and to veto or accept the king's edicts as laws. The *paulette* tax, which was created in 1604, enabled the parliamentarians (*parlementaires*) to buy their offices and pass them on as part of the family inheritance.⁸ The parliamentarians could even receive noble rank by marrying the "older chivalric nobility of the sword."⁹ By 1700, they had become a heritable, wealthy, and land-possessing upper class in the society and were called the nobility of robe (due to their judicial duties).¹⁰ Of course, the parliamentarians could sell their offices back to the king, if the king would compensate them for the value of their offices.¹¹ Because of the enduring nature of the parliamentary terms of office, the king was hampered in his ability to reign absolutely.¹²

Taxation, "an ongoing, obligatory contribution levied on private wealth to public service,"¹³ was not completely developed before the Revolution. It only came to be defined as such during the Revolution.¹⁴ The king in the Middle Ages could only gather taxes (such as *taille*, *gabelle*, and *aides*) in times of emergency, particularly war;

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰William Doyle, "Parlements," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 747.

¹¹Ibid., 747-49.

¹²Ibid.; Higgonnet, "France," 493-94.

¹³Bossenga, "Taxes," 582.

¹⁴Ibid.

otherwise he was expected to live on his own (“*vive du sien*”¹⁵) on feudal and seigneurial levies and income taken from the monarchy.¹⁶ Among the king’s subordinates, the unprivileged members were expected to pay compulsory taxes, whereas the privileged were exempted from taxes;¹⁷ these privileged people were frequently assured special privileges or venal offices as well.¹⁸ On the eve of the Revolution, there were two kinds of taxes: direct (laid on people, income, or property, including *taille*, *taillon*, *quartiers d’hier*, *capitation*, *vingtième*, and *corvée*) and indirect (imposed on products, sale, or dispersion of goods, including *traits*, *aides*, and *gabelle*).¹⁹ The main tax payers were the Third Estate, those who did not belong to the clergy or nobles, since both the clergy and nobility were exempt from taxation.

The monarchy was aware of the need for tax reform and had taken serious efforts since Louis XV’s reign (1715-1774) by appointing a controller general of finances to devise tax reform before 1765.²⁰ However, because of the dominant role of the parliaments, it was impossible to execute these tax reform plans successfully.²¹ During the later years of his reign, Louis XV was determined to weaken the power of the

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Higgonnet, “France,” 493.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

parliaments and thus appointed René-Nicolas-Charles-Augustin de Maupeou to design a new type of parliament.²² Maupeou's reform included substituting the heritable parliamentarians for appointed and salaried ones, denying all rights to veto the king's edicts.²³ However, when Louis XV died in 1774, Maupeou's reforms were abated and he was dismissed.²⁴ Though Louis XV's successor, Louis XVI (reigned 1774-1792), restored the old parliamentary system, he was very aware of the need of tax reform.²⁵ Louis XVI appointed Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot as his first controller general of finances in order to deal with the monarchy's financial problems.²⁶ Unfortunately, Turgot was unable to overcome the parliament's opposition and was dismissed.²⁷ When his successor, Jacques Necker, was named in 1788, France was facing bankruptcy.²⁸ Consequently, an assembly of Estates General, which had not met since 1614, was summoned to discuss possible solutions to the state's financial crisis.²⁹ The three Estates (clergy, noble, and the Third Estate) were to meet separately first, collecting books of complaints or grievance petitions ("cahiers de doléances").³⁰ The most famous pamphlet

²²Kwass, *Privilege and the Politics*, 194-95.

²³Ibid.

²⁴John Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue: Luxury, Patriotism, and the Origins of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 118.

²⁵Kwass, *Privilege and the Politics*, 204.

²⁶Shovlin, *The Political Economy*, 118-19.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Doyle, *The Oxford History*, 66-67.

²⁹Marc Bouloiseau, "Estates General," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 368-70.

³⁰Donald M. G. Sutherland, *The French Revolution and Empire: The Quest for a Civic Order* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Company, 2003), 31-37.

during this time was Emmanuel-Joseph Abbé Sieyès' "What Is the Third Estate? (*Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?*)", which proffered the opinion that the Third Estate was the French nation.³¹ In the meantime, the Third Estate proclaimed itself the National Assembly and allured the other two Estates to join in the Assembly.³² Later Louis XVI ordered the hall where the Third Estate met locked.³³ The Third Estate then moved to an indoor tennis court in the community of Versailles, close to the palace, and swore an oath there, resolving to meet continuously until a constitution for France was framed.³⁴ Louis XVI later yielded and commanded the other two Estates to join the Third Estate on June 27, 1789,³⁵ and soon after having appointed a committee to draft a constitution, on July 9, the National Assembly proclaimed itself the Constituent National Assembly, intending to frame and determine a constitution.³⁶

In 1787 and 1788, France suffered bad weather and poor harvests, resulting in high prices for bread, the principle food of most French people that time.³⁷ On the eve of the Revolution, farming techniques in France lagged behind those in England, where

³¹Lynn Hunt, ed. and trans., *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), 63-70.

³²*Ibid.*, 38-40.

³³Barry Rothaus, "Tennis Court Oath," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 941-42.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵David M. Epstein, "National Constituent Assembly," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 705-06.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Collin Jones, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 177.

convertible husbandry and the enclosure movement had been in use.³⁸ Since French peasants mostly aimed to produce sufficient grain to sustain their families,³⁹ capitalism was an unknown concept to the French farmers.⁴⁰ Because the peasants' populace grew more quickly than their agricultural produce, the condition of many peasants worsened enormously in the eighteenth century,⁴¹ though they still possessed about one-third of the cultivable land on the eve of the Revolution.⁴²

Bread prices reached its highest point in the middle of July.⁴³ When the news of Necker's dismissal reached Paris, Parisians (among them there were artisans, tradesmen, and workers), who had been enraged by the high price of bread, assembled and invaded various places, looking for weapons to protect themselves.⁴⁴ They marched to the Bastille, the prison fortress that had been a symbol of royal power since the fourteenth century, requesting it to be opened and gun power to be given to them.⁴⁵ The Swiss Guard fired on the crowd, and the crowd stormed the Bastille, where only seven prisoners were held at that time.⁴⁶ In the coming days and months the Constituent National Assembly announced a series of changes: abolition of feudalism (along with

³⁸Higgonnet, "France," 489.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Jones, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of France*, 177.

⁴⁴Doyle, *The Oxford History*, 108-10.

⁴⁵W. Scott Haine, *The History of France* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 75

⁴⁶Ibid.

special privileges, church tithes, and venality offices), issuing of Declaration of the Rights of Man (inspired by the American Declaration of Independence of 1776), prohibition of guilds and religious vows, nationalization of church property, and creation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.⁴⁷ Press, publications of all kinds, and revolutionary clubs had enjoyed great freedom since the 1780s;⁴⁸ their number increased even more after the storming of the Bastille and spread throughout France.⁴⁹ The Constituent National Assembly completed the constitution in September 1791 and was then replaced by the Legislative Assembly.

Being unable to accept all of the turmoil and changes brought about by the Revolution, Louis XVI made an effort to flee France with his family.⁵⁰ However, the king and his family were captured at Varennes near the Belgian border.⁵¹ Soon after, there was a large protest at the Champ de Mars against the king as well as discussions about whether or not to reinstate the king.⁵² In April 1792, France declared war on an alliance of Austria and Prussia.⁵³ When the Duke of Brunswick led his armies toward Paris, he demanded of the French people that no more harm be done to Louis XVI and his

⁴⁷Epstein, "National Constituent Assembly," 705-06.

⁴⁸Higgonnet, "France," 491.

⁴⁹Jones, *The Cambridge Illustrated History*, 185.

⁵⁰Sutherland, *The French Revolution and Empire*, 118-20.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Doyle, *The Oxford History*, 183.

family;⁵⁴ the Duke even announced his plan to restore the king to his full power.⁵⁵ The Duke's words angered Parisians so greatly that a deadline (August 10, 1792) was given to the Legislative Assembly to decide whether or not to remove the king.⁵⁶ When nothing was done by August 10, a massive group of armed Parisians attacked the royal palace after battling with the royal armed guard.⁵⁷ As a result of this violent attack, the Legislative Assembly ordered Louis XVI to be suspended, which caused more than half of the delegates to flee France;⁵⁸ Paris suffered bloody prison massacres in the next few days.⁵⁹

The National Convention, which was the first in France elected by universal male suffrage after the overturn of the monarchy,⁶⁰ met in September 1792 to discuss Louis XVI's destiny;⁶¹ Louis XVI was tried and executed on January 21, 1793.⁶² During the reign of the National Convention (1792-1795), France continued to experience religious and economic problems passed down from previous years. Furthermore, France was at war against England and had to deal with the uprising in Vendée, Lyon, and other

⁵⁴Ibid., 188.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Jacques Godechot, "10 August 1792," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 940.

⁵⁷Ibid., 940-41.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Haine, *The History of France*, 83.

⁶⁰Alison Patrick, "National Convention," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 710-11.

⁶¹Haine, *The History of France*, 83-84.

⁶²Ibid.

cities as well.⁶³ Consequently, by the end of May 1793, the National Convention established a revolutionary tribunal to try political criminals, local surveillance committees to pursue rebels, and a Committee of Public Safety to protect the nation against its domestic and alien enemies and to monitor departments of the ruling governance.⁶⁴ Later in July, Maximilien Robespierre was elected to the Committee of Public Safety, where he held a prominent position.⁶⁵ Pressured by a group of demonstrators made up of the radical *sans-culottes* (a term freely related to the lower classes during the Revolution, whose name derived from the fact that these people wore long trousers instead of the knee breeches worn by the upper classes)⁶⁶ and delegates to suppress the counter-revolutionaries, the National Convention passed the Law of Suspect and thus made terror the order of the day in September 1793.⁶⁷ Many additional laws against counter-revolutionary activities were created, and between 1793 and 1794 more than 200,000 people were executed, and around half a million suspects were imprisoned;⁶⁸ more than 100,000 people emigrated.⁶⁹ Nobles, priests, and mostly people from the lower classes were the main victims.⁷⁰ Later, even the leaders of *sans-culottes*

⁶³Ibid., 84-86.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Marc Bouloiseau, "Robespierre, Maximilien-François-Isidore de," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 829-34.

⁶⁶J.-P. Bertaud, "Sans-Culottes," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 870.

⁶⁷Bouloiseau, "Robespierre, Maximilien-François-Isidore de," 832-35.

⁶⁸Higgonnet, "France," 502.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Ibid.

were targeted by the revolutionary tribunals; some of them, including the Hebertists (followers of the radical journalist Jacques Hébert), were executed.⁷¹ The National Convention codified in May 1793 a system of price and wage controls known as the Law of the Maximum, which specified the maximum prices of wheat, flour, and other goods necessary for existence.⁷² The Convention also abolished the final elements of feudalism as well as slavery.⁷³ It further allowed divorce, created the metric system, initiated a Revolutionary calendar, and established a national mobilization (*levée en masse*, “a precursor to the mass warfare of the twentieth century”).⁷⁴ Under the Convention, all children would receive a free public education due to its definition of the right of subsistence.⁷⁵

When Robespierre and his followers were overturned and executed on July 28, 1794,⁷⁶ the Committee of Public Safety was abandoned as well.⁷⁷ The National Convention was now in the hands of less radical delegates,⁷⁸ namely the Thermidorians (named after Thermidor, the eleventh month of the Revolutionary calendar, which was

⁷¹Bertaud, “Sans-Culottes,” 872-74.

⁷²James R. Harkins, “Law of the Maximum,” in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 567-69.

⁷³Haine, *The History of France*, 84.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶Bouloiseau, “Robespierre, Maximilien-François-Isidore de,” 834.

⁷⁷Colin Lucas, “Thermidorian Reaction,” in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 960-65.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

July 1794).⁷⁹ The Thermidorians suspended the Law of the Maximum and closed the Jacobin club. The succeeding governance, the five-member Directory, took its office in October 1795 and ruled in France until 1799.⁸⁰ During the reign of the Directory, France's economy stabilized as a result of a series of good harvests.⁸¹ In addition, the Directory reduced the public debt by cancelling two thirds of it in a partial bankruptcy.⁸² It further regulated the collection of direct and indirect taxes on land, business activity, and luxury items.⁸³ Many schools were founded during this time, including a new medical school, the *école normale* (to train teachers), and the *école polytechnique* (to train engineers); furthermore, the Museum of Natural History was expanded.⁸⁴ When Napoleon Bonaparte came to power due to Abbé Sieyès' effort to overturn the Directory on November 9, 1799, he transformed the Directory into a new three-man Consulate; he even contended, "I am the Revolution. . . . The Revolution is over."⁸⁵

The Church

The church in France underwent a series of reforms after the storming of the Bastille in 1789. According to Tocqueville, it was not an enmity toward religion itself,

⁷⁹Robert B. Holtman, "Calendar of the French Republic," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 145-46.

⁸⁰Lucas, "Thermidorian Reaction," 960-65.

⁸¹Haine, *The History of France*, 87-88.

⁸²*Ibid.*

⁸³*Ibid.*

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵Quoted in Colin Jones, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 194.

but rather the interweaving of religious and clerical structures with feudalism that caused the church to face such a series of reforms.⁸⁶ From the *cahiers de doléances*, collected by the three Estates for an assembly of Estates-General in 1789, it was revealed that church reform was desired, which, as expressed in the *cahiers*, could help to carry out a successful reform on the state.⁸⁷ In addition, the *cahiers* required the clergy to withdraw their privilege of exemption from taxes and to give up a portion of their land possessions.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the *cahiers* demanded limitation of papal power over the national clergy and elimination of religious vows, such as vows of chastity and obedience, which were regarded as being against human nature.⁸⁹ Moreover, the *cahiers* spoke for religious tolerance. As Kennedy sums up, on the eve of the Revolution the church in France was hoped “to be purer, poorer, more apostolic, more responsive to the indigent, and more moved from the court and aristocracy.”⁹⁰

In addition to the abolition of feudalism, the Constituent National Convention also approved the abolition of the tithe, which was the main source of income for the church.⁹¹ Soon after, it ordered nationalization of church property, hoping to increase the

⁸⁶Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Régime and the French Revolution*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 6.

⁸⁷André Latreille, “French Revolution,” in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2003), 5:971.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Emmet Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 145-46.

⁹¹Jeffrey Merrick, “Tithe,” in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 969-70.

state's revenue and to pay off the state's debt through the sale of church property.⁹² In addition, it desired to regulate the church's affairs (such as, salaries, jurisdictional boundaries, and clerical selection) through the confiscation of church property.⁹³ On the eve of the Revolution, the church owned about ten percent of the land in France, which the Constituent National Convention later labeled as national lands ("*biens nationaux*").⁹⁴ In the process of confiscating church property, *assignats* (paper currency), which equated the value of the land and were to be used by the land buyer as money, were issued.⁹⁵ However, because of excessive printing the *assignats* gradually lost their original values.⁹⁶

In agreement with the Declaration of the Rights of Man, religious tolerance was mandated; thus the Protestants in France were granted complete civil rights.⁹⁷ In the spring of 1790, religious vows were forbidden because they supposedly violated the individual's freedom.⁹⁸ Small religious houses were merged, convents were closed, and nuns and monks were permitted to leave their religious houses; only those religious groups that were obligated to nursing or education were allowed to exist.⁹⁹ In July 1790

⁹²Mary Ann Quinn, "Biens Nationaux," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 94-98.

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴Michel Bruguière, "Assignats," in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 426.

⁹⁵Susan Conner, "Assignats," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 35-37.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*

⁹⁷Latreille, "French Revolution," 972.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

⁹⁹*Ibid.*

the Constituent National Convention passed the Civil Constitution of Clergy, which transformed the churchmen into paid civil servants.¹⁰⁰ According to this constitution, bishops would be elected by administrative electorate assemblies, while parish priests would be selected by regional electors.¹⁰¹ Later in November 1790, all active bishops and priests were forced to take an oath of allegiance, which caused the clergy and laity in France to split between two groups: those who took an oath and those who refused to take an oath (so-called nonjuring or refractory).¹⁰² As a result of their refusal, the refractory clergy would lose their positions and pension and be replaced.¹⁰³ The requirement of oath-taking for the clergy brought about a geographical split in France as well:¹⁰⁴ in the west of France and in the Catholic regions of Velay and Rouergue, huge groups of people opposed the oath; while in Paris pressure was imposed on the reluctant priests to take an oath. In the villages, those priests who took an oath would be beaten.¹⁰⁵ Pope Pius VI (1775-1799) expressed his opposition to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy by publishing two briefs (*Quod aliquantum* and *Caritas*) in March and April 1791.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰Clarke Garrett, "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 190-92.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Nigel Aston, *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe c. 1750-1830* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 191.

¹⁰³Garrett, "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," 190-92.

¹⁰⁴François Furet, "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 454.

¹⁰⁵Higonnet, "France," 499.

¹⁰⁶Garrett, "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," 190-92.

In October 1793 the Gregorian calendar was abandoned, and a revolutionary calendar was created.¹⁰⁷ This revolutionary calendar, which was subdivided into twelve equal months of thirty days, contained no Sundays or saint's feast days, and had no week, was installed by the Constituent National Convention on October 5, 1793.¹⁰⁸ The names of the months were given by Fabre d'Églantine. There were an additional five days, *sans-culottides*, which were feast days and named differently.¹⁰⁹ In a leap year, the extra day, the last one of the year, was Revolutionary Day.¹¹⁰ Each month was divided up into three "decades" of ten days each, with every tenth day (*décadi*, thus the Cult of Décadi) a day of rest.¹¹¹

During the Reign of Terror, many churchmen and nobles were arrested as counter-revolutionaries, tried, and executed.¹¹² Many churches were forced to shut, religious memorials as well as symbols were destroyed, and worship was banned. All of the ancient religious traditions were denounced.¹¹³ Christianity was replaced by various cults: the Cult of the Goddess of Reason (1793), the Cult of the Supreme Being (1794), Theophilanthropy (1797), and the Cult of Décadi (1798). In the later years of the

¹⁰⁷Holtman, "Calendar of the French Republic."

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Latreille, "French Revolution," 975.

¹¹³Ibid.

Directory's reign (1797-1799), an oath of "hate for the royalty" was imposed on priests.¹¹⁴

The French Revolution was not limited to political oppression by a monarchy that was taxing its subjects through absolute power. It also embraced an interdependent philosophical and scientific movement known as the Enlightenment that arose during the seventeenth century and continued through the eighteenth century, the roots of which go back to Humanism of the Renaissance. Though leading philosophers of the Enlightenment in France, such as Denis Diderot (1713-1784), Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu (1689-1775), Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), and François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694-1778), all died before the 1789 Revolution, their influence was evident during the course of the ten-year Revolution. The Enlightenment as a European intellectual movement found its root in the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century.¹¹⁵ It flourished in the eighteenth century especially in France, where a group of leading philosophers (*philosophes*), the above-mentioned four philosophers, were active.¹¹⁶ Generally speaking, the thinking of the Enlightenment emphasized the application of human reasoning and scientific method to every question; and the entirety of physical, spiritual, and social life was considered a place for rational inquiry and improvement.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, it rejected divine manifestation and the power of the

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵Richard Biennu, "Enlightenment, The," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 358.

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷Eduard Hegel, "Enlightenment," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2003), 5:254-59.

clerical magisterium, attacking the church's close tie to politics (found especially in French Enlightenment philosophers' writings).¹¹⁸

As one of the leading philosophers of the French Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, Diderot edited *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* together with Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717-1783).¹¹⁹ Inspired by *Cyclopaedia; or An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Science* edited by Ephraim Chambers and published in London in 1728,¹²⁰ *Encyclopédie* was published between 1751 and 1772 and intended to have an international appeal: according to Brin, more than half of its subscriptions came from outside France.¹²¹ It contained about 72,000 entries on a variety of subjects, 2,500 plates, and involved around 160 contributors, aiming to “overturn the barriers that reason never erected . . . [and to] give back to the arts and sciences the liberty that is so precious to them,” as stated by its editors.¹²² Though *Encyclopédie* criticized political and social problems and attacked Christianity in France, it never sought to provoke a revolt.¹²³ On the other hand, because of its widespread subscriptions, it seemed to have “unintentionally prepared the way for the Revolution.”¹²⁴

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Raymond Brin, “Encyclopédie,” in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1:403.

¹²⁰Rosemary Zita Lauer, “Encyclopedists,” in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2003), 5:208.

¹²¹Brin, “Encyclopédie,” 1:403.

¹²²Jack R. Censer and Lynn Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 14.

¹²³Frank A. Kafker, “Encyclopédie,” in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 358.

¹²⁴Ibid.

In his *Lettres persanes* (1721) Montesquieu ridiculed the court society and the Catholic Church in France, while in his *L'esprit des lois* (1748) he compared France's ruling constitution with that of England and greatly praised the system of England's constitutional monarchy, which subdivided authority between the king and the parliament.¹²⁵ Montesquieu's ideology expressed in his *L'esprit des lois* was certainly felt in the Revolution prior to 1791 and favored by those who supported a monarchical governance with coherent powers.¹²⁶ Voltaire, pseudonym of François-Marie Arouet, was mostly known for advocating religious tolerance and just judicial institution through his successful plan for vindicating the case of the Protestant Jean Calas, who was tortured and executed in 1762 by the Toulouse *parlement* for killing his son to prevent him from converting to Catholicism.¹²⁷ In his writings, Voltaire challenged religion as the upmost source of political and social authority as well as censorship.¹²⁸ His most important contribution to the French Enlightenment was to introduce Isaac Newton and John Locke to France.¹²⁹ Born as a Swiss Protestant, Rousseau wrote on a wide range of topics, such as social order (*Du contrat social*, 1762), education (*Émile: ou, de l'éducation*, 1762), aversion toward using the arts as propaganda's instrument, and the attack on excessive

¹²⁵Keith Baker, "Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brede et de," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 674-76.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

¹²⁷Nicholas Cronk, "Voltaire," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 4:237.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*

¹²⁹*Ibid.*

wealth in the hands of rich (*Discours sur les science et les arts*, 1750).¹³⁰ He was not only a moralist and philosopher, but also a novelist and educational theorist.¹³¹ Because he lived a poor life and classified himself with the poor and the suppressed, his political philosophy found in his *Du contrat social* inspired both revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries.¹³² Though Rousseau never recommended a revolt, his claim that each man had the same right to decide the social contract seemed to be a defense for democracy.¹³³

Historians have long argued what role the philosophy of the French Enlightenment played in relationship to the coming of the Revolution, which in Hunt's opinion might have been a result of fragmented use of the thinking and ideas of the philosophers of the French Enlightenment by the revolutionaries.¹³⁴ In the present time, scholars tend to be, as Popkin sums up, "less likely to attribute responsibility to specific writers, ideas, and books. More often, they emphasize the importance of new habits of mind and behavior, many of them fostered not by radical critics of society but by the workings of Old Regime institutions themselves or by gradual changes in everyday life."¹³⁵

¹³⁰Gordon H. McNeil, "Rousseau, Jean-Jacques," in *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 849-53.

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, 17.

¹³⁴Lynn Hunt, "French Revolution: An Overview," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 2:81.

¹³⁵Jeremy Popkin, *A Short History of the French Revolution*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010), 15.

Organ Music

French organ music just before the Revolution (from about 1750 to 1789) continued a trend toward secularization due to the immense popularity of Italian comic opera. Even during the Mass organists would perform pieces that had no liturgical significance, such as dances, songs, marches, patriotic airs, and depictive improvisations. In his famous *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in France and Italy* (1771), Charles Burney reported that Claude-Bénigne Balbastre (1727-1799) played between the verses of the Magnificat “several minuets, fugues, imitations, and every species of music, even to hunting pieces and jigs, without surprising or offending the congregation, as far as I was able to discover.”¹³⁶ This secularization of French organ music continued even after the storming of the Bastille when the state as well as the church began to suffer a series of reforms and when organists had to choose between survival and living in poverty.¹³⁷

The size of the pre-Revolution organs in France varied. Large organs, for example in Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs in Paris (built between 1772 and 1777) or in Cathédrale Saint-Pierre in Poitiers (built in 1787), had two manuals (*Grand orgue* and *Positif*), one short-compass *Écho*, one short-compass *Récit*, and a *Pédale*.¹³⁸ By comparing the stop lists, it can be said that in general, the *Grand orgue* had principles and flute stops (16', 8'), mutation stops, and reeds.¹³⁹ The *Positif* possessed about the same

¹³⁶Charles Burney, *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in France and Italy* (reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 24.

¹³⁷Peter Williams, *The European Organ 1450-1850* (London: B T Batsford, 1966), 190.

¹³⁸Barbara Owen, *The Registration of Baroque Organ Music* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997), 204-08.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*

kinds of stops as the *Grand orgue*, however it had no 16' stop.¹⁴⁰ Both *Écho* and *Récit* had three or four stops, consisting of a cornet or a 4' flute, an 8' reed, and an 8' flute.¹⁴¹ The *Pédale* (varying in compass from twenty-five to thirty-five keys) on most of the French organs this time mainly had a few flute stops (16', 8', 4') and reeds.¹⁴² It was these larger organs that enabled pre-Revolution organists to do their showy improvisation on “Judex crederis” and to play orchestral, instrumental, and opera music.¹⁴³ Smaller organs, such as in the Abbey of Souvigny or the Parish Church of Saint-Guilhem-le-Desert in Hérault, had two manuals (*Grand orgue* and *Positif*), a short-compass *Récit*, and a *Pédale*.¹⁴⁴ The kinds of stops found on the manuals of the smaller organs were similar to those of larger organs, while the pedal of smaller organs had no 16' stop.¹⁴⁵

Many organists did what was necessary to survive after the storming of the Bastille in 1789 and the nationalization of church properties in the same year. They tried to save their instruments and to please the authorities by playing revolutionary hymns and songs. Furthermore, they made great effort to adapt their playing to the popular musical taste of the day. It was documented that the organist at Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume attempted to save the organ by playing “La Marseillaise,” when Paul Barras (one of five

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²Fenner Douglass, *The Language of the Classical French Organ: A Musical Tradition before 1800*, exp. ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 85-92; Bernard Sonnaillon, *King of Instruments: A History of the Organ*, trans. Stewart Spencer (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 205-12.

¹⁴³Claude Noisette de Crauzat, “Orgel,” trans. Joseph Burg, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 7 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1997), 945.

¹⁴⁴Owen, *The Registration of Baroque Organ Music*, 204-08.

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

directors of the Directory) appeared unnoticed from the vestry.¹⁴⁶ Organists, such as Nicolas-Jean le Froid de Méreaux (1745-1797) and his son Jean-Nicolas (1767-1838), took part in outdoor festivals, playing revolutionary melodies on organs set up on platforms to accompany parades.¹⁴⁷ It was also reported that in November 1793, Ferdinand-Albert Gautier (1748-1825), organist at the abbey church of Saint-Denis (it had become a Temple of Reason in 1792), played for the inauguration of the Décadis (ceremonies taking place every ten days) there.¹⁴⁸ At this inauguration of Décadis, Gautier played many popular revolutionary songs and hymns, including the tunes “Cadet Roussel,” “La Marseillaise,” “La Carmagnole,” and “Ça ira.”¹⁴⁹ Revolutionary hymns were musical pieces written for voices and instruments for the public celebration of the French Revolution. The term “*hymne*” was first used by François-Joseph Gossec in 1791 (*Hymne à Voltaire*) to describe this kind of repertory.¹⁵⁰ Revolutionary hymns differed from revolutionary songs or chansons basically in that in the former, words and music complemented each other to achieve a novel result.¹⁵¹ Usually, revolutionary songs or chansons were sung *a cappella*, used a certain number of melodies, and were expanded

¹⁴⁶Quoted in Bernd Scherers, *Studien zur Orgelmusik der Schüler César Francks* (Regensburg, Germany: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1984), 19.

¹⁴⁷Georges Servières, *Documents inédits sur les organistes français des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Au Bureau d'édition de la Schola Cantorum, 1922), 22-23.

¹⁴⁸Félix Raugel, *Les Grandes orgues des église de Paris et du département de la Seine* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1927), 162-65.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰David Charlton, “Revolutionary Hymn,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/23287> (accessed February 4, 2012).

¹⁵¹Ibid.

from the traditional parody and vaudeville.¹⁵² The most popular revolutionary hymn was “La Marseillaise” (words and music by Rouget de Liste).¹⁵³ Other popular revolutionary songs included “La Carmagnole” and “Ça ira.” “La Carmagnole” was an air, its name taken from a region in north Italy.¹⁵⁴ It was used during the rebellions in 1792 and became associated with activities during the Reign of Terror; the origin of music and words was unknown.¹⁵⁵ “Ça ira” (“It will be fine”) was a contra-dance.¹⁵⁶

Little notated organ music from the revolutionary years exists, though most of the organists of this period of turmoil were excellent performers and improvisers.¹⁵⁷ One finds less popular genres, such as fugues and variation sets on “noëls” (Christmas carols), along with more popular genres, such as the Te Deum, written by the same composer. Since the seventeenth century, French organists composed variations sets on noëls.¹⁵⁸ Both sacred and secular carols were used in these variation sets; sometimes popular tunes or folk tunes from various regions of France were employed as well.¹⁵⁹ Long before the

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Ibid.

¹⁵⁴“Carmagnole, La,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev., ed. Michael Kennedy, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e1850> (accessed February 8, 2012).

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶“Ça Ira!,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev., ed. Michael Kennedy, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e1699> (accessed February 4, 2012).

¹⁵⁷Gerard Brooks, “French and Belgian Organ Music after 1800,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, ed. Nicolas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 263.

¹⁵⁸Frank Dobbins, “Noël,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20020> (accessed February 4, 2012).

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

Revolution, organists in France had established the tradition of improvising on the Te Deum¹⁶⁰ (especially on the verse nineteen, “Judex crederis esse venturus,” “We believe that thou shalt come”).¹⁶¹ These improvisations tended to be an opportunity for the organists to use their instrument effectively to achieve a dramatic effect; they often depicted thunder, storm, judgment day, or bewildered nature.¹⁶² According to the instruction that Michel Corrette (1709-1795) gave in one of his thunder pieces, this thunder effect was achieved by a player who would place “a board on the pedal keys and stamp on it whenever thunder is indicated.”¹⁶³ These showy improvisations on “Judex crederis” seemed to find their way to the organ symphonies that were first created and composed by César Franck and advanced by later generations of French organ composers, such as Charles-Marie Widor and Louis Vierne.¹⁶⁴ The development of the organ symphony will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

Several organists, including Claude-Bénigne Balbastre, Beauvarlet-Charpentier, Couperin, Lasceux, and Séjan, who were regarded as prominent organists and organ composers before the Revolution, were able to survive the revolt in 1789 and contribute much to the organ music and playing during those revolutionary years. Balbastre, who was organist at Saint-Roch, held a few positions at court (organist to the

¹⁶⁰Te Deum was generally thought to be “improvised” by Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine as a prayer and contains 29 or 30 (based on the treatment of the last verse); see, Ruth Steiner, Keith Falconer, and John Caldwell, “Te Deum,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/27618> (accessed February 4, 2012).

¹⁶¹David Fuller, “Zenith and Nadir: The Organ Versus its Music in Late 18th Century France,” in *L’Orgue à notre époque*, ed. Donald Mackey (Montreal: McGill University, 1981), 134.

¹⁶²Ibid.

¹⁶³Owen, *The Registration of Baroque Organ Music*, 210.

¹⁶⁴Brooks, “French and Belgian Organ Music,” 265.

Royal Chapel and harpsichord teacher to Marie Antoinette), but he lost his positions when the monarch was overturned and thus lived in poverty for the rest of his life.¹⁶⁵ He was mostly known for his performance of his own “Noël en variations” at Saint-Roch at Midnight Mass.¹⁶⁶ He also wrote pieces using revolutionary hymns and songs, such as “Marche des Marseillaise et l’air Ça ira” (arranged for the forte-piano) and a variation set on “La Marseillaise.”¹⁶⁷

Jacques-Marie Beauvarlet-Charpentier (1766-1834) survived the storming of the Bastille and was able to find a position as organist of the Théophilanthropes and at the Temple de la Reconnaissance and other organist positions in Paris after the political change.¹⁶⁸ He composed many keyboard pieces and several other pieces that reflected the political changes of his time, including *Le Réveil du peuple* (1795), *Cérémonie du couronnement de sa majesté l’empereur* (1804), and *Louis le désiré à Paris* (around 1814).¹⁶⁹ In 1796 he wrote “Victoire de l’armée d’Italie ou bataille de Montenotte” to honor Napoleon I. Beauvarlet-Charpentier’s “Victoire” vividly depicts battle scenes: “sunrise, reveille, assembling of the troops, [and] departure for battle.”¹⁷⁰ He also wrote

¹⁶⁵Denis Herlin, “Balbastre, Claude-Bénigne,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 2 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1999), 85-86.

¹⁶⁶Alan Curtis and Mary Cyr, “Balbastre, Claude-Bénigne,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/01843> (accessed February 4, 2012).

¹⁶⁷Brigitte François-Sappey, “Claude Bénigne Balbastre,” in *Guide de la musique d’orgue*, under the direction of Gilles Cantagrel (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1991), 146-47.

¹⁶⁸David Fuller and Bruce Gustafson, “Beauvarlet-Charpentier, Jacques-Marie,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/02443> (accessed February 4, 2012).

¹⁶⁹Ibid.

¹⁷⁰Brooks, “French and Belgian Organ Music,” 263.

Magnificats for organ and “Le God save the King des Français” during the Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty.

Gervais-François Couperin (1759-1826), a member of the dynastic organ family that included Louis (1616-1661) and François le Grand (1668-1773), was able to take over all position as organist at churches (Sainte-Chapelle, Saint-Gervais, Saint-Jean-en-Grève, Sainte-Marguerite, Notre-Dame, and Carmes-Billetes) left by his father Armand-Louis and his brother Pierre-Louis after the political overthrow in 1789.¹⁷¹ Gervais-François was able to adapt himself well to the changing political circumstances of his days. In 1793 for about four months, Gervais-François and Nicolas Séjan played patriotic music on two small box organs on either side of the stage for the reopening of the Opéra at the Théâtre de la République et des Arts, hoping to establish organ playing as a part of theatric program;¹⁷² this hope was unrealized because of payment disputes between the Opéra administration and Gervais-François, Séjan, the organ builder, and the pumpers.¹⁷³ In November 1799, Gervais-François played dinner music on the organ at Saint-Sulpice (Saint-Sulpice had become the Temple of Victory by then) while Napoleon I was dining with the leaders of the Directory below in the nave.¹⁷⁴ Gervais-François wrote “Louis XVIII ou le tour de Bonheur en France” for piano around 1816.

¹⁷¹Alexandre É. Choron and J. M. Fayolle, “Couperin, (Gervais François).” in *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens; artistes et amateurs, morts ou vivans* (reprint, Hildesheim, Germany: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971), 1:162; David Fuller, Bruce Gustafson, and Edward Higginbottom, “Couperin,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40182pg10>(accessed February 4, 2012).

¹⁷²David Fuller, Bruce Gustafson, and Edward Higginbottom, “Couperin.”

¹⁷³Charles Bouvet, *Les Couperin, organists des l'église Saint-Gervais* (Paris: Delagrave, 1919), 174.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*

Guillaume Lasceux (1740-1831) was named organist at Saint-Étienne-du-Mont in 1774, but the political overturn in 1789 caused Lasceux to lose his position.¹⁷⁵ However, Lasceux was able to support himself by playing for the services of the Théophilanthropes at Saint-Étienne-du-Mont (known as the Temple of Filial Piety) in the 1790s.¹⁷⁶ When Roman Catholic services were restored at Saint-Étienne-du-Mont in 1803, Lasceux resumed his earlier duties until his retirement in 1819.¹⁷⁷ Lasceux composed various pieces for organ, including Magnificats, noëls, and fugues.¹⁷⁸ He also wrote two important publications, *Essai théorique et pratique sur l'art de l'orgue* (1809) and *Annuaire de l'organiste* (1819).¹⁷⁹ Lasceux's *Essai théorique et pratique sur l'art de l'orgue* contains information about the organ and its construction of the day, as well as suggestions of registrations for different organ works.¹⁸⁰ It also includes Lasceux's organ compositions, such as "Judex crederis esse venturus."¹⁸¹ Lasceux's *Annuaire de l'organiste* is a collection of various types of organ pieces, including Masses, hymns, Magnificats, and a Te Deum.¹⁸² Lasceux was known as a virtuoso organist and an

¹⁷⁵Jean-Luc Perrot, "Lasceux, Guillaume," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 10 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2003), 1229-30.

¹⁷⁶Servières, *Documents inédits*, 22-23.

¹⁷⁷Eileen Morris Guenther, "Lasceux, Guillaume," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/16050> (accessed February 10, 2012).

¹⁷⁸Perrot, "Lasceux, Guillaume," 1230-31.

¹⁷⁹Ibid.

¹⁸⁰Ibid.

¹⁸¹Ibid.

¹⁸²Marshall and Peterson, "Evolutionary Schemes," 6.

extraordinary improviser; he was particularly remembered for his improvisations on “Judex crederis.”¹⁸³

Nicolas Séjan (1745-1819) held important positions at several churches in Paris (Saint-Séverin, Saint-Sulpice, and Notre-Dame) and the Royal Chapel, and he was the first organ professor at École Royale de Chant (1789) before the Revolution.¹⁸⁴

According to Guenther and Turrentine, Séjan was able “to intervene effectively during the Terror to prevent the destruction of many Parisian organs and to have the salaries of musicians formerly attached to cathedrals and collegiate churches reinstated.”¹⁸⁵ In 1795 Séjan was named professor of organ at the newly established Conservatoire de Paris, a post he held until 1802.¹⁸⁶ In 1806 he was appointed organist at Saint-Louis-des-Invalides and again at Saint-Sulpice.¹⁸⁷ Upon the Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in 1814, Séjan returned to the Royal Chapel and was granted the Légion d’Honneur on December 3, 1814.¹⁸⁸ Alexandre É. Choron spoke highly of Séjan in his *Dictionnaire* of 1810, reporting that at the age of thirteen Séjan masterfully improvised on Te Deum, which amazed Louis-Claude Daquin, Armand-Louis Couperin, and other organists who were

¹⁸³Guenther, “Lasceux, Guillaume.”

¹⁸⁴Eileen Morris Guenther and Herbert C. Turrentine, “Séjan, Nicolas,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/25356> (accessed February 10, 2012).

¹⁸⁵Ibid.

¹⁸⁶Norbert Dufourcq, “L’Enseignement de l’orgue au Conservatoire national avant la nomination de César Franck (1872),” *L’Orgue* 144 (October-December 1972):1221-25.

¹⁸⁷Guenther and Turrentine, “Séjan, Nicolas.”

¹⁸⁸Helga Schauerte-Maubouet, “Séjan, Sejean, 1. Nicolas,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 15 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2006), 547-48.

present.¹⁸⁹ In his *Essai théorique et pratique sur l'art de l'orgue*, Lasceux spoke of Séjan's unmatched ability in organ and piano improvisation.¹⁹⁰ Séjan was also considered as the founder of the French piano school.¹⁹¹ He and Lasceux were seen as figures that prepared the way for the next generation of French organists and composers of organ music.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹Choron and Fayolle, "Sejan, (Nicolas)," 2: 310.

¹⁹⁰Guillaume Lasceux, *Essai theorique et pratique*, published under the direction of Jean Saint-Arroman (Bressuire, France: Anne Fuzeau Productions, 2011), 37.

¹⁹¹Georges Favre, "Les Créateurs de l'école française de piano: Nicolas Séjan," *Revue de musicology* 17 (1936): 70-78.

¹⁹²Schauerte-Maubouet, "Séjan, Sejean, 1. Nicolas," 548; Perrot, "Lasceux, Guillaume," 1230-31.

CHAPTER 3
POST-REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS
LEADING TO THE RECOVERY OF
FRENCH ORGAN MUSIC

The restoration of social stability under Napoleon's regime and the partially re-established status of the Roman Catholic Church in France due to the Concordat of 1801 allowed visionaries such as Alexandre Étienne Choron and Louis Niedermeyer to establish schools to help revive church music education destroyed during the Revolution. At the same time, the re-establishment of religious activities, including music, seemed to encourage organ builders both within and outside France to renovate damaged organs or build new organs for the French churches. No doubt, these beginning efforts in the fields of church music education and organ building helped later generations of French organists, organ composers, and organ builders to develop a kind of organ music and construction that was uniquely 'French.'

Political and Governmental Factors

When Napoleon overturned the Directory, transformed it to the Consulate, and became the first Consul in November of 1799, he began to centralize the state administration for more control and efficiency. He created the office of prefect to oversee the *départements* (the most substantial divisions of local government enacted by the

National Constituent Assembly between December 1789 and February 1790)¹ and to disseminate the central government's decisions throughout the country.² These prefects, their delegates, and sub-prefects were selected by the central government; in fact, the prefects were given power to appoint mayors in towns of fewer than 5,000 people.³ In addition, Napoleon originated a council of state (*Conseil d'État*) as the lawmaking body.⁴ He recruited his administrators and officers from a diversity of people of different political backgrounds.⁵ The result of Napoleon's administrative reform was that France became "an efficient modern state that was capable of effectively mobilizing its resources and allowed Napoleon wide patronage powers."⁶ In 1800 Napoleon created the Bank of France to oversee the borrowings at a fair and affordable rate.⁷ The Bank of France was structured by a body of private bankers and executed by a board of directors that was nominated by shareholders;⁸ it was nationalized in 1945.⁹

¹Alison Patrick, "Departments," in *Historical Dictionary of French Revolution, 1789-1799*, ed. Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 304.

²Jeremy Popkin, *A Short History of the French Revolution*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010), 111-13.

³Jack R. Censer and Lynn Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 145.

⁴Popkin, *A Short History of French Revolution*, 112.

⁵Ibid.

⁶W. Scott Haine, *The History of France* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 90.

⁷Harold T. Parker, "Bank of France," in *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799-1815*, ed. Owen Connelly (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1985), 43.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

The Status of the Church

As a result of the Concordat of 1801, which was used by Napoleon as a political strategy to make peace with the Pope Pius VII and to gain the latter's support for his regime, the Roman Catholic Church in France regained at least some of its legal status enjoyed before the Revolution and was allowed to resume public worship and other religious activities. Napoleon made the Concordat known on April 10, 1802 (Easter Sunday), at Notre-Dame-de-Paris;¹⁰ it regulated the relationship between the French state and the church until 1905.¹¹ The Concordat of 1801 acknowledged Catholicism as the religion of the majority of the French people.¹² It allowed the French government to name bishops, who were to be appointed by the pope; these bishops were given the authority to choose their own clergy.¹³ The Pope agreed to give up his rights to the nationalized church property seized during the Revolution,¹⁴ while the state agreed to give a proper wage to the bishops and clerics.¹⁵

Another important contribution of Napoleon's reign was the creation of the Civil Code, which was inaugurated on March 21, 1804, seeking to regulate "family and social relations and to establish the clearest possible dividing lines among the spheres of

¹⁰Jean Adolphe Marie Leflon, "Concordat of 1801 (France)," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2003), 4:61.

¹¹Adrien Dansette, "France, The Catholic Church in: Revolution, Restoration, and Reform: 1789-1965," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2003), 5:835.

¹²Thomas F. Sheppard, "Concordat of 1801," in *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799-1815*, ed. Owen Connelly (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1985), 124.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Leflon, "Concordat of 1801 (France)," 62.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

politics, morality, religion, and law”;¹⁶ it was also known as the Code Napoleon after 1807.¹⁷ This Civil Code continued to confirm the abolition of feudal obligations, structuring contractual ownership of property.¹⁸ It affirmed freedom of religion under the law,¹⁹ underlined paternal authority, and supervised matters of divorce and inheritance; but women rights were neglected.²⁰ Napoleon introduced this Civil Code to the territories he defeated, and much of this Civil Code still serves as the foundation of French civil law today;²¹ it “proved to be one of the most influential results of the French Revolution.”²²

Organ Restoration and Construction

As a result of the Concordat of 1801, the Roman Catholic Church in France was granted the freedom to reinstate public worship, as long as the worship was conducted in conformity with police regulations.²³ It took years, however, to restore church buildings and organs damaged as a result of the violence of the Revolution and subsequent neglect. After a disparaging and sometimes brutal ten-year assault on the

¹⁶Joseph Goy, “Civil Code,” in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 445.

¹⁷Martyn Lyons, *Napoleon Bonaparte and the Legacy of the French Revolution* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 94.

¹⁸Lyons, *Napoleon Bonaparte*, 96-98.

¹⁹Haine, *The History of France*, 90-91.

²⁰Goy, “Civil Code,” 445-46.

²¹Popkin, *A Short History of French Revolution*, 116.

²²*Ibid.*

²³Leflon, “Concordat of 1801 (France),” 61.

church, French organ building, as Bicknell points out, was “in a parlous state”²⁴ and required much attention and effort. One of the first organs restored in the nineteenth century was that at Église Saint-Merri in Paris. This organ had been severely damaged during the Revolution, but remained in the church without being moved during the Reign of Terror.²⁵ In 1800, François Clicquot was charged to restore this organ; Clicquot’s completed work on the organ was examined by Nicolas Séjan, Eloi-Nicolas-Marie Miroir, Gervais-François Couperin, Antoine Desprez, and François Lacordre-Blin with unanimous approval and praise.²⁶ On January 21, 1802, the same five organists demonstrated the repaired organ at Saint-Eustache restored by Pierre-François Dallery.²⁷ This organ had originally been located at Saint-Germain-des-Prés.²⁸ When that church was burned on August 19, 1794, the organ seemed to suffer minimal damage; but the church was closed.²⁹ The Saint-Germain-des-Prés organ was moved by the parish priest of Saint-Eustache to its building, where there was no organ, and it remained there after the Revolution.³⁰ Other organs that were rebuilt during the first decade of the nineteenth century included those at Saint-Roch (restored by Pierre Dallery) in 1805 and Saint-

²⁴Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 223.

²⁵Félix Raugel, *Les Grandes orgues des église de Paris et du département de la Seine* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1927), 32-33.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., 44-45.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

Louis-des Invalides (restored by Jean Somer) in 1807.³¹ According to Ochse, demonstrations on these rebuilt organs would involve more than one organist in order to demonstrate various resources of the organ to a committee; they were open to the public and gave organists an opportunity to perform in a non-liturgical fashion.³² The music that was played for these organ demonstrations was usually improvised.³³

In 1812, Pierre-François Dallery, who was born to an organ-builder family and received the title “Facteur d’orgue des Chapelles Royales et Concerts de la Cour,”³⁴ completed repairs on the organ at Saint-Gervais, where a number of the Couperin family had served as organist successively for over a century.³⁵ Dallery added three stops to the organ:³⁶ one “trompette” to the *Grand orgue*, as well as one bassoon and one flute to the *Positif*. Guillaume Lasceux and Gervais-François Couperin were reported to have inaugurated the repaired organ on August 27, 1812.³⁷ Later in August 1814, Dallery completed the restoration of the organ at Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois, which was begun in August of 1812 and covered the following areas: repairs of bellows, pipes, stops; modification of the placement of the box springs in the pedal; replacement of 16’, 8’, and

³¹Ibid., 109-10, 59.

³²Ochse, *Organist and Organ Playing*, 11.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Alfred Reichling, “Dallery,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 5 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2001), 316.

³⁵Raugel, *Les Grandes orgues des église de Paris*, 125.

³⁶Ibid., 122.

³⁷Ibid.

4' stops in the pedal; and reassembly of the bombarde stop removed in 1809.³⁸ The inauguration for this organ took place on August 8, 1814, presented by Nicolas Séjan, Louis Lefébure-Wély, and Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas MARRIGUES.³⁹

In 1810, Gabriel-Joseph Grenié built an *orgue expressif*, which was an organ “containing free-reed pipes with resonators”⁴⁰ and whose “double bellows and reservoir system permitted dynamic variations through control of wind pressure by the player’s feet on the blowing treadles.”⁴¹ Grenié’s *orgue expressif* was used to accompany a performance of Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli’s *Stabat Mater* at the Chapel of the Tuileries in 1812.⁴² Later in the same year Grenié proposed for the Paris Conservatoire an *orgue expressif*, which was completed about six years later and served Benoist’s organ classes from 1819 to 1871.⁴³ Around 1826, the English organ builder John Abbey was invited by Sébastien Erard (who spent some time in London during the Revolution) to Paris to work on an organ for the Exposition de l’Industrie the next year at the Louvre. Abbey introduced to French organ builders and continental Europe many innovations unknown to them that time:

the swell box; a balanced key action . . . adjustable by tapped wires and buttons and made silent by bushing; couplers operated conveniently by stop knobs; long-

³⁸Brigitte François-Sappey, *Alexandre P. F. Boëly, 1785-1858: Ses ancêtres, sa vie, son œuvre, son temps* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1989), 384.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰“Orgue expressif,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20460> (accessed March 15, 2012).

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²François Henri Joseph Castil-Blaze, *Chapelle-Musique des rois de France* (Paris: Paulin, 1832), 207-08.

⁴³Norbert Dufourcq, *Autour des orgues du Conservatoire national et de la chapelle des Tuileries* (Paris: Librairie Floury, 1952), 11-16, 26.

compass keyboards; keys with long ivory-covered naturals similar to those of the piano; the horizontal reservoir with compensating folds and separate feeders; extra reservoirs for the pedal organ or other sections of the instrument; concussion bellows to steady the winds; consoles with the stop knobs themselves clearly labeled and arranged in logical order within easy reach of the player; composition pedals allowing rapid changes of registration without hands leaving the keys; and finally the exquisite delicacy of voicing in the softer stops.⁴⁴

Joseph Guedon commented on the Erard-Abbey organ for the 1827 Exposition that its *Récit* had venetian-blind slats that made it expressive, that its mechanism and power of sounds were arranged differently from those of the old one, and that one could control stops by the pedals without interrupting one's playing.⁴⁵ Later, Erard and Abbey were joined by an artisan from Grenié's firm to build for the Chapel at Tuileries a new organ that possessed all of the up-to-date innovations, such as swell pedal that was controlled dynamic changes in addition to a touch-sensitive keyboard, a division of free reeds on the upper manual, and pedals for coupling divisions and for drawing and retiring stops.⁴⁶ François-Joseph Fétis reported that Prosper-Charles Simon and Alexandre-Charles Fessy did a fine job of playing this new organ. He even commented that "the moment of a revolution in organ music has arrived, a revolution of which the discovery of the orgue expressif is the signal."⁴⁷

⁴⁴Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 223.

⁴⁵Joseph Guedon, "Erard (Sébastien)," in *Encyclopédie-Robert: Nouveau manuel complet du facteur d'orgue*, new ed. (Paris: Chez Leonce Laget Libraire-Editeur, 1980), 438-39.

⁴⁶Dufourcq, *Autour des orgues*, 23-24.

⁴⁷François-Joseph Fétis, "Des Tendances de l'art musical à l'époque actuelle, et de l'avenir," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 6 (April 28, 1839), 129-32.

Organ Demonstrations and Inaugurations

During the 1840s or 1850s, French organ builders invited organists from Germany (for example, Adolf Hesse)⁴⁸ or Belgium (such as Jacques-Nicolas Lemmens, who studied with Hesse)⁴⁹ to be part of their inaugural programs. These German and Belgian organists would not only improvise at these programs but also play written pieces by composers such as J. S. Bach, who was quite unknown to the Parisian audience.⁵⁰ Their pedal technique especially amazed the Parisian audience and reviewers alike;⁵¹ Hesse was even hailed by one of the reviewers as “the King of the pedal.”⁵²

Alexandre Pierre François Boëly. One particular French organist and composer of that time, Alexandre Pierre François Boëly, was especially known for his pedal technique, which was described to be as good as his German contemporaries and greatly admired by his Frenchmen.⁵³ In addition, Boëly was regarded as the most important representative of the French organ music in the first half of the nineteenth century, due to his mastery of combining the forms and art of registration of old French organ masters with the compositional and musical ideas of his time.⁵⁴ Consequently, he

⁴⁸Ochse, *Organist and Organ Playing*, 39.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 49.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 39.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 39-40.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 39.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 30.

⁵⁴Helga Schauerte-Maubouet, “Orgelmusik, 3. Frankreich, b. Neoklassizisten und Orgelsymphoniker,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 7 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1997), 1084.

has been recognized as “a definite link between two periods in the history of the organ—that of the older Classical School and that of the Romantic School.”⁵⁵

Boëly was born in Versailles on April 19, 1785, and died in Paris on December 27, 1858. His father, Jean-François (1739-1814), who was a singer (*chanter*) in the Royal Chapel, a theorist, and harp teacher to the princesses of the royal family, was Boëly’s first music teacher.⁵⁶ In 1796 Boëly was admitted to the Paris Conservatoire, where for about two years he studied violin with Henri Guérillot and piano first with Héléne de Montgeroult and then with Ignaz Ladurner.⁵⁷ Later Boëly studied piano with Marie Bigot,⁵⁸ who was friends with Ludwig van Beethoven and sight-read his *Appassionata* Sonata from the manuscript,⁵⁹ and through whom Boëly learned about the music of Beethoven.⁶⁰ Though Boëly discontinued his study at the Conservatoire, he complemented his music education and knowledge through self-study of the works of old masters such as J. S. Bach and Joseph Haydn.⁶¹ Instead of playing his own compositions, at least half of which remained unknown and unpublished during his lifetime,⁶² Boëly

⁵⁵Amédée Gastoué, “A Great French Organist, Alexandre Boëly, and His Works,” trans. Anselm Hughes, *The Musical Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (July 1944): 336.

⁵⁶Brigitte François-Sappey, “Boëly, Alexandre Pierre François,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 3 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2000), 210.

⁵⁷François-Sappey, *Alexandre P. F. Boëly*, 69-70.

⁵⁸Gastoué, “A Great French Organist,” 336.

⁵⁹Hugh Macdonald, “Bigot, Marie,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/03073> (accessed March 22, 2012).

⁶⁰Schauerte-Maubouet, “Orgelmusik,” 1084.

⁶¹François-Sappey, “Boëly, Alexandre Pierre François,” 210.

⁶²Gastoué, “A Great French Organist,” 336.

frequently played works of Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel, and Johann Georg Albrechtsberger at the inaugurations.⁶³

From 1834 to 1838 Boëly held the position as organist at Saint-Gervais in Paris, where succeeding members of the famed Couperin family had served as organist for 173 years. During his tenure at Saint-Gervais, Boëly wrote a large number of liturgical versets, which followed the convention of François Couperin.⁶⁴ Boëly's early masses, which seemed to be composed for less proficient organists due to their simplicity, lack of pedal, and use of familiar cantus firmus plainchants of the time,⁶⁵ also display his acquaintance and admiration of François Couperin's *Messe solennelle*.⁶⁶ In 1840, Boëly was named titular organist at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, where he had the organ equipped with a German pedal board, which he had known and used since 1830.⁶⁷ This kind of pedal board was similar to that on a *Pedalflügel*, "intended primarily as a practice instrument for organists,"⁶⁸ and for which a number of nineteenth-century composers, such as Robert Schumann and Valentin Alkan, wrote pieces.⁶⁹ Boëly's pieces written for the organ at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and his *Pedalflügel* demonstrate

⁶³Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 31.

⁶⁴François-Sappey, "Boëly, Alexandre Pierre François," 212.

⁶⁵Benjamin van Wye, "Organ Music in the Mass of the Parisian Rite to 1850 with Emphasis on the Contribution of Boëly," in *French Organ Music from the Revolution to Franck and Widor*, ed. Lawrence Archbold and William J. Peterson, 2nd ed. (reprint, Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 23.

⁶⁶Amédée Gastoué, "Notes complémentaires sur une copie de la 'Messe Solennelle' de Couperin," *Revue de musicologie* 10 (1929): 118-19.

⁶⁷François-Sappey, "Boëly, Alexandre Pierre François," 212.

⁶⁸"Pedal Piano," in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. Alison Latham, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e7956> (accessed March 15, 2012).

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

complexity and require dexterity in both the manual and pedal parts, which was quite unusual for French organists and required greater technical ability to perform them;⁷⁰ these pieces foreshadowed later symphonic organ works.⁷¹ Boëly was admired by young musicians and many students at the Conservatoire, such as César Franck (who frequently performed Boëly's pieces and introduced them to others as well)⁷² and Camille Saint-Saëns (who studied organ with Boëly from around 1846 to 1848 before entering Benoist's organ class at the Conservatoire),⁷³ both of whom came to hear him.⁷⁴ Boëly's organ compositions were included in the study of the organ students in Clément Loret's class at the Niedermeyer School.⁷⁵

Educational Developments

A number of changes initiated under the Napoleon regime affected educational and cultural endeavors. Napoleon constituted the Imperial University to administer the entire educational system⁷⁶ and reorganized primary and secondary schools.⁷⁷ Napoleon's primary focus was *lycées* (secondary schools),⁷⁸ which educated his administrative,

⁷⁰François-Sappey, "Boëly, Alexandre Pierre François," 212.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Gastoué, "A Great French Organist," 336.

⁷³Rollin Smith, *Saint-Saëns and the Organ* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992), 2-3.

⁷⁴François-Sappey, "Boëly, Alexandre Pierre François," 210.

⁷⁵Henri Letocart, "Quelques Souvenirs," *L'Orgue* 36 (December 1938): 6.

⁷⁶Lyons, *Napoleon Bonaparte*, 107-08.

⁷⁷Holtman, Robert B., "Education," in *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799-1815*, ed. Owen Connelly (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1985), 165.

⁷⁸Ibid.

military, and technical officials.⁷⁹ Napoleon also intensified the police force in both Paris and the provinces by creating censors with the power to approve or censor operas, plays, theaters, cafés, and newspapers;⁸⁰ an extensive system of secret police and reconnaissance was initiated as well.⁸¹

The first major educational effort in music taking place during the late years of the Revolution was the founding of the Paris Conservatoire. In 1795, the National Convention founded the Paris Conservatoire by merging the École Royale de Chant, which was created under the leadership of François-Joseph Gossec in 1784 for training instrumentalists and singers for operas,⁸² with the Institute National de Musique, which was established by Bernard Sarrette in 1792 to educate singers and artists for national celebrations.⁸³ Five inspectors were named to oversee the Conservatoire: Étienne-Nicolas Méhul, André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, Gossec, Jean-François Le Sueur, and Luigi Cherubini (an Italian-born composer, who became a French citizen in his thirties and then lived in Paris for over half of his life until his death).⁸⁴ About 500 students were admitted to the Conservatoire in 1796 and were taught by 115 professors.⁸⁵ Every musical branch

⁷⁹Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, 148.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 145.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²Andrew C. Minor, "Music," in *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799-1815*, ed. Owen Connelly (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 1985), 698.

⁸³Robert, Frédéric, "Sarrette, Bernard," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/24595> (accessed April 2, 2012).

⁸⁴Michael Fend, "Cherubini, Luigi," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/53110> (accessed April 2, 2012).

⁸⁵Minor, "Music," 698.

was represented, and all of the prominent music leaders of the time were included in the faculty.⁸⁶ In addition, the Conservatoire strove to publish its own tutoring methods and establish a free library.⁸⁷ Its first fruits were represented by the well-trained instrumentalists, but, according to Charlton and others, it failed to produce capable singers due to a lack of education in rudimentary musicianship and financial support for boarders.⁸⁸ When the Bourbon dynasty was restored in 1815, the Paris Conservatoire was closed possibly due to its revolutionary origins;⁸⁹ it was reopened and renamed the École Royale de Chant et de Déclamation in 1816,⁹⁰ and the name Conservatoire did not appear again until 1831.⁹¹ One of the prominent instructors at the Conservatoire was Antoine Reicha. His tenure at the Conservatoire was important because his teaching methods, which were primarily based on German models (especially Bach) and appeared in several publications, were thorough and successful.⁹²

As organ building suffered from the effects of the Revolution, so did the art of organ playing in France. In the words of Lasceux, the art of organ playing was disappearing from France, and fewer musicians felt motivated to pursue a career as

⁸⁶Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment*, 18.

⁸⁷David Charlton et al., “Paris,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40089pg6> (accessed March 14, 2012).

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Peter Bloom, “Frankreich,” trans. Stefan Lerche, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 13 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1995), 767.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment*, 27.

⁹²Charlton et al., “Paris.”

organist due to low salaries and an uncertain future, resulting in a disregard of the great art of organ playing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁹³ The first professor of organ appointed at the Conservatoire in the year of its founding (1795) was Nicolas Séjan,⁹⁴ who was one of thirty-five professors dismissed in 1802 due to the budget shortage.⁹⁵ Whether an organ was installed at the Conservatoire in 1795 is unknown.⁹⁶ According to the documents in Pierre's book, Séjan taught piano from 1796 to 1799, organ in 1800, and solfège in 1801.⁹⁷ Alexandre Étienne Choron saw Séjan's dismissal in 1802 as discouraging to the art of organ during destructive times.⁹⁸ It was not until 1819 that another professor of organ, François Benoist, was nominated at the Conservatoire. As Ochse points out, Benoist's post at the Conservatoire not only offered young organists an educational chance, but it also "placed the organ in a common environment with other branches of professional music: an important change for an instrument too frequently isolated from mainstream musical developments, at least in the eye of general public and the press."⁹⁹

⁹³Guillaume Laseux, *Essai théorique et pratique (1809)*, published under the direction of Jean Saint-Arroman (Bressuire, France: Anne Fuzeau, 2011), 7.

⁹⁴Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie, 1900), 408-12.

⁹⁵Ibid., 159.

⁹⁶Norbert Dufourcq, "L'Enseignement de l'orgue au Conservatoire national avant la nomination de César Franck (1872)," *L'Orgue* 144 (October-December 1972): 121-25.

⁹⁷Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 408-12.

⁹⁸Alexandre É. Choron and J. M. Fayolle, "Sejan, (Nicolas)," in *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens; artistes et amateurs, morts ou vivans* (reprint, Hildesheim, German: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971), 2:310.

⁹⁹Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 19.

Benoist was born on September 10, 1794, in Nantes. He entered the Paris Conservatoire in 1811, studying harmony with Charles-Simon Catel and piano with Adam Louis.¹⁰⁰ He won a first prize for harmony in 1811 and a first prize for piano in 1814.¹⁰¹ In 1815 Benoist won the coveted *Prix de Rome* for the composition of his cantata *Oenone* and went to Rome for the obligatory three years, returning to France in 1819.¹⁰² He was then appointed the first organist of the Royal Chapel and professor of organ at the Conservatoire, a position he held until 1872, when he was succeeded by Franck.¹⁰³ Benoist's compositions, consisting mainly of church music, organ pieces, and six stage compositions, enjoyed some moderate success;¹⁰⁴ he was regarded by his peers as a remarkable performer and improviser.¹⁰⁵

The number of organ students in Benoist's classes at the Conservatoire varied from year to year.¹⁰⁶ In order to complete their study, organ students at the Conservatoire were expected to succeed in harmony, counterpoint, and improvisation—requirements, which remained the same for the rest of the century.¹⁰⁷ They were also expected to qualify for the annual competition and to win it, since their success was not only tied to

¹⁰⁰Hugh Macdonald, "Benoist, François," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/02710> (accessed March 25, 2012).

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³Guy Ferchault, "Benoist, François," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 2 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1999), 1134.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 1135.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 148-49.

¹⁰⁷Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 256.

their own prestige but also to that of their professor.¹⁰⁸ The requirements and details of the earliest organ competitions are unclear. From the records of 1834, it is known that students were required to improvise a four-part accompaniment to a plainchant melody selected by the jury and to improvise a four-part fugue on a subject given by the jury. The requirements of organ competitions changed through the years. Later from about the middle of the nineteenth century on, composed pieces, such as those by Bach, were included in the requirements, which seemed to be influenced by the Brussels Conservatoire, where Lemmens was professor of organ and where composed music had become part of the organ competitions earlier.¹⁰⁹ Benoist's students at the Conservatoire included Camille Saint-Saëns, Georges Bizet, Jules Massenet, Charles-Valentin Alkan, Louis-James-Alfred Lefébure-Wély, Théodore Dubois, and Franck.¹¹⁰

The Choron School

After a decade of devastation of church music, the efforts of Alexandre Étienne Choron and Louis Niedermeyer to establish music schools and to offer free education through the funds of the government were especially significant. The emphasis on early music as an essential part of their schools kindled an interest in discovering, learning, and performing music of old masters in France; as Haskell states, for revivalists such as Choron and Niedermeyer, “the key to the future lay in the past [and] modern music could

¹⁰⁸Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 149.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 150.

¹¹⁰Macdonald, “Benoist, François.”

only escape the cul-de-sac into which it had strayed by retracting the path mapped out by the old masters.”¹¹¹

Alexandre Étienne Choron was born in Caen on October 21, 1771, and died in Paris on June 29, 1834. He learned Hebrew and German through self-study when he was still young.¹¹² Like most upper-class (“*haute bourgeoisie*”) parents, Choron’s parents discouraged him from studying music.¹¹³ Nevertheless he tried to learn some music theory and compositional techniques on his own before gaining the freedom to take music lessons after his father’s death in 1788.¹¹⁴ In 1805 Choron became a partner in the publishing company Leduc in Paris, where he published his editions of early music out of his own pocket.¹¹⁵ In 1810 Choron together with François Fayolle published *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens*, modeling it after Ernest Ludwig Gerber’s *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (1790-92).¹¹⁶ Choron was named in 1811 as a corresponding member of the Beaux-Arts class of the Institut de France Académie and asked to reorganize the *maîtrises* of the cathedrals in 1812.¹¹⁷ Choron was entrusted with various posts in the following years: the director of public festivals in 1812 and the

¹¹¹Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 19.

¹¹²Arthur Hutchings and Hervé Audéon, “Choron, Alexandre,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/05680> (accessed March 22, 2012).

¹¹³Bryan Randolph Simm, “Alexandre Choron (1771-1834) as a Historian and Theorist of Music” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1971), 4.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹¹⁵Sylvia L’Ecuyer, “Choron, Alexandre [Étienne],” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 3 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2000), 1012.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*

director of opera in 1815.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Choron was asked to reopen and reorganize the Paris Conservatoire under the name École Royale de Chant et de Déclamation.¹¹⁹

Earlier in 1812 Choron had established the École Normale de Musique to give free singing lessons to children and workers in Paris.¹²⁰ Beginning in 1817 Choron received financial support from the government for his singing school, which had become École Primaire de Chant and which accepted children and adults who aspired to sing in the chorus at the Opéra;¹²¹ this school was regarded by the government as a preparation for study at the Conservatoire.¹²² In 1820 Choron's school, still supported by the government and offering free lessons, was renamed the École Royale et Special du Chant and charged to educate the most capable singers for opera.¹²³ Because of this purpose Choron's school was considered as a competition to the Conservatoire, which resulted in its renaming in 1825 as Institution Royale de Musique Classique et Religieuse with a new focus on restoring the French religious music tradition demolished during the Revolution.¹²⁴ Choron's school remained very prosperous until Louis-Philippe, who was named king in 1830 after the abdication of Charles X (who himself abdicated in 1848) and discontinued funding of it, possibly due to its connection to the Bourbon

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment*, 28.

¹²³Ibid., 29.

¹²⁴Ibid.

monarchy.¹²⁵ Choron published a number of publications dealing with solfège, voice, piano, and organ techniques and used them in his school. He was the first person in France to teach music collectively by using his *méthode concertante*, a set of solfège exercises, which would serve a great number of students of different skill levels under only one single teacher's instruction.¹²⁶ He favored a mass music system, which was modeled after the conservatoires in Naples and Venice.¹²⁷

The study and performance of early music was a unique feature of Choron's school, where every Thursday his students gave concerts at which pieces by Bach, Händel, Palestrina, and old masters (such as Giacomo Carissimi, Giovanni Carlo Maria Clari, Clément Janequin, Josquin des Prez, Antonio Lotti, Luca Marenzio, Cipriano de Rore, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Agostino Steffani) were performed for the first time in Paris.¹²⁸ Choron also published works of these old masters, many of which were the first publications of their kind in France.¹²⁹ These editions were simply reproduction of scores that Choron could find in earlier editions without proving their accuracy or authenticity.¹³⁰ Today Choron's publications and anthologies of early music and composers have only historical value;¹³¹ they represent the awakened interest in earlier

¹²⁵Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 6.

¹²⁶Simm, "Alexandre Choron," 269.

¹²⁷Ibid., 263.

¹²⁸L'Ecuyer, "Choron, Alexandre [Étienne]," 1012.

¹²⁹Willi Kahl, "Zur musikalischen Renaissancebewegung in Frankreich während der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag* (Bonn: Verlag des Beethovenhauses, 1957), 160.

¹³⁰Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment*, 197.

¹³¹Ibid.

music in France around 1830.¹³² Though Choron's school was closed after his death in 1834, his school served the important function of paving the way for Niedermeyer's school.¹³³

The concerts at Choron's school served as prototypes for François-Joseph Fétis' series of historical concerts (*Concerts historiques*) beginning in 1832, in which Fétis introduced his selected repertory with a set of short lectures.¹³⁴ He would print the repertory selected for his historical concerts in his weekly journal *La Revue musicale*, which he founded in 1827 and for which he served most of the time as the only author.¹³⁵ *La Revue musicale* became a model for future publications, was taken over in 1835 by Maurice Schlesinger and renamed *La Revue et gazette musicale*, for which Fétis wrote until his death in 1871.¹³⁶

Choron's example also led to the establishment of several societies for the performance of historical music.¹³⁷ In 1843 Prince de la Moskova (Joseph Napoléon Ney) founded the Société de Musique Vocale Religieuse et Classique in Paris, also known as the Société de la Moskova in honor of its aristocratic patron.¹³⁸ Niedermeyer served as a

¹³²L'Ecuyer, "Choron, Alexandre [Étienne]," 1014.

¹³³Ibid., 1013.

¹³⁴Robert Wangermée, Katharine Ellis, and Gustave Chouquet, "Fétis," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/09564pg1> (accessed March 19, 2012).

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 17.

deputy director¹³⁹ and edited the scores for performances and publications.¹⁴⁰ The Prince himself directed the concerts of his Société, which were devoted to vocal music of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁴¹ The Société de la Moskova published much of its repertoire in the eleven-volume *Receuil des morceaux de musique ancienne*, which contained not only Italian and English madrigals, excerpts from J. S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, Händel's operas and oratorios, Joseph Haydn's *Creation*, but also at least one piece by Pierre-Louis-Philippe Dietsch and one possibly by Niedermeyer.¹⁴²

The Niedermeyer School

Regarded as a continuation of Choron's School because of their similar goals in church music education, Louis Niedermeyer's school was approved by the government around 1852 and opened in 1853 with funds from the government.¹⁴³ Its founder, Louis Niedermeyer, was born on April 27, 1802, in Nyon, Switzerland, and died on March 13, 1861, in Paris.¹⁴⁴ He studied music first with his father, who was a musician from Würzburg, Germany.¹⁴⁵ In 1817 Niedermeyer studied piano with Ignaz Moscheles and

¹³⁹Sako Ikuno, "The Importance of Louis Niedermeyer in the Reform of Nineteenth-Century Church Music in France" (Ph.D. diss., University of Melbourne, Australia, 2007), 69.

¹⁴⁰Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 17.

¹⁴¹Britta Schilling-Wang, "Paris, VI. 19. Jahrhundert," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 7 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1997), 1365.

¹⁴²Gustave Chouquet and Katharine Ellis, "Moskova, Joseph Napoléon Ney, Prince de la," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/19195> (accessed March 18, 2012).

¹⁴³Charlton et al., "Paris."

¹⁴⁴Beat A. Fölimi, "Niedermeyer, (Abraham), Louis," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 12 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2004), 1075.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*

composition with Emanuel Aloys Förster in Vienna, Austria.¹⁴⁶ In 1820 he studied with Zingarelli in Naples, Italy, where Gioachino Rossini helped him to premiere his first opera, *Reo per amore* (1820), with moderate success.¹⁴⁷ In 1823 Niedermeyer went to Paris, living there until his death.¹⁴⁸ With Rossini's help again, Niedermeyer's stage work was performed in Paris, however with little success.¹⁴⁹ After the failure of his last stage work, *La Fronde*, Niedermeyer devoted himself to church music.¹⁵⁰ With financial support and approval from the government, Niedermeyer's School, *École de Musique Classique Religieuse*, was established in 1853 to educate *maîtrises* and other capable musicians for churches;¹⁵¹ it soon became a leading institute of music education in France.¹⁵² The curriculum at the Niedermeyer School covered foundational music education, Gregorian chants and their accompaniments, classic vocal polyphony (especially that of J. S. Bach), and music theory and composition.¹⁵³ From 1857 to 1861, Niedermeyer, together with Joseph d'Ortigue, published *La Maîtrise*, a periodical in which pieces from different eras by various composers, including contemporary ones, were printed.¹⁵⁴ In addition, Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue published in 1855 a *Méthode*

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Guy Ferchault and Jacqueline Gachet, "Niedermeyer, Louis," in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/19919> (accessed March 16, 2012).

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

¹⁵¹Charlton et al., "Paris."

¹⁵²Ferchault and Gachet, "Niedermeyer, Louis."

¹⁵³Fölimi, "Niedermeyer, (Abraham), Louis," 1075.

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

d'accompagnement du plaint-chant,¹⁵⁵ which underwent several editions in later years.¹⁵⁶

When Niedermeyer died in 1861, Camille Saint-Saëns was named as his successor.¹⁵⁷

Saint-Saëns taught at the Niedermeyer School from 1861 to 1865, and his students there included Gabriel Fauré, Eugène Gigout, and André Messager.¹⁵⁸

In 1857, Clément Loret succeeded François-Xavier Wackenthaler and Georges Schmitt as the third professor of organ at the Niedermeyer School,¹⁵⁹ which marked the implementation of Jacques-Nicolas Lemmen's organ method at a French institution long before Widor's efforts at the Conservatoire in 1890.¹⁶⁰ Loret was born on October 12, 1833, in Dendermonde, Belgium, and died on February 4, 1909, in Paris.¹⁶¹ He studied organ with Lemmens at the Brussels Conservatoire and won the first prize in Lemmens' class in 1854.¹⁶² Loret held the position of organist at various churches in and around Paris, including Sainte-Geneviève (years of service unclear), Saint-Louis-d'Antin (1858-1902), and the Temple de Penthémont (1859-1902).¹⁶³ He participated in the inauguration

¹⁵⁵François-Joseph Fétis, "Niedermeyer (Louis)," in *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878), 6:320.

¹⁵⁶Ferchault and Jacqueline Gachet, "Niedermeyer, Louis."

¹⁵⁷Rollin Smith, *Saint-Saëns and the Organ* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992), 63-64.

¹⁵⁸Sabina Teller Ratner, James Harding, and Daniel M. Fallon, "Saint-Saëns, Camille," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/24335> (accessed March 15, 2012).

¹⁵⁹Jean Ferrard, "Loret, 3. Clément," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 11 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2004), 476.

¹⁶⁰Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 211.

¹⁶¹Ferrard, "Loret, 3. Clément," 476.

¹⁶²Ibid.

¹⁶³Ibid.

of the organ at Notre-Dame-de-Paris in 1868 and in the organ concerts at the Trocadéro during the 1878 Exposition Universelle.¹⁶⁴ Loret's compositions include pieces for harmonium and organ, as well as some salon music.¹⁶⁵

Influenced by his study with Lemmens, Loret used a teaching method that was similar to his teacher's at the Niedermeyer School¹⁶⁶ and emphasized legato playing, pedal technique, and masterly execution of written organ repertoire, especially that of Bach.¹⁶⁷ Later, between 1877 and 1880, Loret wrote his own method book, *Cours d'orgue*, Op. 19,¹⁶⁸ which consisted of four volumes and is regarded as his major contribution to organ pedagogy.¹⁶⁹ The first volume contained manual exercises and etudes, the second consisted of pedal exercises and etudes for manuals and pedals, the third had an explanation of the organ and a collection of pieces composed by Loret, and the fourth consisted of explanations of and exercises for transposition, improvisation, and plainchant accompaniment.¹⁷⁰ Also reminiscent of Lemmens was Loret's requirement that his students study the organ works of Bach from the beginning of their study; to these he also added the organ pieces of Felix Mendelssohn, Rinck, Lemmens, and

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹⁶⁶Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 210.

¹⁶⁷François Sabatier, "Lemmens, Jaak Nikolaas," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/16384> (accessed March 12, 2012).

¹⁶⁸Ferrard, "Loret, 3. Clément," 476.

¹⁶⁹Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 210.

¹⁷⁰Ibid.

Boëly.¹⁷¹ Henri Letocart, one of Loret's students, stated that each of Loret's students owned the eight-volume Peters edition of Bach's organ works (the ninth volume appeared some time later).¹⁷² For the annual competition, Loret's students were required to play a required piece, such as Bach's Passacaglia, Händel's Concerto, or Mendelssohn's Sonata No. 6,¹⁷³ and one of their own selections.¹⁷⁴ The annual competitions were held at various places, such as Saint-Louis-d'Antin (in 1858), where Loret was organist and there was a Cavaillé-Coll organ,¹⁷⁵ or at Trocadéro (in 1879).¹⁷⁶ Loret's students at the Niedermeyer School included Léon Boëllmann, Fauré, Gigout, and Massager.¹⁷⁷ The first organ (installed in 1853)¹⁷⁸ at the Niedermeyer School was built by the workshop of Moser originally for a wonderful amateur named M. des Vignes de Givrins;¹⁷⁹ it was used at the Niedermeyer School later for beginning classes when a new one from the firm of Joseph Merklin for the advanced classes was installed in 1855.¹⁸⁰

As a result of the easing of governmental oppression of the church, the training offered at the Choron and Niedermeyer schools, improved organ construction, and the awakened interest in early music, the climate in France was ripe for the creation of a

¹⁷¹Letocart, "Quelques Souvenirs," 6.

¹⁷²Ibid.

¹⁷³"Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel* 45 (June 29, 1879): 248.

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

¹⁷⁵Letocart, "Quelques Souvenirs," 4.

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁷Ferrard, "Loret, 3. Clément," 476.

¹⁷⁸Ikuno, "The Importance of Louis Niedermeyer," 104.

¹⁷⁹Maurice Galerne, *L'École Niedermeyer: sa création, sa but, son développement* (Paris: Editions Margueritat, 1928), 45.

¹⁸⁰Galerne, *L'École Niedermeyer*, 45; Ikuno, "The Importance of Louis Niedermeyer," 104.

mature French organ school that would explore the full range and color of the instrument. And it was César Franck who would serve as the catalyst to bring organ music through its “adolescence” to full maturity.

CHAPTER 4

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF CÉSAR FRANCK

Though establishing his early career as a piano prodigy, César Franck was eventually regarded as a pivotal figure in taking French organ music to a new level through his compositions, performance, and teaching. This chapter examines his activities in these three areas, dividing his life chronologically into three periods: early years (1822-1857), middle years (1857-1872), and late years (1872-1890). The dates of the latter two periods were determined by Franck's appointment to two most important positions he held during his lifetime: at Sainte-Clotilde, where he was nominated as *maître de chapelle* in 1857, when Sainte-Clotilde was still under construction; and at the Paris Conservatoire, where he was named professor of organ in 1872. He retained both of these positions until his death in 1890.

Early Years

César-Auguste Franck was born on December 10, 1822, in Liège, which belonged to the United Kingdom of Netherlands at that time.¹ César-Auguste's father, Nicolas-Joseph, was a notary at a bank² and was part of a family who had settled in the

¹*The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, 15th ed., s.v. "Liège."

²Leon Vallas, *César Franck*, trans. Hubert Foss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), 13.

region of Moresnet during the fifteenth century.³ His mother, Marie-Catherine-Barbe Frings, came from a middle-class business family in Aachen, Germany.⁴ In 1830 César-Auguste entered the Liège Conservatoire, where he studied solfège with Étienne Ledent and piano, first with Lambert Conrardy and later Jules Jalheau;⁵ he won a first prize in Ledent's class in 1832, and one in the Jalheau's class in 1834.⁶ In addition, he studied harmony with Joseph Daussoignes, the director of Liège Conservatoire and nephew of Étienne-Nicolas Méhul;⁷ Méhul had been named in 1795 as one of the five inspectors for the newly established Paris Conservatoire.⁸

In May 1835 César-Auguste went to Paris with his father, where he studied harmony and counterpoint with Antoine Reicha and piano with Pierre-Joseph-Guillaume Zimmerman.⁹ Reicha was the teacher of many important composers of the nineteenth century, including Hector Berlioz, Franz Liszt, and Charles Gounod,¹⁰ and to certain degree influenced César-Auguste's tonal and formal concepts despite his study abruptly

³Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Franck, 1. César-Auguste," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 12 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2004), 1584.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, "Daussoigne, Joseph," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/07255> (accessed March 18, 2012).

⁸Michel Noiray, "Méhul, Étienne-Nicolas," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 11 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2004), 1465.

⁹Fauquet, "Franck, 1. César-Auguste," 1584; Vallas, *César Franck*, 14-15.

¹⁰Peter Eliot Stone, "Reicha, Antoine," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/23093> (accessed March 24, 2012).

ending after only ten months due to Reicha's death in 1836.¹¹ In order to pay for the studies, César-Auguste worked as a piano accompanist for the tenor Giulio Marco Bordogni.¹² At the end of 1835, he and his father went back to Liège before moving with their family permanently to Paris in the early summer of 1836.¹³ Because French citizenship was a requirement to enter the Paris Conservatoire, César-Auguste was denied entrance in July 1836;¹⁴ in October 1837 he was finally admitted to the Conservatoire based on his father becoming a French citizen in September 1837.¹⁵ At the Conservatoire César-Auguste studied piano again with Zimmerman and counterpoint with Aimé Leborne.¹⁶ In Zimmerman's class he, then fifteen years old, was unanimously awarded on August 2, 1838, a special first prize, a *Grand Prix d'Honneur*, which was given only this one time in the history of the Conservatoire because of his unsurpassable ability to sight-read and transpose the manuscript down a third without error.¹⁷ The jury, however, decided that year to give additional first prizes to Henri-Louis Charles Duvernoy (1820-1906), who served as professor of solfège and harmony at the Conservatoire from 1843 to 1881,¹⁸ and to someone named Barth. As *La France musicale* reported on August 5, 1838, Duvernoy and Barth "would in ordinary circumstances have deserved the senior

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Fauquet, "Franck, 1. César-Auguste," 1584.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Vallas, *César Franck*, 26.

¹⁷Ibid., 28-29.

¹⁸Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de declamation* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), 748.

award.”¹⁹ In addition to *La France musicale*, other newspapers reported this special event as well.²⁰ In 1840 César-Auguste won the first prize in counterpoint and fugue, and in the fall of the same year he began to study organ with Benoist, winning a second prize in organ in 1841.²¹ Though César-Auguste entered Henri Montan Berton’s composition class to prepare for the *Prix de Rome*, he never competed for it.²² In April 1842 he was forced by his father to withdraw from the Paris Conservatoire to pursue a career as a virtuoso pianist; the Franck family toured through Belgium and German in 1843 with little success.²³

From 1842 to 1848 César-Auguste wrote a number of pieces for piano, such as *Églogue*, Op. 3 (1842), *Grand caprice*, Op. 5 (1843), and *Ballade*, Op. 9 (1844), which were modeled after the piano works of Franz Liszt, Frédéric Chopin, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, and Henri Herz.²⁴ His *Trois trios concertants*, Op. 1 for piano, completed in 1843 and dedicated to the Belgian King Leopold I, was well received and subscribed by prominent composers, including Franz Liszt, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Daniel-François-Espirit Auber, Fromental Halévy, and, Gaetano Donizetti.²⁵ The first trio from *Trois trios concertants*, Op. 1 shows one of the first uses of a cyclic form, in which not only the idea

¹⁹Vallas, *César Franck*, 28-29.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 28.

²¹Fauquet, “Franck, 1. César-Auguste,” 1585.

²²*Ibid.*, 1584-85.

²³*Ibid.*, 1585.

²⁴Peter Jost, “Chronik,” in *César Franck: Werk und Rezeption*, ed. Peter Jost (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 10.

²⁵*Ibid.*

of cyclic theme is completely developed,²⁶ but the Lisztian idea of motivic transformation might have also been foreshadowed.²⁷ However, Franck was to fully develop his cyclic ideas later in his *Grande pièce symphonique* for organ.²⁸ He then wrote his first large-scale *Ruth*, an oratorio, and premiered it with himself on the piano in October 1845.²⁹ Enabled through Franz Liszt's intercession, *Ruth* was performed later on January 4, 1846, at the Paris Conservatoire with orchestra;³⁰ it was disappointingly received.³¹ When *Ruth* was performed years later in its revision in the Cirque des Champs-Élysées in October 1871, it enjoyed a celebratory success.³² César-Auguste's relationship with his father began to worsen when his career as a virtuoso pianist and composer proved not to be as fruitful and profitable as his father had hoped.³³ When César-Auguste's father discovered that his son dedicated his song "L'Ange et l'enfant" to Félicité Saillot Desmousseaux, one of his son's private students, and was planning to propose to her,³⁴ he severed his relationship with his son due to his concern that a marriage would be a hindrance to his

²⁶Ludwig Finscher, "Zyklus," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 9 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1998), 2533.

²⁷Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 274.

²⁸Rey M. Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: 1988), 205.

²⁹Fauquet, "Franck, 1. César-Auguste," 1585.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Laurence Davies, *César Franck and His Circle* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), 60-61.

³²Ibid., 63.

³³Fauquet, "Franck, 1. César-Auguste," 1585.

³⁴Vallas, *César Franck*, 84.

son's career as a virtuoso pianist.³⁵ As a result, César-Auguste moved out of his parents' house. From this time forward he signed his name as César Franck as proof of his decision to become a new and distinct person from the previous one.³⁶ In the midst of the 1848 Revolution, César and Félicité married at Notre Dame-de-Lorette,³⁷ where Franck had served as *organiste accompagnateur* since 1847.³⁸ The parents of both the bride and groom attended their wedding service, which seemed to be a signal of some sort of reconciliation.³⁹

The year 1848 witnessed the fall of King Louis-Philippe, who was forced to renounce his throne and flee to England in June due to his progressively far-right policies and the economic crisis,⁴⁰ along with the rise of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (the nephew of Napoleon I), who was elected as the president of the Second Republic in December.⁴¹ The overthrow of the king was prompted by a series of political events that inspired Franck to write several patriotic songs: "Chöre Hymne à la Patrie," "L'Égalité, chant des travailleurs," and "Les Trois Exilés;"⁴² the last was written for the elected President of

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., 85.

³⁷Fauquet, "Franck, 1. César-Auguste," 1586.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Vallas, *César Franck*, 92.

⁴⁰*The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6th ed., s.v. "February Revolution, in French History."

⁴¹*The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6th ed., s.v. "Napoleon III."

⁴²Jost, "Chronik," 11.

the Second Republic and was the only one of the three to appear in print.⁴³ In 1853 Franck, probably inspired by his parents-in-law, both of whom were actors at the Comédie-Française,⁴⁴ wrote the opera *Le Valet de ferme*, with thoughts of pursuing a new career in opera;⁴⁵ however *Le Valet* remained unpublished.⁴⁶ From 1852 to 1870, Franck worked as teacher, piano accompanist, and church musician.⁴⁷ He also taught at home and at various institutions: Collège Rollin, where Jacques Offenbach was also a teacher; the Collège des Jésuites de l’Immaculée Conception de Vaugirard, where he taught Henri Duparc, Arthur Coquard, and others; the Pension Deslignières; and the École Monceau.⁴⁸ From 1849 to 1866 Franck was active as a piano accompanist for the concerts of the Institute Musical d’Orléans, whose director, Louis Féréol, was a singer and a cousin of Franck.⁴⁹

In 1851 Franck was named as organist at Saint-Jean-Saint-François,⁵⁰ whose Cavaillé-Coll organ was described by Franck as “an orchestra,”⁵¹ though it had only two manuals equipped with twenty stops.⁵² Perhaps it was this organ that inspired ideas that

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Vallas, *César Franck*, 84.

⁴⁵Ibid., 104-07.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Fauquet, “Franck, 1. César-Auguste,” 1586.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., 1587.

⁵⁰Félix Raugel, *Les Grandes orgues des églises de Paris et du département de la Seine* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1927), 182.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

led to the organ symphony. It was about the same time that Franck began to study the *Praktische Orgelschule*, Op. 55 by Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck in order to improve his pedal technique.⁵³ Later in 1854, along with Auguste-Ernest Bazille, Piétro Cavallo, and Lemmens, Franck inaugurated the organ at Saint-Eustache with a “Fantaisie.”⁵⁴ This “Fantaisie” was described by the reviewer of *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* as carefully composed and vigorously performed.⁵⁵ Franck’s participation in the inauguration program at Saint-Eustache, which was his very first performance at an inauguration, marked the beginning of Franck’s career as organist.⁵⁶ With Cavallé-Coll’s support, Franck was nominated in the fall of 1857 as *maître de chapelle* at the neo-Gothic Sainte-Clotilde.⁵⁷ At the time of Franck’s nomination, Sainte-Clotilde was just being completed, with its dedication on November 30, 1857.⁵⁸ Franck’s appointment at Sainte-Clotilde, where his improvisations after the service attracted the public’s attention, indicated a new stage in his career.⁵⁹ In addition, the installation of the new Cavallé-Coll organ, completed in August 1859, seemed to motivate and inspire Franck to compose

⁵³Fauquet, “Franck, 1. César-Auguste,” 1587.

⁵⁴“Inauguration du grand orgue de l’église Saint-Eustache,” *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 21 (May 28, 1854): 174-75.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶Fauquet, “Franck, 1. César-Auguste,” 1587.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸Rollin Smith, *Playing the Organ Works of César Franck* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1997), 13.

⁵⁹John Trevitt and Joël-Marie Fauquet, “Franck, César,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10121> (accessed April 6, 2012).

more for organ.⁶⁰ Because of this synergy between organist-composer and organ builder, it is important to recognize and acknowledge Cavallé-Coll's contribution to the development of French organ music.

The Influence of Aristide Cavallé-Coll

Cavallé-Coll, born to an organ-building family active in the south of France (Toulouse area) since the eighteenth century, was one of the most significant and influential organ builders in nineteenth-century France.⁶¹ By using new and innovative techniques, he expanded both the size and color palette of the French organ, which inspired French organ composers from Franck to Olivier Messiaen to write so-called symphonic works for organ solo.⁶² Born in Montpellier on February 4, 1811, Cavallé-Coll learned his profession by being an apprentice to his father.⁶³ Because of the marriage of his great-great-uncle, Dominican Joseph Cavallé, to a Spanish woman, Maria Francesca Coll, the descendants after Dominican Cavallé carried both parents' family names following the Spanish custom.⁶⁴ In the fall of 1833, Cavallé-Coll went to Paris to study organ building and surprisingly won the contest to build an organ at Saint-Denis.⁶⁵ In his second proposal for the organ at Saint-Denis dated on December 2, 1839, Cavallé-

⁶⁰Orpha Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing in Nineteenth-Century France and Belgium* (reprint, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), 57.

⁶¹James H. Cook, "Cavallé-Coll, Aristide (1811-1899)," in *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Douglas E. Bush (New York: Routledge, 2006), 97.

⁶²Hans Klotz and Kurt Lueders, "Cavallé-Coll, Aristide," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/05199> (accessed February 6, 2012).

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

Coll talked about Barker's invention of the pneumatic lever, which "gives the keyboard all the lightness one might desire, reduces the key dip, and makes no change in the design of the pallet."⁶⁶ He continued to describe how the pneumatic lever worked and its advantages:

Based on the elasticity of air, this appliance uses the very wind supplied by the bellows. Instead of directly overcoming the resistance of the pallet, each key serves as a kind of trigger or detent controlling the action of this device, which in turn opens and closes the pallet. For each manual key there is provided a small bellows, connected to the pull down of a pallet in the chest. These little bellows are so designed that when a key is depressed, the corresponding bellows fills with wind from the main supply. Since air is elastic, the little bellows immediately fills with wind, and it opens the pallet connected to it. When the key is released, the little bellows collapses, and the pallet immediately closes. This new device not only allows us to decrease the stiffness of the key action; it also allows us to increase the size of the pallets and thus supply the pipes with all wind they need to speak with characteristic power. Finally, it will be observed that this device is a valuable resource where the action of coupled manuals is connected. It is common knowledge that pipe organs are fitted with several keyboards, each of which controls a certain number of stops; and that the full power of the organ can be obtained only by coupling the keyboards in such a way that one of them operates all the others. In this case, the organist is faced with the greatest difficulty, for each keyboard coupled increases the heaviness of the action. By using this new scheme, we obtain all the advantages of coupling and none of the disadvantages: since all coupling is done with the aid of the pneumatic device just described, the lightness of the key action is in no way affected by the various combinations.⁶⁷

Cavaillé-Coll successfully completed his first pneumatic-lever organ at Saint-Denis (four manuals, 70 stops) in 1841, which resulted in additional contracts for new organs at churches in France, including Église de la Madeleine in Paris (1846; four manuals, 48 stops), Saint-Paul in Nîmes (1849; two manuals, 20 stops), Saint-Omer (1855; three manuals, 50 stops), Saint-Hippolyte in Poligny (1859; two manuals, 26 stops), Saint-Sulpice in Paris (1862; five manuals, 100 stops), Notre-Dame-de-Paris (1868; five

⁶⁶Fenner Douglas, *Cavaillé-Coll and the Musicians: A Documented Account of His First Thirty Years in Organ Building* (Raleigh, NC: Sunbury Press, 1980), 23.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 23-24.

manuals, 86 stops), Église de la Sainte-Trinité (1868; three manuals, 46 stops), Trocadéro in Paris (1878; four manuals, 66 stops), Saint-François-de-Sales in Lyon (1880; three manuals, 45 stops), Saint-Étienne in Caen (1885; three manuals, 50 stops), and Saint-Ouen in Rouen (1890; four manuals, 64 stops).⁶⁸ In addition, Cavaillé-Coll built organs throughout Western Europe (except Germany): San Sebastián in Spain (1863; three manuals, 14 stops), Albert Hall in Sheffield, England (1873; four manuals, 64 stops), Industriepalast in Amsterdam, Netherlands (1875; three manuals, 46 stops), Town Hall in Manchester, England (1877; three manuals, 43 stops), and Azcoitia in Spain (1898; three manuals, 40 stops). He even built at least one organ in South America.⁶⁹

Based on the size and acoustics of a room, Cavaillé-Coll built two-manual organs (*Positif* and *Grand orgue*) with between eight and twenty stops, three-manual organs (*Positif*, *Récit*, and *Grand orgue*) with between twenty-six and fifty stops, and four-manual organs (*Positif*, *Récit*, *Grand orgue*, and a *Bombarde* division) with over fifty stops;⁷⁰ the five-manual organs at Notre-Dame-de-Paris and Saint-Sulpice each had a *Grand chœur* manual added to the four-manual organ scheme.⁷¹ The foundational tonal element of a Cavaillé-Coll organ of middle to large size was the full organ,⁷² which was found on all of the manuals and complemented by reeds (*Basson*, *Clairons*, *Cor anglais*,

⁶⁸Carolyn Jean Shuster, "Cavaillé-Coll, Aristide," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 4 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2000), 460.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Klotz and Lueders, "Cavaillé-Coll, Aristide."

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²A combination of stops generally consisting of principles of 8', 4', mutation stops (*nazards* and *tierces*), reeds (*trumpet* 8', *cromorne* 8', and *clarion* 4'), a *cornet* (a mixture); see, Barbara Owen, *The Registration of Baroque Organ Music* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997), 118, 213.

Cromorne, Hautbois, Trumpets, Vox humana; or sets of horizontal reeds, Spanish chamade Trumpets).⁷³ In addition to the full organ, the *Récit* was equipped with a number of overblowing flutes, which were invented and perfected by Cavallé-Coll and formed the typical tonal unit of the *Récit*: Flûtes harmonique 8', Flûte octaviante 4', Octavin 2', and Piccolo 1'.⁷⁴ The basic foundation stops of a Cavallé-Coll organ consisted of Montre, Prestant, conical Octave 4', Bourdons, and narrow-scaled stops (Quintaton, Viole de gamba, Salicional, and Violoncelle).⁷⁵ Furthermore, a Cavallé-Coll organ was equipped with an "expressif" *Récit* box, which was controlled by the feet (enabled by the use of the Barker lever) and allowed volume to smoothly increase and decrease.⁷⁶ Because the full organ was the basic tonal component on all of the manuals, an even greater gradation in volume was possible by coupling the upper manual to the lower one and eventually to the lowest one (Cavallé-Coll exchanged the *Positif* with *Grand orgue* in his later instruments so that *Grand orgue* became the lowest manual preceded by *Positif* and *Récit*).⁷⁷ Since all of the couplers and the *Récit* box were controlled by the feet, a performer, as Klotz and Lueders sum up, "could effect a general crescendo with a consistent tone colour through the whole dynamic range without removing the hands from the keyboards."⁷⁸ Without these innovations in organ building, Franck and

⁷³Klotz and Lueders, "Cavallé-Coll, Aristide."

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

succeeding generations of French composers would not have been inspired to write with the tonal and dynamic breadth that came to define French organ music.

Middle Years

As previously indicated, the next phase of Franck's life began with his appointment as *maître de chapelle* at Sainte-Clotilde in 1857. Soon after his arrival, the church was completed and its new Cavaillé-Coll organ installed. This organ, with its expansive size and color palette, was to provide a significant influence to Franck's composition and teaching, and consequently the development of French organ music. It is known from a letter from the organ builder himself that the Cavaillé-Coll organ installed in Sainte-Clotilde (completed on December 2, 1859) was originally designed for the Cathedral of Bayonne;⁷⁹ this original plan was carried over unchanged to Sainte-Clotilde.⁸⁰ It had three manuals (*Positif*, *Grand orgue*, and *Récit*), each of fifty-four notes, and a *Pédale* division of twenty-seven notes.⁸¹ The *Positif* contained ten stops, made up of foundation stops (8' and 4'), mutations, and reeds, while the *Grand orgue* had sixteen stops, of which half were foundations (16', 8', 4') and half were mutations and reeds.⁸² The *Récit* had eight stops, of which half were foundations (8' and 4') and half were mutations and reeds; whereas the *Pédale* was simply equipped with three foundation stops (one 16', one 8', and one 4') and three reeds (one 16', one 8', and one 4').⁸³ By

⁷⁹Douglas, *Cavaillé-Coll and the Musicians*, 109.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 130-31.

⁸²*Ibid.*

⁸³*Ibid.*

adding up the number of stops listed, this Cavaillé-Coll should have possessed only 40 stops, a number that contradicted what was reported in many newspapers on its inauguration and what experts have long believed, namely 46 stops.⁸⁴ Though no clear documents exist about the addition of six more stops, it seems, as Douglas points out, that extra work for which Cavaillé-Coll required additional money from Sainte-Clotilde in a final progress report to the church, dated on August 29, 1859, might have included these six additional stops to the Sainte-Clotilde organ.⁸⁵ This organ made use of the pneumatic lever, called the Barker lever after its inventor, Charles Spackman Barker of England, who introduced it to Cavaillé-Coll.⁸⁶

Together with Louis-Alfred Lefébure-Wély (one of the most celebrated organ performers of his time, who succeeded his father as organist at Saint-Roch and was reported to have an excellent pedal technique),⁸⁷ Franck inaugurated the Cavaillé-Coll organ at Sainte-Clotilde on December 19, 1859.⁸⁸ In alternation with the singing of Sainte-Clotilde's choir, Lefébure-Wély performed three improvisations, including one symphonic improvisation on Christmas tunes.⁸⁹ Franck played first a lengthy

⁸⁴Ibid., 134-38.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Guy Oldham and Nicholas Thistlethwaite, "Barker, Charles Spackman," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/02068> (accessed March 10, 2012).

⁸⁷David Sanger, "Lefébure-Wély, Louis," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/45840> (accessed February 7, 2012).

⁸⁸Marie Escudier, "Actualities," *La France musicale* (December 25, 1856): 566.

⁸⁹Ibid.

improvisation, then a Prelude and Fugue in E Minor by J. S. Bach, and concluded with an “Improvisation-Final.”⁹⁰ This “Final,” according to Smith, seemed to be the “Final,” Op. 22 from Franck’s *Six pièces*,⁹¹ which Franck dedicated to Lefébure-Wély.⁹² In a review dated on January 1, 1860, for *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, Adrien de La Fage praised Franck’s improvisation for its “vigorous style [that] created an impression on the audience.”⁹³ Further, La Fage commented on Franck’s mastery of Bach’s Prelude and Fugue in E Minor, which achieved clarity, precision, and appropriate registration.⁹⁴ He wrote that Franck should be afforded “a place among organists of the first rank” and closed with a comment on Franck’s “Final” that it “showed the thought and technique of a true master.”⁹⁵ Perhaps some of his mastery of pedal technique was the result of his purchase (in February 1858 from the Pleyel, Wolff, & Cie) of a *pédalier*, which is a kind of piano located on a separate box containing pedals, action, and strings.⁹⁶

Because of his position at Sainte-Clotilde, Franck wrote a number of sacred choral pieces, including *Les Sept paroles du Christ*, several motets and canticles, and three little oratorios in Latin.⁹⁷ Between 1859 and around 1864, he composed his *Six*

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 23.

⁹²Marie-Louise Jaquet-Langlais, “The Organ Works of Franck: A Survey of Editorial and Performance Problems,” trans. Matthew Dirst and Kimberly Marshall, in *French Organ Music from the Revolution to Franck and Widor*, ed. Lawrence Archbold and William J. Peterson, 2nd ed. (reprint, Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1999), 147.

⁹³*La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 27:4-5, quoted in Douglas, *Cavaillé-Coll and the Musicians*, 111.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Vallas, *César Franck*, 114.

⁹⁷Fauquet, “Franck, 1. César-Auguste,” 1587.

pièces d'orgue, Op. 16-21,⁹⁸ which as a collection, in Rollin Smith's opinion, "was the first major contribution to French organ literature in over a century, and the most important organ music written since Mendelssohn's."⁹⁹ As Félix Raugel states, they embody "a monument to the resurrection in France of the great art of the organ."¹⁰⁰ Franck premiered *Six pièces* as a set at Sainte-Clotilde on November 17, 1864.¹⁰¹ He also played them there on April 13, 1866, for Liszt, who came to Paris due to his mother's death. Liszt was reported to have said that Franck's *Six pièces* were worthy of a "place beside the masterpieces of Bach."¹⁰² *Six pièces*, consisting of "Fantaisie en ut," *Grande pièce symphonique*, "Prélude, fugue et variation," "Pastorale," "Prière," and "Final," were published by Maeyens-Couvreue in 1868 and reissued by Durand & Schoenwerk in 1880.¹⁰³

"Fantaisie en ut," Op. 16 was first performed by Franck on a newly constructed organ for Saint-Michael in Carcassonne at the Cavallé-Coll factory in August 1856.¹⁰⁴ It was dedicated to Alexis Chauvet (1837-1871), who studied organ with Benoist at the Conservatoire and won a first prize in organ in 1860.¹⁰⁵ Chauvet, as a skillful polyphonist

⁹⁸Jaquet-Langlais, "The Organ Works of Franck," 146.

⁹⁹Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 27.

¹⁰⁰Félix Raugel, "La Musique religieuse française de l'époque révolutionnaire à la mort de César Franck," in *La Musique religieuse française de ses origines à nos jours*, under the direction of Armand Machabey (Paris: Édition Richard-Masse, 1954), 119.

¹⁰¹Fauquet, "Franck, 1. César-Auguste," 1588.

¹⁰²Trevitt and Fauquet, "Franck, César."

¹⁰³Jaquet-Langlais, "The Organ Works of Franck," 146.

¹⁰⁴Henri Blanchard, "Auditions musicales," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (August 30, 1856): 247-48.

¹⁰⁵François Sabatier, "Alexis Chauvet," in *Guide de la musique d'orgue*, under the direction of Gilles Cantagrel (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1991), 266.

and admirer of Bach, held the position of organist at various churches in Paris: Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin (1861), then Saint-Bernard-de-la-Chapelle, then Saint-Merri (1866), and finally La Trinité (1869-1871).¹⁰⁶ At the inauguration at Saint-Michael, Franck was complimented by Henri Blanchard as an outstanding organist, being able to employ all of the resources of the new organ and to perform serious music skillfully.¹⁰⁷ Further, Blanchard commented on "Fantaisie" as extremely successfully composed.¹⁰⁸ According to Smith, Franck might have played a second version of "Fantaisie" at the inauguration of the organ at Saint-Sulpice in 1862,¹⁰⁹ whose rich sonority was admired by the reviewer of *La France musicale*.¹¹⁰ In this three-section "Fantaisie," Franck was able to use a variety of sounds within a duration of thirteen minutes to display the capacity of the organ by utilizing foundation stops at the beginning, by placing then a duet between trumpet and flute, and by concluding the piece with the ethereal *voix humaine*.¹¹¹

Grande pièce symphonique, Op. 17, dedicated to Charles-Valentin Alkan (who was on the piano jury when the fifteen-year-old Cèsar-Auguste competed for the first prize in 1838¹¹² and the first to write a symphony for piano solo as part of his op. 39 in

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 62.

¹¹⁰Charles Collin, "Réception du Grand Orgue de St-Sulpice," *La France musicale* (May 4, 1862): 137-38.

¹¹¹Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 76.

¹¹²Davies, *César Franck and His Circle*, 50.

1857),¹¹³ is Franck's first major and most extended organ composition.¹¹⁴ With this *Grande pièce symphonique*, where for the first time "symphonique" was used to designate an organ piece, Franck became "the father of the French organ symphony," which was later brought to perfection through the organ compositions of Guilmant, Widor, and Vierne.¹¹⁵ A more detailed discussion of *Grande pièce symphonique* is included in chapter 5.

"Prélude, fugue et variation," Op. 18, dedicated to Saint-Saëns, is one of Franck's most delightful organ works¹¹⁶ and the most popular piece of the set.¹¹⁷ It is written in a three-part form, which Franck favorably used in many of his compositions, including "Prélude, aria et final" and "Prélude, choral et fugue" for piano.¹¹⁸ According to Gastoué, "Pastorale," Op. 19, dedicated to Cavaillé-Coll, might have been inspired by the "Allegro moderato" of 1817 by Alexandre Pierre François Boëly.¹¹⁹ In addition, Gastoué states that Boëly's influence is especially noticeable in "the harmonies and the characteristics atmosphere of the first and last sections of Franck's 'Pastorale'."¹²⁰

¹¹³Hamilton, Kenneth, "Alkan, (Charles-) Valentin," in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, edited by Alison Latham, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e176> (accessed March 13, 2012).

¹¹⁴Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 79-80.

¹¹⁵Helga Schauerte-Maubouet, "Orgelmusik, 3. Franckreich," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 4 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2000), 1085.

¹¹⁶Corliss Richard Arnold, *Organ Literature: A Comprehensive Survey*, vol. 1: *Historical Survey*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2003), 203.

¹¹⁷François Sabatier, "César Franck," in *Guide de la musique d'orgue*, under the direction of Gilles Cantagrel (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1991), 365.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹¹⁹Gastoué, "A Great French Organist," 342.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*

Dedicated to Benoist, Franck's organ professor at the Conservatoire, "Prière," Op. 20 seems again to be inspired by Boëly's composition, namely "Larghetto in C-sharp Minor" of 1828.¹²¹ Moreover, as Sabatier points out, it is the only piece in addition to *Trois chorals*, that makes "a reference to a religious notion";¹²² in Sabatier's opinion, "Prière," "Fantaisie," and "Prélude, fugue et variation" are the best of the collection.¹²³

"Final," Op. 21, dedicated to Lefébure-Wély, was probably first performed by the composer at the inauguration of the organ of Sainte-Clotilde on December 19, 1859.¹²⁴ Adrien de la Fage, who was a student of and later an assistant to Alexandre Étienne Choron, wrote in *La Revue et gazette* that Franck's "Final" well represented a master's idea and craftsmanship.¹²⁵

During the 1860s, a new generation of French organists and organ composers emerged, including Théodore Dubois (1837-1924), Auguste Durand (1830-1909), Henri Fissot (1843-1896), Eugène Gigout (1844-1925), Alexandre Guilmant (1837-1911), Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921), Eugène Sergent (1829-1900), and Charles-Marie Widor (1844-1937). Many of them went to the Conservatoire to study and were Benoist's students, while Guilmant and Widor went to Brussels to study organ with Lemmens, and Gigout went to the Niedermeyer School. All were active in performing for organ inaugurations and held positions at churches; several of them became influential figures for later generations. Around the same time when Cavaillé-Coll's company was gaining

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Sabatier, "César Franck," 366.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴*La France musicale* (December 25, 1859): 566.

¹²⁵*La Revue et gazette musicale* (January 1, 1860): 4.

prestige, Joseph Merklin (1819-1905), a German-born organ builder and a rival to Cavallé-Coll, was active in building organs of good quality in Belgium and France.¹²⁶ In the 1840s, Merklin resided in Ixelles near Brussels, successfully displaying his organ in the 1847 national exhibition in Brussels;¹²⁷ his organ was praised by Fétis and Lemmens.¹²⁸ He bought the Ducroquet firm in 1855 and immediately built several notable large organs for churches, including Saint-Eugène (1856; three manuals, 33 stops) in Paris and the Murica Cathedral (1857; four manuals, 63 stops) in Spain.¹²⁹ During the Franco-Prussian War, Merklin was forced to leave Brussels and lived in Switzerland for about two years.¹³⁰ The organ he built for Saint-Eustache in Paris after the Franco-Prussian War in 1879 marked a critical movement for his business.¹³¹ In the 1880s, Merklin added electro-pneumatic action to the organs at major churches, including Sainte-Clotilde and Notre-Dame-de-Paris.¹³² Generally speaking, Merklin's organs showed German influences in individual timbres, tonal foundation (based on reeds and cornets), and technical innovation.¹³³

¹²⁶Heinrich R. Trötschel and Christian Lutz, "Merklin, 2. Joseph," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 9 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1998), 31-32.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Ibid.

¹³¹Brian Doherty, "Merklin, Joseph," in *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Douglas E. Bush (New York: Routledge, 2006), 347-48.

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Kurt Lueders, "Merklin, Joseph," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/18451> (accessed February 7, 2012).

The years of 1868 and 1869 witnessed the installations of two Cavaillé-Coll organs at two important churches, Notre-Dame and La Trinité, in Paris. On February 20, 1868, Camille Saint-Saëns, Franck, Eugène Sergent, Auguste Durand, Charles-Marie Widor, Chauvet, and Clément Loret gathered together at Notre-Dame to examine the organ before its official inauguration on March 6.¹³⁴ According to the report of L'abbé Lamazou in *Le Ménestrel*, the result of the examination was with one voice satisfactory, giving utmost compliments to the builder.¹³⁵ For the inauguration Franck played his “Fantaisie en ut majeur,” Op. 16.¹³⁶ Franck, Chauvet (who performed his “Introduction et Noël”), and Saint-Saëns (who played his “Marche de la Cantate couronnée à l'Exposition universelle”) were chosen by *Revue de musique sacrée* as the most superior organists,¹³⁷ while *La France musicale* favored Chauvet, Saint-Saëns, and Guilmant (who played his “Marche funèbre et Chant séraphique”),¹³⁸ and *La Revue et gazette musicale* preferred Chauvet and Saint-Saëns.¹³⁹ After the official inauguration, a series of half-hour recitals took place at twelve-thirty in the afternoon on Sundays.¹⁴⁰ Saint-Saëns opened the series, and Franck, Guilmant, and other organists followed.¹⁴¹

¹³⁴“Paris et Départements,” *Le Ménestrel* 35 (February 23, 1868): 102.

¹³⁵L'abbé Lamazou, “Grande orgue de Notre-Dame de Paris,” *Le Ménestrel* 35 (May 3, 1868): 177-79 and 35 (May 10, 1868): 185-86.

¹³⁶*Revue de musique sacrée* 9: 23-24.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*

¹³⁸*La France musicale* 32: 83.

¹³⁹*La Revue et gazette musicale* 35: 85.

¹⁴⁰*La Revue et gazette musicale* 35: 68, 95.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*

The following year, at the recently constructed La Trinité, Franck, along with Saint-Saëns, Durand, Widor, Fissot, and Chauvet (*titulaire* of La Trinité), inaugurated the Cavaillé-Coll organ on March 16, 1869.¹⁴² Franck was the first to play, beginning with an improvisation described as vigorous and well-developed; in addition, he was praised for his ability to display endless combinations of sonorities.¹⁴³ Widor also complimented him for his well-elaborated themes and improvisatory performance,¹⁴⁴ while the reviewer for *La France musicale* favored the performance of Durand, who played a showy pastoral.¹⁴⁵ The same reviewer commented further on Saint-Saëns's and Franck's "religious" style; in his opinion, religious music seemed to be a way for the musicians to hide their unimaginativeness under the chaos of a pretentious harmony.¹⁴⁶

The 1870s saw changes in French musical taste and expression due, in part, to hostilities between France and Prussia, resulting in a Third Republic and a new nationalism that was averse to anything "German." The Franco-Prussian War, which occurred in 1870 and 1871, brought France much destruction and humiliation: France lost its Alsace and Lorraine regions to Germany until regaining them in 1918 after World War I.¹⁴⁷ The Third Republic (1870-1940) was proclaimed in France after Napoleon III had been captured by the Prussians;¹⁴⁸ its first president, Marshal MacMahon, was elected

¹⁴²*La Revue et gazette musicale* 35: 85.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴Raugel, *Les Grandes orgues*, 220.

¹⁴⁵*La France musicale* 33: 91.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷*The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6th ed., s.v. "France."

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*

later in 1873 after the bloodthirsty Commune of Paris had been repressed.¹⁴⁹ As a result of such a disastrous and degrading defeat, nationalism and anti-Wagnerian movements took place in France during the Third Republic.¹⁵⁰ The Société Nationale de Musique, one of the outcomes of the nationalism movement, was established in February 1871.¹⁵¹ With Saint-Saëns and Romain Bussine (1830-1899; who studied at the Conservatoire and became professor there in 1879)¹⁵² as its principle founders, it aimed to encourage native music, which was embodied in its motto, “Ars Gallica.”¹⁵³ With Alexis de Castillon (1838-1873; who studied composition privately with Franck from 1869-1872)¹⁵⁴ as its secretary, its committee members included Gabriel Fauré, Édouard Lalo, and Franck;¹⁵⁵ the latter was nominated as its president in 1886.¹⁵⁶ During its first two decades, it sponsored and promoted premieres of compositions of a number of living French composers, including Saint-Saëns, Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel, and Emmanuel Chabrier.¹⁵⁷ During the Franco-Prussian War, the Paris Conservatoire was closed.¹⁵⁸

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰Jane P. Ambrose, “Music,” in *Historical Dictionary of the Third French Republic, 1870-1940*, ed. Patrick H. Hutton (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 2:664.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

¹⁵²Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 712.

¹⁵³Sabina Teller Ratner, James Harding, and Daniel M. Fallon, “Saint-Saëns, Camille,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford MusicOnline*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/24335> (accessed October 15, 2011).

¹⁵⁴Fauquet, *César Franck*, 960.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Jost, “Chronik,” 13.

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 428-29.

When it resumed classes in 1872,¹⁵⁹ François Benoist retired as organ professor, a position he had held since 1819.¹⁶⁰ On February 1, 1872, Franck was named to succeed Benoist as professor of organ at the Conservatoire.¹⁶¹ According to Fauquet, two musicians were responsible for Franck's nomination: Dubois and Saint-Saëns, who at various times recommended Franck to the director of the Conservatoire and to the Minister de l'Instruction Publique to be Benoist's successor.¹⁶²

Late Years

As part of his duties at his new appointment at the Conservatoire, Franck held organ classes, according to Vierne's memoir, three times a week: on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays from eight to ten o'clock in the morning.¹⁶³ The organ Franck used for his class (described by Vierne as a "cuckoo" organ placed in the small examination hall)¹⁶⁴ was assembled by Cavaillé-Coll from two old organs: one from remnants of the Pierre Erard organ from the burned Chapel of Tuileries and one from G. J. Grenié's *orgue expressif* installed at the Conservatoire in 1819.¹⁶⁵ When this "examination hall" was being used for examinations, Franck, according to Vierne, would either change the class meeting time or hold his organ class in a piano class room for

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 429.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., 417.

¹⁶¹Joël-Marie Fauquet, *César Franck* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1999), 471.

¹⁶²Ibid., 468-69.

¹⁶³Rollin Smith, *Louis Vierne: Organist of Notre-Dame Cathedral* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1999), 41.

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵Norbert Dufourcq, *Autour des orgues du Conservatoire National et de la Chapelle des Tuileries* (Paris: Librairie Floury, 1952), 26.

students to work on plainchant.¹⁶⁶ The number of students enrolled in Franck's organ class varied from year to year (for example, six in 1872, four in 1878 and 1881); it reached fourteen in 1886 and then ranged from nine to thirteen until the end of Franck's tenure.¹⁶⁷ In total, sixty-seven students' names were recorded as being enrolled in Franck's organ classes.¹⁶⁸ Franck's reports on his students' progress achieved during the semester tended to be more detailed than those of his predecessor;¹⁶⁹ frequently he commented fairly on students' commitment, talent, strengths, and weakness.¹⁷⁰

The educational purpose of organ class at the Conservatoire in 1872 remained the same as in 1841, when Franck was a student in Benoist's class, strongly emphasizing the art of improvisation, which, requisite for organist, was intrinsically related to the studies of harmony and composition.¹⁷¹ Based on this emphasis on improvisation, annual competitions around 1872 consisted of the following requirements: improvising a four-part accompaniment to a chant melody arranged consecutively in the soprano and bass; improvising a four-part fugue on a given subject; improvising a free composition on a given theme; performing from memory a Bach fugue with pedal.¹⁷² In agreement with this strong emphasis on improvisation, Franck devoted about five of six hours of his organ class to improvisation (as Vierne verified in his memoire), specifically on the four

¹⁶⁶Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 41.

¹⁶⁷Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 157-58.

¹⁶⁸Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 682-872; Fauquet, *César Franck*, 959-64.

¹⁶⁹Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 158.

¹⁷⁰Ibid.

¹⁷¹Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 358.

¹⁷²Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 149.

requirements for annual competitions listed above.¹⁷³ From Vierne's memoir it is known how strict the improvisation for a four-part accompaniment to a chant was expected to be at the jury (and consequently in class): it was a note-for-note accompaniment with the chant melody in the upper voice, which

then became the bass in the whole notes, not transposed, accompanied by three upper parts in a sort of classical florid counterpoint; the whole notes then passed into the top part, transposed a fourth higher, and received in their turn the classical florid accompaniment. Nothing was closer to formula than this counterpoint, strict without being exactly so, crammed with retarded fifths, with seventh chords prolonged with the fifths, with sequences—in a word, with all that is forbidden in written counterpoint. It was the “tradition,” and Franck could not change anything.¹⁷⁴

Moreover, Vierne recalled that Franck had to concentrate chiefly on two forms: “the academic fugue and the free improvisation.”¹⁷⁵ Vierne continued to describe how “narrow” (his word) these two forms were expected to be at the jury: “None of the members of the jury would have tolerated a fugal entry in a remote key; none would have allowed the exposition of a second theme in a dominant of the free subject.”¹⁷⁶ One modification in the requirement for organ class occurring in the beginning year of Franck's professorship at the Conservatoire was the substitution of “a classic piece” from memory for the Bach fugue;¹⁷⁷ this, in Ochse's opinion, might have been initiated by Franck.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 41, 43, 45, 47.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 41-42.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 155.

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*

Though Franck also taught composition in this class in accordance with the Conservatoire's view of the purpose of organ class,¹⁷⁹ he was nonetheless criticized for it: the director of the Conservatoire, Ambroise Thomas, commented, "In this school we have at the present time a professor of organ who makes so bold as to turn his organ-class into a class for composition!"¹⁸⁰ From one of Franck's letters from August 1876, it is known that Franck was asked to teach more students, to give questions for harmony and fugue examination, and to be part of the harmony and fugue jury. In the same letter, Franck also expressed his concern about the unfair treatment his organ students received at their annual examination due to "a certain opposition against me among the members of the panel, which makes me rather sad since I am quite certain that it comes from people whom I had thought to be my friends."¹⁸¹ This "opposition" and the criticism by Thomas, according to Vallas, might be the reason why Franck, though he was certainly qualified, was not granted the position as professor of composition (a better paid post with a lighter schedule) at the Conservatoire when this position was opened twice in the year of 1880 and for which Franck applied both times.¹⁸² In Vallas's opinion, what really caused Franck to be criticized for teaching composition in his organ class and to be passed over for the position of composition twice could be that his well-attended composition class at home and his well-audited organ class at the Conservatoire (according to Tournemire, a

¹⁷⁹Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 358.

¹⁸⁰Vallas, *César Franck*, 256-60.

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, 158.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, 256-60.

great number of students from composition and harmony and fugue classes of the Conservatoire audited Franck's organ class)¹⁸³ were seen as rivals to the Conservatoire.¹⁸⁴

Though Vierne commented that Franck committed little time to performance in his organ class at the Conservatoire,¹⁸⁵ a list compiled by Benoit reveals that a great number of organ works by Bach were studied and performed for examination by Franck's students at the Conservatoire from 1874 to 1890; these Bach works¹⁸⁶ include Sonata in C, Movement I, BWV 526; Fantasia in C Minor, BWV 537; Toccata in D Minor, BWV 538; Prelude in G Major, BWV 541; Fantasia in G Minor, BWV 542; Prelude and Fugue in A Minor, BWV 543; Prelude and Fugue in E Minor, BWV 555; Prelude in G Major, BWV 568; Fugue in C Minor, BWV 574; Fugue in G Minor, BWV 578; Passacaglia, BWV 582; Pastorale, BWV 590; Concerto in A Minor, BWV 593; Fugue in F Minor, BWV 857 (from *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier I*); Fugue in D Minor, BWV 875 (from *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier II*). From the same list, it is also known that, in addition to Bach's organ works, Franck's "Pièce en ut" ["Fantaisie," Op. 16]¹⁸⁷ and "Prière," Op. 20, as well as Georg Friedrich Händel's Concerto in B-flat and Felix Mendelssohn's Sonata No. 3 in A Major were studied and played by Franck's students.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³Charles Tournemire, "La Classe d'orgue du Conservatoire de Paris," *Le Monde musicale* 41 (1930): 141-42.

¹⁸⁴Ibid.; Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 158-59.

¹⁸⁵Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 43.

¹⁸⁶Marcelle Benoit, "César Franck et ses élèves," *L'Orgue*, 83 (April-September, 1957): 76-78.

¹⁸⁷Rollin Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation of the Organ Works of César Franck* (New York: Pndragon Press, 1983), 107.

¹⁸⁸Benoit, "César Franck et ses élèves," 76-78.

In September 1878 Franck composed his *Trois pièces*—“Fantaisie en la,” “Cantabile,” and “Pièce héroïque,”—specifically for the Exposition Universelle in Paris.¹⁸⁹ For this Exposition Universelle, the Palais du Trocadéro, whose Moorish construction with twin towers was designed by Gabriel Davioud, was built.¹⁹⁰ The Salle des Fêtes, where a sixty-six-stop Cavaillé-Coll organ was installed, was a 5,000-seat circular auditorium. This Cavaillé-Coll organ was the first large organ in a concert hall in France.¹⁹¹ During the Exposition Universelle in 1878 and afterwards, series of organ recitals and other music performances took place.¹⁹² Between August and October of 1878, organ recitals were presented twice each week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, beginning at three o’clock in the afternoon.¹⁹³ Huge crowds were drawn to the organ recitals due to the fact that they were free of charge.¹⁹⁴ Among the leading organists who played for the organ recital series at the Trocadéro were Guilmant, (who inaugurated this mega series of recitals on August 7, 1878),¹⁹⁵ Widor, Saint-Saëns, and Franck. It was for this series that Widor premiered his Organ Symphony No. 6,¹⁹⁶ while Saint-Saëns presented the French premiere of Liszt’s *Fantasie und Fuge über den Choral ‘Ad nos, ad*

¹⁸⁹Arnold, *Organ Literature*, 203.

¹⁹⁰Nigel Simeone, *Paris: A Musical Gazetteer* (New Haven, CT: 2000), 209.

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, 211.

¹⁹²*Ibid.*

¹⁹³Ben van Oosten, *Charles-Marie Widor: Vater der Orgelsymphonie* (Padernborn, Germany: Verlag Peter Ewers, 1997), 134.

¹⁹⁴*La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 45: 261.

¹⁹⁵Van Oosten, *Charles-Marie Widor*, 133.

¹⁹⁶François Sabatier, “Charles-Marie Widor,” in *Guide de la musique d’orgue* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1991), 791.

*salutarem undam.*¹⁹⁷ Franck premiered all three of his organ works composed for this event, *Trois pièces*, intermingled with his *Grande pièce symphonique* and two of his own improvisations.¹⁹⁸ Franck's program for his first recital at the Trocadéro was described as "unquestionably one of the most interesting of the series."¹⁹⁹ According to the dates on the manuscripts, Franck's *Trois pièces* seemed to have been completed between September 10 and 17, 1878.²⁰⁰ "Fantaisie en la," known then as "Fantaisie-Idylle," was completed first and dated September 10.²⁰¹ "Pièce héroïque" was finished on September 13 and had a different ending from what was published later.²⁰² Finally, "Cantabile," the title of which was the tempo marking for the untitled piece, was completed on September 17.²⁰³ "Fantaisie en la," consisting basically of three motives, is a fantasy-like improvisatory piece, filled with vigor and expression.²⁰⁴ Franck also played this "Fantaisie" at the inauguration for the Merklin organ at Saint-Eustache on March 21, 1879, and was once more praised for his skillful and beautiful performance as well as his ability to compose a piece, in which "inspiration and technique, like two estranged sisters, entwine and complement each other on billowing waves of rich harmony

¹⁹⁷Rollin Smith, *Saint-Saëns and the Organ* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992), 115.

¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 34-36.

¹⁹⁹"Concerts et soirées," *Le Ménestrel* 44 (October 4, 1878): 363-64.

²⁰⁰Jaquet-Langlais, "The Organ Works of Franck," 145.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*

²⁰²*Ibid.*

²⁰³*Ibid.*

²⁰⁴Sabatier, "César Franck," 367.

randomly rushing from modulation to modulation.”²⁰⁵ “Cantabile,” which Sabatier describes as a delicate piece that seeks to arouse an emotion similar to that of Franck’s “Prière,” Op. 20,²⁰⁶ is based mostly on a single theme²⁰⁷ and unified by the use of a canon.²⁰⁸ Vincent d’Indy describes this theme as

suave and devotional . . . which will ever remain the typical prayer of an artist who was also a true Christian. Twice the prayer is heard; and here again we cannot fail to admire the wonderful canon which, moving with unbroken ease, forms the adornment of the melody, written by the master on purpose to display the warm, expressive quality of the new clarinet stop, recently discovered by Cavaillé-Coll.²⁰⁹

“Pièce héroïque,” a fantasy-like and improvisatory piece, comprises three melodies that are closely woven.²¹⁰ In Sabatier’s opinion, one finds in it the presentation of “Final,” Op. 21 from Franck’s *Six pièces*, the drive of “Fantaisie en la” and the sorrowfulness of “Cantabile” of the same set.²¹¹ Though today “Pièce héroïque” is one of the most celebrated pieces by Franck,²¹² he never played it again after its premiere on October 1, 1878,²¹³ which, according to Smith, might have been caused by the negative

²⁰⁵Abbé H. J. Ply, *La facture modern étudiée à l’orgue de Saint-Eustache* (Lyon, France: Perrin et Marinet, 1878), 275, quoted in Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 38.

²⁰⁶Sabatier, “César Franck,” 368.

²⁰⁷Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 183.

²⁰⁸Arnold, *Organ Literature*, 203.

²⁰⁹Vincent d’Indy, *César Franck* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965), 161.

²¹⁰Viktor Lukas, *Reclams Orgelmusikführer*, 6th ed. (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun., 1992), 206.

²¹¹*Ibid.*

²¹²Arnold, *Organ Literature*, 203.

²¹³“Nouvelles Musicales de l’Exposition,” *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (October 6, 1878): 321.

review in *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* after its premiere that described it as less interesting than other pieces despite a few excellent ideas.²¹⁴

In 1888 an *orgue de chœur* built by Merklin, was installed at Sainte-Clotilde.²¹⁵ This *orgue de chœur* used the electro-pneumatic action, which allowed the console to be placed in the choir area (the western part of the chancel between the nave and the altar).²¹⁶ Franck and other organists, including Samuel Rousseau and Dubois, who examined this *orgue de chœur*, were pleased.²¹⁷ Later in 1889, Merklin installed at Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas in Paris another electro-pneumatic console, which could control more than one organ and on which *Le Ménestrel* commented: “Thanks to the electric action, the three organs can be played from the same place, together or separately, by just one organist.”²¹⁸ In the same year, Merklin built an organ with two consoles for a theater in Montpellier;²¹⁹ one of the consoles was on the stage and the other was in the orchestra.²²⁰ Other organs that Merklin renovated with the addition of electro-pneumatic action included those at Saint-Bonaventure (1887)²²¹ and Notre-Dame-de-Paris (1890).²²²

²¹⁴Ibid.; Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 35-36.

²¹⁵Doherty, “Merklin, Joseph,” 348.

²¹⁶Ibid.

²¹⁷“Paris et départements,” *Le Ménestrel* 54 (February 26, 1888): 70-71.

²¹⁸*Le Ménestrel* 55: 175.

²¹⁹“Nécrologie.” *Le Ménestrel* 55 (January 6, 1889): 7-8.

²²⁰Ibid.

²²¹Smith, *Playing the Works of César Franck*, 47.

²²²“Grandes Orgues,” *Le Monde musical* (June 15, 1890): 5.

Franck's next significant contributions to organ literature were the *Trois chorals*, apparently begun during his summer vacation at Nemours in 1890. From a letter Franck wrote to a student on August 26, 1890, from Nemours, where he spent summer with his family at the house of his cousin, Claire Brissaud,²²³ it is known that Franck had written among others a "grande pièce" for organ.²²⁴ In a letter written to Julien Tiersot or Pierre de Bréville after having returned to Paris, Franck called this piece a "*choral*."²²⁵ In the same letter, Franck further described the nature of this piece: "It is a chorale but with much fantasy."²²⁶ He also expressed hope of writing two more "*chorals*" and others pieces.²²⁷ From the manuscripts it can be said that "Choral n° 1" was finished on August 7, 1890, followed by "Choral n° 2" on September 17, and "Choral n° 3" on September 30;²²⁸ they were published by Durand in December 1891 after Franck's death, but they were not ready for sale until January 29, 1892.²²⁹ The dedications of *Trois chorals*, except the one of "Choral n° 1" to Mlle Clotilde Bréal,²³⁰ were not discovered in the manuscripts, so the dedications that are included with the second and third pieces in current editions, according to Jaquet-Langlais, "are certainly posthumous."²³¹

²²³Fauquet, *César Franck*, 744.

²²⁴*Ibid.*, 745.

²²⁵*Ibid.*

²²⁶*Ibid.*

²²⁷*Ibid.*

²²⁸Jaquet-Langlais, "The Organ Works of Franck," 145.

²²⁹Fauquet, *César Franck*, 754.

²³⁰*Ibid.*

²³¹*Ibid.*, 180.

Franck used the term “*choral*” to designate a kind of melody that is created by the composer.²³² This melody, though chorale-like, is unrelated to plainchant or the German chorale.²³³ Each of *Trois chorals* is, as Franck related to d’Indy, “not what you think; the true chorale breaks forth during the course of the work.”²³⁴ Being like fantasias in nature, *Trois chorals* are basically “fine examples of the large variation form of Beethoven’s last period.”²³⁵ “Choral n° 1” is substantially a four-part chorale variation based around two main themes,²³⁶ while “Choral n° 2” is a passacaglia with four variations,²³⁷ and “Choral n° 3,” formally modeled after Liszt’s “Ad nos,” consists of sections of variation, passacaglia, and fugue.²³⁸ Extremely entangled in structure and tonality, *Trois chorals* are yet condensed and well-organized;²³⁹ they would be regarded as “the highest point of French achievement in organ composition during the nineteenth century.”²⁴⁰ The premieres of the first two pieces were at Trocadéro in June 1899, and in June 1898, respectively.²⁴¹ Both were performed by Mahaut, who entered Franck’s organ

²³²Lukas, *Reclams Orgelmusikführer*, 210.

²³³Ibid.

²³⁴Sabatier, “César Franck,” 370.

²³⁵Harvey Grace, *The Organ Works of César Franck* (London: Novello and Company, 1948), 28.

²³⁶John Butt, “Choral Culture and the Regeneration of the Organ,” in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 541; Sabatier, “César Franck,” 370.

²³⁷Sabatier, “César Franck,” 371.

²³⁸Ibid.

²³⁹Butt, “Choral Culture and the Regeneration of the Organ,” 541.

²⁴⁰Ibid.

²⁴¹Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 211, 231.

class in 1888²⁴² and won a first prize in 1889.²⁴³ Gigout premiered “Choral n° 3” in March 1898 at the inauguration of the Cavallé-Coll organ in the Salle Poirel of the Nancy Conservatoire.²⁴⁴

In the last decade of his life the mature Franck composed or completed many of his most masterly pieces,²⁴⁵ including *Les Béatitudes* (1879, an oratorio on a libretto by Joséphine Blanche Colomb on the Gospel of Matthew); a “scène biblique” *Rébecca* (1880, on a text by Paul Collin); *Le Chasseur maudit* (1882, a symphonic poem after the ballade by Gottfried August Bürger); *Prélude, choral et fugue* for piano (1884); *Les Djinns* for piano and orchestra (1884, a symphonic poem after the poem by Victor Hugo); *Variations symphoniques* for piano and orchestra (1885); the Violin Sonata (1886); *Prélude, aria et final* for piano (1887); and String Quartet in D Major (1890). Franck was awarded the *Prix Chartier des Institut de France* for his instrumental music in 1881 and awarded the rank of *Chevalier* of the *Légion d’honneur* in 1885.²⁴⁶ In 1887 Franck’s students organized and financed a festival for him at the Cirque d’Hiver, where Franck’s compositions were performed under the joint leadership of Jules Padeloup and Franck.²⁴⁷ On November 8, 1890, Franck died of pleurisy caused by a cold. He was buried first in Montrouge Cemetery;²⁴⁸ his body was later moved to a marble tomb

²⁴²Fauquet, *César Franck*. 963.

²⁴³Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 803.

²⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 249.

²⁴⁵Jonathan Dunsby, “Chamber Music and Piano,” in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 507.

²⁴⁶Fauquet, “Franck: 1. César-Auguste,” 1589.

²⁴⁷Vallas, *César Franck*, 196-98.

²⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 14.

in Montparnasse, where a monument was constructed with funds raised by a group of Franck's students under the leadership of Augusta Holmès.²⁴⁹ Auguste Rodin was commissioned to design a medallion of César Franck, which was completed in 1891 and positioned on the tomb in 1893.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹Fauquet, *César Franck*, 767-68.

²⁵⁰*Ibid.*

CHAPTER 5

THE INFLUENCE AND LEGACY OF CÉSAR FRANCK

Franck, as teacher, was remembered by his students for his enthusiastic teaching, encouraging attitude, kindness, and thoughtfulness. His students encompassed a host of outstanding organists, organ composers, pedagogues, and musicians (including several blind students). Franck, as performer, was remembered by reviewers, fellow artists, and students for his superior improvisations and acclaimed performances in the more “severe” style, eventually bringing the art of performing and improvisation in France to a new level. Franck, as composer, added to the canon of compositions in several genres. His novel use of cyclic techniques as early as 1843 was so influential that a group of his students perpetuated it into the first few decades of the twentieth century.

As Teacher

It is known from his students’ accounts that Franck was an inspiring and encouraging teacher. Vierne recalled in his memoir:

I was admitted as a pupil on October 4, 1890. I improvised some plainsong and the exposition of a fugue at that first class. [The *maître* said,] “That’ll be fine. Work! I think you’ll be able to do as your comrades Marty and Mahaut. I’m counting on Tournemire and you for the next competition.”¹

Paul-Henri Büsser (1872-1973), whose Swiss father was a student of Alexandre Guilmant

¹Rollin Smith, *Louis Vierne: Organist of Notre-Dame Cathedral* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1999), 47.

and organist at Saint-Étienne in Toulouse,² entered Franck's organ class at the Conservatoire in October 1889.³ He recalled that Franck kindly praised his playing of a Mendelssohn sonata and a Bach fugue, as well as an improvisation on a subject given by Franck when he was invited to play in his organ class at the Conservatoire.⁴ According to Büsser, Franck even encouraged him to take entrance examinations for his organ class at the Conservatoire.⁵ Büsser further recalled that, when Franck agreed to accept him and give him some private lessons in improvisation of fugues, Franck refused to charge him for the extra lessons, saying, "My young Büsser, I know you aren't rich—keep your money."⁶ Büsser must have made a great progress so that, according to him, Franck asked him to replace his departing assistant, Vincent d'Indy,⁷ serving as his "revered teacher's assistant" was a great joy and honor for Büsser.⁸ In the words of Gabriel Pierné (1863-1937), Franck was "a model teacher," always appearing in the class on time (Pierné said that "M. [Hippolyte-François] Rabaud⁹ had given Franck a *satisfecit* for his

²Xavier Hascher, "Büusser, Busser, (Paul-) Henri," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 3 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2000), 1403-05.

³Henri Busser, "La Classe d'orgue de César Franck en 1889-1890," *L'Orgue* 102 (April-June 1962): 33-34.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹A violoncello professor at the Paris Conservatoire (1886-1900); see, Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de declamation* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), 434.

exactitude”).¹⁰ Pierné, who studied in 1872 at the Conservatoire (at the age of eight) solfège with Alexandre-Jean-Albert Lavignac (a first *médaille* in 1874), later piano with Antoine-François Marmontel (a first prize in 1879), and fugue with Jules Massenet (a first prize in 1881),¹¹ was encouraged by Franck to study organ with him at the Conservatoire;¹² subsequently, Pierné won a first prize in the latter’s class in 1881 and a second in 1882.¹³ Pierné treasured his relationship with Franck, which “later would become as intimate as it could be between a master like him and a young student which I remained for a long time.”¹⁴ He recalled how Franck helped students develop improvisational skills:

[W]hen you improvised at the organ, instead of stopping you and making a series of detailed observations, he sat beside you on the bench, helped you with a note, then two, pushing you little by little, gently taking your place, improvising for you and teaching you by his example. And what admirable examples! In order to give such lessons, you had to be [Jules] Massenet or Franck.¹⁵

When Franck died on November 8, 1890, it was Pierné who succeeded Franck as titular organist at Sainte-Clotilde, serving there until 1898.¹⁶ In his memoir, Vierné also recounted Franck’s improvisatory teaching by using examples:

¹⁰Pierre de Lapommeraye, “César Franck Intime: Une Conversation avec M. Gabriel Pierné,” *Le Ménestrel* (December 1, 1922): 484-86, quoted in Rollin Smith, *Playing the Organ Works of César Franck* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1997), 158.

¹¹Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 829.

¹²Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation*, 158.

¹³Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 829.

¹⁴Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation*, 158.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶Georges Masson, “Pierné, Gabriel,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/21712> (accessed March 21, 2012).

Every now and then he [Franck] would sit down at the console and give us an example. And what an example! When a student had trouble working out one correct counter-subject, he, within the same time, had found five or six. “See, you can do this . . . or else this . . . or even”¹⁷

Jean-Baptiste-Albert Mahaut (1867-1943), who was born blind, became acquainted with Franck when the latter came to Mahaut’s school, the Institution Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles (“National Institute for the Young Blind”) in Paris, to preside over its annual music competitions.¹⁸ Mahaut, entering Franck’s organ class at the Conservatoire in 1888¹⁹ and winning a first prize a year later,²⁰ recounted that Franck was “remarkably kind toward all his students, . . . encouraged me, . . . and when he received a visitor of distinction, he always invited me.” Because Mahaut had to use his left hand to read the braille text Franck wrote with paraphernalia, he had to double the pedal line with both of his feet; this method according to Mahaut “always prompted a very lively interest.”²¹ When Mahaut told Franck about his new position as professor of harmony at Institution Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles shortly before Franck’s death, Franck said,

with an inflection that I [Mahaut] will never forget, as if giving his benediction to my new endeavor, “you will do that well.” Then he generously gave his recommendations, specifying and illuminating the essential points of harmony with his great and extensive insight—that science in which he had fathomed all the mysteries.²²

¹⁷Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 45.

¹⁸Albert Mahaut, “César Franck, Professor of Organ,” trans. Beverly Scheibert, *The American Organist* 16, no. 10 (October 1982): 54.

¹⁹Fauquet, *César Franck*, 963.

²⁰Pierre, *Le Conservatoire nationale*, 803.

²¹Mahaut, “César Franck, Professor of Organ,” 54.

²²*Ibid.*

Mahaut, serving also as organist at Saint-Vincent-de-Paul,²³ was the first to play all of his teacher's organ compositions at concert.²⁴ Furthermore, he wrote a book on Franck, *Le Chrétien, homme d'action*,²⁵ where he summarized his teacher's human and religious doctrine.²⁶ Franck's passionate teaching of improvisation was well documented by several of his students. Again, Mahaut recalled,

When we would improvise, Franck gave himself completely; his abundant spirit poured out into ours. 'I liked it,' he simply said in good passages, 'I like it.' Often he said only that, but he spoke these words with such a variety of inflections that it was sufficient to have us understand his thought and to give life to ours, in order to raise our sights and compel us to take leave of our sorry limitation.²⁷

Echoing Mahaut's account, Tournemire described Franck as "an educator full of fire with a marvelous heart," who used words such as "Something else!" to drive students out of a torpid state when improvising, or "I like it" to bring joy to students when improvising successfully.²⁸ Moreover, Büsser recalled that when a student was experiencing some difficulties in the midst of improvising, Franck would gently replace him at the organ, "and then, under his fingers, all would become clear, marvelous, it was a true fascination that awoke our enthusiasm."²⁹ Franck's compositional teaching was so inspiring and enlightening that Tournemire described it as being "like the north rose window of the

²³Pierre, *Le Conservatoire nationale*, 803.

²⁴Norbert Dufourcq, *La Musique d'orgue française de Jehan Titelouze à Jehan Alain: Les Instruments, les artistes et les œuvres, les forms et les styles*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie Floury, 1949), 158.

²⁵Albert Mahaut, *Le Chrétien, home d'action* (Paris: Perrin, 1918).

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷Mahaut, "César Franck, Professor of Organ," 54.

²⁸Charles Tournemire, *César Franck* (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1931), 71.

²⁹Henri Busser, "La Classe d'orgue de César Franck en 1889-1890," *L'Orgue* 102 (April-June 1962): 33-34, quoted in Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation*, 163-65.

Cathedral of Paris.”³⁰ Franck’s compositional teaching at the Conservatoire and at home, as stated also by Tournemire, attracted a large number of auditors;³¹ for Tournemire, Franck composition lessons were “winged lessons, liberated from weighty fetters of formulas.”³²

In addition to improvisatory and compositional teaching, according to Vierne, Franck was willing to give suggestions as to the performance of his own compositions (regarding “the tempi, shading, articulation, and phrasing” of his *Six pièces* and *Trois pièces*) to students who brought them to class.³³ Vierne further stated that Franck himself played his last compositions for organ, *Trois chorals*, for them (Vierne and other students) on the piano with Guillaume Lekeu playing the bass on October 2, 1890.³⁴ John William Hinton (1849-1922), a gentleman from Dublin who studied organ privately with Franck in 1867,³⁵ further recalled that Franck marked fingering in challenging places in Hinton’s score of Bach’s *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* and advised places for optional use of pedal;³⁶ Hinton later became a professor at the Royal College of Organists in London and wrote three books on organ construction.³⁷ On the other hand, Vierne

³⁰Charles Tournemire, “Le Classe d’orgue du Conservatoire de Paris,” *Le Monde musical* 41 (1930): 141.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 45.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵*Dictionary of Organs and Organists* (London: Mate & Son, 1922), 359.

³⁶John William Hinton, *César Franck: Some Personal Reminiscences* (London: Reeves, 1912), 6.

³⁷Ibid.

revealed that Franck might help students too much regarding choosing registration, pulling stops, arranging stop combination, and other things when they improvised or performed in his class.³⁸ In Vierne's opinion this seemed to be a hindrance to Franck's students to excel as virtuoso performers, and consequently the reason why only a few of the first-prize holders in Franck's class, such as Henri Dallier, Adolphe Marty, Mahaut, and Henri Letocart, would enjoy fame as virtuosos.³⁹

Adolphe Marty (1865-1942), who lost his sight at the age of two and a half,⁴⁰ studied organ with Louis Lebel at the Institution Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles in Paris⁴¹ and then became the first blind organist admitted to the Paris Conservatoire in 1885.⁴² At the Conservatoire, Marty studied fugue with Ernest Guiraud and organ with Franck (winning a first prize in 1886).⁴³ He was organist at Saint-Paul-d'Orléans (1886-1888) and at Saint-François-Xavier-de-Paris (1891-1942).⁴⁴ From 1889 to 1930 he held a professor's chair (*le chaire de professeur*) at the Institution Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles in Paris, where he taught Vierne, Augustin Barié, André Marcel, and Gaston Litaize;⁴⁵ Marty's teaching principally followed the tradition of his *maître*, Franck.⁴⁶ In

³⁸Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 43-44.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 45.

⁴⁰Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 22.

⁴¹Sabatier, "Adolphe Marty," 544-46.

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴*Ibid.*; Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 40.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

addition to Mahaut, Marty, and Vierne, Joséphine-Pauline Boulay was another blind student of Franck's at the Paris Conservatoire. Entering Franck's organ class at the Paris Conservatoire in 1887,⁴⁷ Boulay was the first female to win a first prize in organ in 1888;⁴⁸ later she taught piano and organ at the Institution Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles in Paris for thirty-seven years.⁴⁹

During Franck's tenure at the Conservatoire, a good number of his students in his organ class won the first prize in organ and were active in the church and/or in the educational field: Paul Wachs (1872; named organist at Saint-Merri in 1874),⁵⁰ Georges Verschneider (1875; *maître de chapelle*, place unknown),⁵¹ Samuel Rousseau (1877; *maître de chapelle* at Sainte-Clotilde from 1882 to 1904),⁵² Henri Dallier (1878; organist at Saint-Eustache),⁵³ Auguste Chapuis (1881; organist at Notre-Dame-des-Champs from 1884 to 1888 and at Saint-Roth from 1888 to 1906),⁵⁴ Pierné (1882), Anatole-Léon Grand-Jany (1883; organist at Saint-Vincent-de-Paul),⁵⁵ Henri Kaiser (1884; teacher of

⁴⁷Fauquet, *César Franck*, 960.

⁴⁸Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 705; Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 41.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Klaus Beckmann, *Repertorium Orgelmusik*, 1:469.

⁵¹Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 865.

⁵²Carolyn Shuster Fournier, "The Musical Tradition at the Sainte-Clotilde Basilica in Paris, France," *The Diapason* (April 2008), 26-28.

⁵³Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 729.

⁵⁴Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Chapuis, Auguste (Paul Jean-Baptiste)," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 4 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2000), 725-26.

⁵⁵Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 766.

sofège at the Paris Conservatoire),⁵⁶ François-Gabriel-Henri Pinot (1884; named organ accompanist at Saint-Vincent-de-Paul in 1887),⁵⁷ Marty (1886), César Galeotti (1887; of Italian origin),⁵⁸ Boulay (1888), Georges Paul Bondon (1889; *organiste du chœur* at Saint-Philippe-de-Roule and teacher of solfège at the Paris Conservatoire),⁵⁹ Marie Prestat (1890; taught piano at the Schola Cantorum from 1901 to 1922),⁶⁰ and Charles Tournemire (1890; succeeded Pierné as titular organist at Sainte-Clotilde in April 1898 and retained it until his death in 1939).⁶¹ Among those who won a second *accessit* (an honorable mention)⁶² in Franck's organ classes were Vincent d'Indy (1874; organist at Saint-Leu)⁶³ and Henri Letocart (1887; organ accompanist at Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, Saint-Pierre, and Neuilly-sur-Seine).⁶⁴

Students of Franck were also instrumental in founding societies and educational institutions that furthered knowledge and encouraged performance of great organ and choral music. Hoping to restore the status of Gregorian and Palestrinian tradition and to reform the music of the Catholic liturgy, d'Indy, Charles Bordes, and

⁵⁶Ibid., 783.

⁵⁷Ibid., 830.

⁵⁸Ibid., 759.

⁵⁹Ibid., 703.

⁶⁰Ibid., Smith, *Playing the Organ Works*, 41.

⁶¹Helga Schauerte-Maubouet, "Tournemire, Charles (Arnould)," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 14 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2005), 971-74.

⁶²According to Merriam-Webster, an *accessit* is "a distinction awarded in British and other European schools to one who has come nearest to a prize"; see, "Accessit," <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/accessit>

⁶³Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 741.

⁶⁴Ibid., 798; Beckmann, *Repertorium Orgelmusik*, 1:477.

Guilmant founded a society named *La Société de Propagande pour des Chef d'Œuvres Religieux*, better known as the Schola Cantorum, on June 6, 1894.⁶⁵ In 1896 the Schola Cantorum expanded its mission of reviving church music by becoming a school with the title Schola Cantorum, École de Chant Liturgique et de Musique Religieuse,⁶⁶ an educational institute, which as Thomson points out, “intended to continue the tradition of Franck.”⁶⁷ At the Schola Cantorum, Bordes taught choral music,⁶⁸ d’Indy counterpoint and composition,⁶⁹ and Guilmant organ.⁷⁰ D’Indy combined Franck’s compositional teaching principle, which stressed the foundational importance “of tonal architecture and the clear deployment of themes, as exemplified in the works of Bach and Beethoven,” with pedagogical ideas of Liszt, which emphasized historical studies of old masters’ works.⁷¹ D’Indy developed these ideas and employed them in his compositional courses

⁶⁵Pierre Guillot and Elaine Brody, “Bordes, Charles,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/03568> (accessed March 11, 2012); Andrew Thomson, *Vincent D’Indy and His World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 82.

⁶⁶Guillot and Brody, “Bordes, Charles;” Bernadette Lespinard, “Bordes, Charles (Marie Anne),” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 3 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2000), 392-94; Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 220.

⁶⁷Andrew Thomson, “Guilmant, Alexandre,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/11996> (accessed March 20, 2012).

⁶⁸Lespinard, “Bordes, Charles (Marie Anne),” 392-94.

⁶⁹Andrew Thomson and Robert Orledge, “Indy, Vincent d’,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/13787> (accessed March 11, 2012).

⁷⁰Kurt Lueders, “Guilmant, (Félix) Alexandre,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 8 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2002), 255-57.

⁷¹Thomson and Orledge, “Indy, Vincent d’.”

at the Schola Cantorum;⁷² these courses were edited and collected by d'Indy's assistants Auguste Sérieyx and Guy de Lioncourt as "*Cours de composition musicale*."⁷³ In 1900 the Schola Cantorum was renamed École Supérieure de Musique and moved to a bigger building,⁷⁴ with d'Indy as its single director from 1904 until his death in 1931.⁷⁵ Its renaming, in Ochse's opinion, marked a broader study of curriculum, which included not only the study of church music, but also that of orchestral instruments and ensembles.⁷⁶

Though d'Indy designated in his will Louis d'Arnal de Serres and Guy de Lioncourt to take over the directorship of the Schola Cantorum, a dispute over d'Indy's selection nonetheless occurred after his death in 1931.⁷⁷ As a consequence, de Serres and several of his colleagues (including Michael Labey and Lioncourt) withdrew from the Schola Cantorum and established École César Franck on January 5, 1935, with de Serres as its director.⁷⁸ Though both the Schola Cantorum and École César Franck each purported to carry on the ideology of d'Indy (and Franck), their further development differed: whereas the Schola Cantorum has continued to train musicians in the same location to the present day,⁷⁹ École César Franck seems to have ceased to exist as evidenced by the demise of its periodical, *Circulaire – École César Franck*, which ceased

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Lespinard, "Bordes, Charles (Marie Anne)," 392-94; Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 222.

⁷⁵Thomson and Orledge, "Indy, Vincent d'."

⁷⁶Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 222.

⁷⁷Laurence Davies, *César Franck and His Circle* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), 317-18.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹"Schola Cantorum," <http://www.schola-cantorum.com>.

publication in 1981 after 40 years.⁸⁰ The Schola Cantorum produced an array of leading twentieth-century composers and musicians, including the following: Albert Roussel, a French composer whose symphonies, chamber music, and stage works displayed at various times impressionistic, neoclassical, and jazz elements;⁸¹ Edgard Varèse, American composer of French birth who experimented with unusual sounds, free atonality, unusual instrumental combinations (including interweaving orchestra with electronic sections or sounds on tape), and complex rhythmic patterns;⁸² Erik Satie, a considerably “unconventional” French composer who was able to skillfully employ elements of dance, theater, and cabaret music in his works;⁸³ Déodat de Séverac, a highly individual French composer who used elements of French and Mediterranean folk music and is considered as one of the significant composers of the generation of Claude Debussy;⁸⁴ Joseph Canteloube, a French composer and folk music scholar, remembered

⁸⁰*Circulaire – École César Franck* was preceded by *Les Echos de l'École César Franck* (1935-1940; published bi-monthly) and circulated bimonthly from 1941 to 1981; see, “*Circulaire – École César Franck*,” <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/servlet/biblio?idNoeud=1&ID=34422517&SN1=0&SN2=0&host=catalogue>.

⁸¹Nicole Labelle, “Roussel, Albert,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/23971> (accessed April 2, 2012).

⁸²Paul Griffiths, “Varèse, Edgard,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/29042> (accessed April 2, 2012).

⁸³Oliver Vogel, “Satie, Erik, Eric (bis 1884),” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 14 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2005), 999-1008.

⁸⁴Pierre Guillot, “Sévérac, (Marie Joseph Alexandre) Déodat, baron de Beauville, baron de,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 15 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2006), 640-43.

principally for his efforts to revive French folk music;⁸⁵ and Isaac Albéniz, regarded as the most important Spanish composer of his time and best known for his piano works that combine elements of Spanish folklore, French impressionism, and Lisztian compositional techniques.⁸⁶ Among the teachers of the Schola Cantorum were: Vierne, French organist, composer, and educator (see p. 132 of this dissertation);⁸⁷ Blanche Selva, French pianist and pedagogue, who authored the book, *L'Enseignement musical de la technique de piano* (1922), was regarded as an expert of contemporary music, and premiered works of her contemporaries, including d'Indy, Gabriel Fauré, Roussel, and Albéniz;⁸⁸ Olivier Messiaen, French organist, composer, and educator, who was able to masterly use a variety of materials drawn from Western and non-European cultures in his works,⁸⁹ and Nadia Boulanger, French educator, conductor, and composer, who taught a great number of prominent twentieth-century composers, including Elliott Carter, Aaron Copland,

⁸⁵François-Gildas Tual, "Canteloube (de Malaret), Marie-Joseph," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 4 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2000), 101-02.

⁸⁶Walter A. Clark and Jacinto Torres Mulas, "Albéniz (y Pascual), Isaac Manuel Francisco," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 1 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1999), 317-25.

⁸⁷Markus Franck Hollingshaus, "Vierne, 1. Louis (Victor Jules)," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 16 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2006), 1571-73.

⁸⁸Charles Timbrell, "Selva, Blanche," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/25379> (accessed April 2, 2012).

⁸⁹Stefan Keym, "Messiaen, Olivier (Eugène Prosper Charles)," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 12 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2004), 63-81.

Philip Glass, Roy Harris, Gian Carlo Menotti, Daniel Pinkham, Walter Piston, Roger Sessions, and Virgil Thomson.⁹⁰

During Franck's tenure at the Paris Conservatoire, among those who won a first *accessit* (an honorable mention, see p. 119 n. 61 of this dissertation) were Joseph-Paul Humblot (1873; *maître de chapelle* and organist at Saint-Denis-de-le-Chapelle),⁹¹ Jean Tolbecque (1873; played violoncello in the orchestra of Opéra-Comique and organist in the area of Marseille),⁹² Marie-Léonie Renaud (1876; teacher of solfège at the Paris Conservatoire from 1876-1893),⁹³ Marie-Anna Papot (1878; teacher of solfège at the Paris Conservatoire from 1880-1896),⁹⁴ Louis Landry (1884; *maître de chapelle* at Saint-Roch and choir master at the Opéra-Comique),⁹⁵ Jean-Joseph-Jacques Jemain (1887; held a teaching position in Lyon),⁹⁶ and Louis d'Arnal de Serres (1888;⁹⁷ taught at the Schola Cantorum 1896 -1935, served as director of École César Franck from 1835-1942).⁹⁸ Because of their encounter with the music "entertainment" industry, two of Franck's organ students at the Conservatoire are worth mentioning: Louis Gaston Ganne

⁹⁰Nicole Capgras, "Boulangier, 3. Nadia (Juliette)," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeiner Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 3 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2000), 527-29.

⁹¹Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 777.

⁹²*Ibid.*, 860.

⁹³*Ibid.*, 839.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 434.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 788.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 780.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 688.

⁹⁸Nicole Katharina Strohmann, "Serres, Louis d'Arnal de," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeiner Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 15 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2006), 629-30.

(1862-1923), who entered Franck's organ class in 1880,⁹⁹ won a first *accessit* (an honorable mention, see p. 119 n. 61 of this dissertation) in 1882,¹⁰⁰ became a composer for ballet theaters and casinos in Paris and Monte Carlo, and is considered as one of the French protagonists for the entertainment theater of the end of the nineteenth century,¹⁰¹ and Victory Dynam Fumet (1867-1949), who studied organ with Franck at the Paris Conservatoire in 1885, was known as an excellent piano and organ improviser, and worked as choir organist at Sainte-Clotilde in addition to his position at the cabaret Le Chat Noir (where he met Erik Satie). Fumet also held the position as composer at the Juilly College in Paris from 1896 to 1906 and was an organist and choirmaster at Sainte-Anne-de-la-Maison-Blanche in Paris from 1917 to 1948.¹⁰²

Among those students who studied with both Benoist and Franck were Paul Wachs, Louis Benoît, and Samuel Rousseau, whereas Charles Tournemire, Henri Libert, Büsser, and Vierne were among those who studied with both Franck and Widor.¹⁰³ In addition to the names listed above, many organists, musicians, and composers studied with Franck privately or were associated with Franck's students and consequently were

⁹⁹Fauquet, *César Franck*,

¹⁰⁰Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, 759.

¹⁰¹Jean-Claude Yon, "Ganne, Louis Gaston," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 7 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2002), 496-98.

¹⁰²Robert Orledge, "Fumet, Dynam-Victor," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/10383> (accessed May 28, 2012).

¹⁰³Fauquet, *César Franck*, 960-4; John Trevitt and Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Franck, César," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10121> (accessed April 6, 2012).

influenced by his musical and compositional ideology;¹⁰⁴ these include Charles Bordes, Pierre de Bréville, Ernest Chausson, Coquard, Paul Dukas, Duparc, Hinton, Auguste Holmès, Guillaume Lekeu, Albéric Magnard, Guy Ropartz, and Raymond Huntington Woodman (1861-1943; a gentleman from Brooklyn, New York, who studied organ privately with Franck in 1888, was organist at Christ Church in Norwich, Connecticut, from 1879 to 1880 and the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn from 1880 to 1941, held a teaching position at the Packer Collegiate Institute from 1894 and 1941, and was the head of the organ department of the Metropolitan Conservatory in New York from 1889 to 1898).¹⁰⁵ As summed up by Trevitt and Fauquet, Franck's "sphere of influence was [so] wide [that] [f]ew other teachers can be credited with such an achievement."¹⁰⁶

As Performer

It is well-documented by reviewers, his students, and fellow composers/performers that Franck was both an extraordinary improviser and an excellent performer. Vierne recalled that, while Franck's students in his organ class had to "maneuver in a straitjacket, and the difficulty" because of the strict rules set up for improvisation examinations, the *maître*, "far from disheartening, . . . excited his imagination, to which he gave free rein in attention to details."¹⁰⁷ Vierne continued to describe how Franck dealt with fugue in his improvisation: "In fugue he attached

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁵William Osborne, "Woodman, R. Huntington," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2088295> (accessed March 28, 2012).

¹⁰⁶Trevitt and Fauquet, "Franck, César."

¹⁰⁷Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 45.

particular importance to the construction of the episodes, while bringing together, as far as possible, the development of an ingenious tonal plan with the elegant writing of counterpoint including imitations with ever closer stretto.”¹⁰⁸ Even when improvising on a free subject, according to Vierne, Franck was able to stretch the strict form,

either by subtly introducing a new idea at the moment of transition to the dominant, an element that could serve later in the development, or by the intensive cultivation in the development of a new theme suggested by a fragment of the given theme. Then there were inversion (brought to a high degree), rhythmic alternation, repeated figurations based on thematic fragments, harmonic variety and subtlety, etc. All were devices the maître could handle with disconcerting ease. He used few registrational effects, almost impossible on our miserable class instrument. The music itself had to supply everything.¹⁰⁹

For Pierné, Franck’s improvisations that occurred during the offertory after the sermon, during communion, and at the dismissal were “truly unique.”¹¹⁰ According to Pierné, Franck had a little notebook where he kept themes for improvisation and which he had with him all the time.¹¹¹ When Franck improvised during the Mass, as Pierné recounted, he would choose a theme from his little notebook or ask one of his assistants to pick one.¹¹² Once the theme was chosen, Franck

would reflect before improvising. With his right elbow held in his left hand he would tap his forehead with the third finger of his right hand. And from that moment nothing existed for him but the music—and when he translated it to the organ it was something indescribable. The themes were linked logically, with precision and with an unheard-of ease—all taking on the texture of a great work. One never heard anything as beautiful. Will we ever hear it again? It was too beautiful for the requirements of the mass, because Franck, completely engrossed in

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 47.

¹¹⁰Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation*, 160.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Ibid., 159.

his composition, didn't follow the parts of the mass and didn't know when to stop.¹¹³

Pierné stated that the *curé* at Sainte-Clotilde complained about Franck's ignoring the ringing of the bell, which were to remind Franck when to stop playing.¹¹⁴ When Pierné succeeded Franck as organist at Sainte-Clotilde, he said that he was admonished by the *curé* to stop at the first bell ring.¹¹⁵

Tournemire thought that Franck's improvisation, regardless its length, was wrought in a lofty style and perfectly followed the rules.¹¹⁶ J. Guy Ropartz found his *maître* "a remarkable organist, full of love for his instrument and careful to avoid degrading it as do, alas! too many of his fellows, to the poor art of entertainer of the swarming crows that fill the churches."¹¹⁷ In his memoir, Vierne vividly recounted Franck's artistry in utilizing compositional elements when improvising:

I have never heard anything that could compare with Franck's improvisation from the point of view of purely musical invention. At church it took him a while to get started—a few attempts, a little experimenting—then, once under way, a prodigality of invention that was miraculous: a polyphony of incomparable richness in which melody, harmony, and form competed in originality and emotional concept, traversed by flashes of manifest genius. Never any calculated combinations, never any of the feats of skill customary among the acrobats playing to the gallery; instead, the constant concern for the dignity of his art, for the nobility of his mission, and for the fervent sincerity of his sermon in sound. Joyous or melancholy, solemn or mystic, powerful or ethereal: Franck was all those at Sainte-Clotilde, and mere technical skills such as contrapuntal artifices, canons, superimposition of themes, etc., would never appear except when justified by the expression of a

¹¹³Ibid., 160.

¹¹⁴Ibid., 160-61.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 161.

¹¹⁶Charles Tournemire, *Précis d'exécution, de registration et d'improvisation à l'orgue* (Paris: Esching, 1936), 103-04.

¹¹⁷J. Guy Ropartz, "César Franck," in *Studies in Music*, Robin Grey (reprint, London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 1901), 108.

thought whose criteria was essentially emotion and depth. He had thoroughly penetrated all the mysteries of musical composition that had evolved up to his time, and through this study had created for himself an aesthetic whose novelty seriously threatened the conventions accepted as eternal laws of “truth.” His teaching of improvisation bore the fruit of long reflection and broad experience.¹¹⁸

Franck’s improvisational teaching and mastery, as Sisson points out, was without question completely assimilated by Tournemire,¹¹⁹ whom Vierne described as “a born improviser” in his memoir.¹²⁰ The same can be said of Vierne as well. As Archibald M. Henderson, a Scottish organist who met Vierne in 1908,¹²¹ states, “In meeting the mood required for verset or interlude, he [Vierne] revealed mastery of the first order. In the logical development of his themes, and their fresh and original harmonizing, he was unsurpassed. In this very personal and individual art, he always said that he had been greatly helped and stimulated by the guidance of César Franck.”¹²²

In addition to his students’ praise, Franck’s improvisations at organ inaugurations were well reviewed and praised. His improvisations executed on the Cavallé-Coll organ completed in August 1856 in the organ builder’s hall before it was delivered to the Carcassone Cathedral were described as “brilliant.”¹²³ At the inauguration of the Cavallé-Coll organ at La Trinité taking place on March 16, 1869, the reviewer of *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* reported: “M. César Franck of Sainte-

¹¹⁸Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 43.

¹¹⁹Ruth Sisson, “Charles Tournemire, 1870-1939,” *The American Organist* 23, no. 12 (December 1989): 59, 62.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 47.

¹²¹Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 437.

¹²²Archibald M. Henderson, “Personal Memories of Vierne,” *The Musical Times* 95, no. 1336 (June 1954): 318.

¹²³Henri Blanchard, “Auditions musicale,” *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 23 (August 3, 1856): 247-48.

Cotilde, a vigorous well-developed improvisation in which he sought to point up the greatest possible number of sonorities;”¹²⁴ Charles Marie Widor also complimented Franck on this particular improvisation.¹²⁵ Franck’s lengthy improvisation performed on October 1, 1878, as part of a series of inaugural recitals at Trocadéro was again highly praised. The reviewer of *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* said,

In his program M. Franck had devoted a large part to improvisation for which all real musicians had to be grateful. His free-style treatment of themes of Félicien David (first chorus from *Le Désert*), Berlioz (two motifs from *l’Enfance du Christ*), Bizet (two motifs from *L’Arlésienne*), created charming details. He was particularly successful with Berlioz’s themes. At the end he returned again to that interesting part of the organist’s art, by improvising on Russian themes (two pretty popular motifs), Swedish, Hungarian and English themes, first treated separately, then superimposed. The motifs were too numerous and it would not have been possible to take advantage of each one sufficiently without fatiguing the audience. With this slight reservation, we are happy to pay homage to the most elevated and the most complete talent we know. We have congratulated ourselves once more that such a peerless artist is at the head of organ teachers in France.¹²⁶

Not only was Franck an excellent improviser, but also was he a well-respected performer of his own compositions and those of Bach. Franck’s performance of *Six pièces* were immensely praised by Liszt when he heard them at Sainte-Clotilde on April 13, 1866; according to Smith, Liszt had participated in the Mass at Sainte-Clotilde earlier and was said to have “congratulated Franck on his improvisation.”¹²⁷ This event was reported in *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* as follows:

The various compositions played by M. Franck, conceived in a very severe style which, not excluding variety, made marvellous [sic] use of the numerous resources

¹²⁴“Concerts et auditions musicale de la semaine [Église de la Trinité: inauguration du grand orgue].” *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 36 (March 16, 1869): 101.

¹²⁵Félix Raugel, *Les Grandes orgues des églises de Paris et du département de la Seine* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1927), 220.

¹²⁶“Nouvelles Musicales de l’Exposition.” *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (October 6, 1878): 321, quoted in Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation*, 150-51.

¹²⁷Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation*, 17.

of the organ of Sainte-Clotilde, one of Cavaillé-Coll's best instruments. Liszt, in whose honor this recital was given, complimented M. Franck on the elevated style of his works and his magisterial execution.¹²⁸

Franck's performance of Bach's Prelude and Fugue in E Minor for the third program of the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire in January 1873 was reported to have been "applauded for the severe beauties."¹²⁹ When Franck included this same piece in his portion of the inauguration program (shared with Lefébure-Wély) at Sainte-Clotilde on December 19, 1859, Adrien de la Fage, the reviewer for *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, took time to discuss the challenge for an organist to perform Bach's organ works and then came to the conclusion that Franck's performance of Bach's Prelude and Fugue in E Minor was both successful and appropriate:

M. Franck . . . began with a piece of his own written in a broad and forceful style which made a deep impression on his hearers who also appreciated M. Franck when he returned from his own compositions to draw on those conceived by the genius of Sebastian Bach. It is always a great risk to play the pieces of this composer in public, and, in a certain sense, organists are right when they choose to play their own music rather than Bach's. In my opinion, the difficulty is not so much in materially representing Bach's ideas without making a mistake; it is rather, in being able to exploit all these immense harmonic riches in such a manner as to express all they can produce. When playing Bach's music in public, the artist should first become aware of the fact that in this complicated harmony there is more than notes, more than fingering difficulties, more than awkward sections and other difficulties which can be mastered by practice. Besides this precision, this regularity which is already so difficult to attain, it is necessary to find a way to give color and character to the composition. In a word, one must express the *soul* of this great music; it is only then that it can be interesting, even moving.

One may ask how to find this color, how to express it on the organ, an inexpressive instrument? How? That is the secret of great organists and they are no more capable than I of revealing it to you; because with them, it is intuitive knowledge. They can recognize it but they cannot explain it either to themselves or to others. This seems to have been the aim of M. Franck, and the manner in which he performed the Fugue in E minor proved that it was not a vain attempt. Serious

¹²⁸*La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (April 22, 1866): 126, quoted in Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation*, 17.

¹²⁹*La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (January 5, 1873): 5.

studies such as these reveal in him a perserverance [sic] and give him, at present a place among organists of the first order. He showed himself at his best when, resuming his role as composer, he played his *Final* on the full organ. In this *Final* one recognized the concept and execution of a true master.¹³⁰

When Franck premiered his *Trois pièces* (“Fantaisie en la,” “Cantabile,” and “Pièce héroïque”) composed particularly for the concert series at Trocadéro during the 1878 Exhibition, along with two improvisations and *Grande pièce symphonique*, he was enormously praised as composer, improviser, and “a master with authority”:

The recital given by M. C. Franck summed up, so to speak, the man himself: composer, improvisateur and executant, and, with the authority of a master, he proved himself equal to the entire program. Three new and unpublished works of his own composition have been heard for the first time at this performance. The *Fantasia en la* is a beautiful piece, very skillfully wrought; but all the details were not brought out well, the soft stops lacking presence and distinctness in the hall. The *Cantabile* in B major, an impressive melody of noble character was more effective thanks to the telling *Récit* stop employed. The *Pièce héroïque*, although containing some excellent things seemed less interesting than the two other works. As for the *Grande Pièce symphonique in F-sharp minor*, it has long been known and justly appreciated; the andante [section], as always, was warmly welcomed.¹³¹

When Franck played again “Fantaisie en la” and “Cantabile” from his *Trois pièces* at the inauguration of a new Merklin organ at Saint-Eustache on March 21, 1879, both pieces were well received again.¹³²

It was not only Franck’s brilliant playing that drew praise, but also his skillful use of registration was documented by a review of a recital taking place at Sainte-Clotilde in 1864:

M. César Franck gave a recital at Sainte-Clotilde last Thursday [November 17, 1864] which was attended by a large number of artists and music lovers. Franck’s compositions, written by the hand of a master, were played by him. One notices in

¹³⁰Adrien de la Fage, “Inauguration de l’orgue de Sainte-Clotilde,” *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (January 1, 1860): 4, quoted in Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation*, 143-44.

¹³¹Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation*, 150-51.

¹³²*Ibid.*, 153.

the first the happiest effect of a choir of Voix humaines; and in the Grande Pièce symphonique a most distinguished melody played first on the Clarinet and later repeated on the Voix celeste. At this recital M. Franck showed himself to be as learned a composer as he is a skillful instrumentalist and will have proved one more time that the standards of French organists are being raised day by day, and that the improvements realized in modern organ building, far from impeding musical composition, on the contrary, lend valuable and powerful assistance. The beautiful organ of Sainte-Clotilde shone no less in this recital than the learned organist.¹³³

Franck must have possessed more than sufficient pedal technique, as Scherers points out, due to the “virtuosic passages in *Trois chorals* and—even if they are regarded as exceptional cases—the virtuosic pedal runs in *Grande pièce symphonique*, passages that require “a performer with a technically solid education.”¹³⁴

When Widor succeeded Franck as professor of organ at the Paris Conservatoire at the latter’s death in 1890 and implanted the teaching methods of Lemmens (with whom Widor studied organ) into the official curriculum, as Roth points out, “the tradition of Franck’s performance was gradually lost.”¹³⁵ From the accounts of several of Franck’s students, it is known that Franck played “with remarkable freedom.”¹³⁶ Adolphe Marty reported “We have no idea of the freedom with which Franck played his own pieces.”¹³⁷

¹³³*La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (November 20, 1864): 375, quoted in Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation*, 147.

¹³⁴Bernd Scherers, *Studien zur Orgelmusik der Schüler César Francks* (Regensburg, Germany: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1984), 61.

¹³⁵Daniel Roth, “Some Thoughts on the Interpretation of the Organ Works of Franck, on His Organ, and on the Lemmens Tradition,” trans. David Gramit, in *French Organ Music from the Revolution to Franck and Widor*, ed. Lawrence Archbold and William J. Peterson, 1st reprint in paperback of the 2nd ed. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1999), 193.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, 192-95.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*

Tournemire in his book *César Franck* emphasized the danger of playing Franck's music metronomically and recommended "holding out important chords."¹³⁸ This kind of "freedom" playing was contrary to the precision Lemmens advocated in his teaching.¹³⁹ Many recent researchers have awakened the interest in authentic performance of Franck's organ music, including Rollin Smith's two publications: *Toward an Authentic Interpretation of the Organ Works of César Franck*¹⁴⁰ and *Playing the Organ Works of César Franck*,¹⁴¹ Marie-Louise Jaquet-Langlais's article "The Organ Works of Franck: A Survey of Editorial and Performance Problems,"¹⁴² and Daniel Roth's article "Some Thoughts on the Interpretation of the Organ Works of Franck, on His Organ, and on the Lemmens Tradition."¹⁴³ Though Widor contributed to the awakening of the technical aspects of organ playing, Sisson credits both Franck and Widor with leaving "a musical legacy all but impossible to match."¹⁴⁴

¹³⁸Ibid.; Tournemire, *César Franck*, 20-36.

¹³⁹Roth, "Some Thoughts on the Interpretation," 189-98.

¹⁴⁰Rollin Smith, *Toward an Authentic Interpretation of the Organ Works of César Franck* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983).

¹⁴¹Rollin Smith, *Playing the Organ Works of César Franck* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1997).

¹⁴²Marie-Louise Jaquet-Langlais, "The Organ Works of Franck: A Survey of Editorial and Performance Problems," trans. by Matthew Dirst and Kimberly Marshall, in *French Organ Music from the Revolution to Franck and Widor*, ed. Lawrence Archbold and William J. Peterson, 2nd ed. (reprint, Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1999), 143-88.

¹⁴³Daniel Roth, "Some Thoughts on the Interpretation of the Organ Works of Franck, on His Organ, and on the Lemmens Tradition," trans. by David Gramit, in *French Organ Music from the Revolution to Franck and Widor*, ed. Lawrence Archbold and William J. Peterson, 2nd ed. (reprint, Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1999), 189-98.

¹⁴⁴Ruth Sisson, "Charles Tournemire, 1870-1939," *The American Organist* 23, no. 12 (December 1989): 60.

As Composer

Despite the fact that Franck matured as composer at an older age, he nonetheless left a number of great compositions in various genres: piano music, symphonic poems, a single symphony, string quartet and quintets, oratorios, and organ music. Many of these works influenced and inspired not only Franck's students to compose in the similar way, but also Franck's contemporaries. A number of these pieces are still performed and studied today.

Franck's *Trois trios concertants*, Op. 1, composed for piano between 1839 and 1842, published in 1843, and well received and subscribed by several prominent composers (including Liszt, Meyerbeer, Auber, and Donizetti),¹⁴⁵ marked the beginning of Franck's career as composer.¹⁴⁶ Each of the three pieces is composed in a different form and style: no. 1 is cyclic (displaying Franck's first and innovative use of a cyclic form, which is to be further developed in Franck's *Grande pièce symphonique* and other compositions completed in the 1870s and 1880s);¹⁴⁷ no. 2 follows the tradition of Franz Schubert, while no. 3 follows that of Beethoven.¹⁴⁸ With his piano trios, completed between 1878 and 1879, Franck created a new "symphonic chamber music style."¹⁴⁹ This style, together with "*thèmes cycliques*" and the art of instrumentation, impacted the compositions of later generations, including several of Franck's students: d'Indy,

¹⁴⁵Jost, "Chronik," 10.

¹⁴⁶Fauquet, "Franck, 1. César-Auguste," 1604.

¹⁴⁷Finster, "Zyklus," 2533.

¹⁴⁸Fauquet, "Franck, 1. César-Auguste," 1604.

¹⁴⁹Basil Smallman, "Klavierkammermusik," trans. Thomas M. Höpfner and Christiana Nobach, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 5 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1996), 338-39.

Chausson, Pierné, and Vierne.¹⁵⁰ From its construction, Franck's Sonata for Violin (1886) displays "poetic and dramatic contrasts."¹⁵¹ In addition, it is so masterly wrought that improvisatory elements find a place within recitative and canonic sections through the thematic cyclic technique.¹⁵² In his two significant compositions for piano, *Prélude, choral et fugue* (1884) and *Prélude, aria et final* (1887), Franck again "succeeded in tempering a Lisztian technique and cyclic procedures to solemn purpose, often recalling (and almost demanding) an organ pedal board."¹⁵³ Symphony in D Minor (1887-8), one of Franck's mature and successful compositions with fully developed cyclic construction, in the opinion of Bonds, "blends advanced chromatic harmonies with rich orchestration and an almost obsessive devotion to thematic cyclicality."¹⁵⁴ Franck's String Quartet of 1889, which is skillfully wrought in the thematic cyclic formation, marks, in Finscher's opinion, "the renaissance of string quartet in Paris."¹⁵⁵ The use of thematic cyclic formation, which d'Indy codified as "Idée des thème cyclique" in his composition text book for the Schola Cantorum (*Cours de composition*, vol. 2, published in 1909), places

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Robert Winter, "Piano Music after c. 1750, 5. 19th-Century National Trends," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/14945pg3> (accessed March 20, 2012).

¹⁵⁴Mark Evan Bonds, "Symphony, II. 19th Century, 6. Other Countries, 1840-1900," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/27254pg2> (accessed March 21, 2012).

¹⁵⁵Ludwig Finscher, "Streichquartett," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 5 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1996), 1957.

this piece in the first place of that genre and more or less influences the pieces of later generations, including d'Indy, Debussy, Fauré, Albéric Magnard, and Maurice Ravel.¹⁵⁶

Completed in 1845 and premiered on January 4, 1846, Franck's first major biblical oratorio, *Ruth*, did not enjoy any measure of success until the premier of its revision in 1871.¹⁵⁷ Most French oratorios of this time, including Franck's *Ruth*, were sung in French, contained operatic scenes, and were intended for the concert hall.¹⁵⁸ Over the years Franck composed a number of other oratorios: *La Tour de Babel* (1865), *Rédemption* (1873; second version, 1875, called a "poème-symphonie" by the composer), *Les Béatitudes* (1869-1879), and *Rébecca* (1881).¹⁵⁹ They are, according to Smither, among the representative "French Romantic oratorios from around the middle to the end of the nineteenth century."¹⁶⁰ Striking features in Franck's *Rédemption* include a speaking role and the frequent use of canon, while his *Les Béatitudes* shows the influence of Richard Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, particularly in the fifth part. In his *Rébecca*, one hears a mixed mood of harshness and lyricism along with some exoticism, especially in the choral section of camel drivers.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁵⁷Davies, *César Franck and His Circle*, 60-61.

¹⁵⁸Howard E. Smither, "Oratorio," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20397> (accessed March 23, 2012); Davies, *César Franck and His Circles*, 63.

¹⁵⁹Smither, "Oratorio."

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹Dorothea Mielke-Gerdes, "Oratorium, IV. Das französische Oratorium, 4. Von 1871 bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allegemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 7 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1997), 782-84.

In 1846 Franck completed his first symphonic poem, *Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne*, on a poem of the same title by Victor Hugo.¹⁶² Written even before Liszt's setting (1848-49, revised 1850 and 1854),¹⁶³ Franck's work, according to Altenburg, was the first symphonic poem composed in France.¹⁶⁴ Because the Société Nationale de Musique encouraged French composers to develop an independent and distinctly "French" instrumental music, many French composers in the 1870s wrote symphonic poems, which were programmatic in nature and thus more likely leaned toward nationalism;¹⁶⁵ French composers of symphonic poems around this time included Ernest Chausson, Claude Debussy, Paul Dukas, Henri Duparc, Franck, Augusta Holmès, d'Indy, André Messager, and Saint-Saëns.¹⁶⁶ Whereas Saint-Saëns chose subjects from "the canon of the classical French subjects" for his symphonic poetic works (*Phaëton*, Op. 39, 1873; *La Jeunesse d'Hercule*, Op. 50, 1877), Franck and his students (such as d'Indy, Duparc, and Dukas) occupied themselves, similarly to Liszt, with a broad "spectrum of the world literature:"¹⁶⁷ Franck's *Le Chasseur maudit* (Op. 44, 1881-82) after Gottfried August Bürger's ballad *Der wilde Jäger*), *Les Djinns* (Op. 45, 1884) after Victor Hugo's poem

¹⁶²Fauquet, *César Franck*, 1604.

¹⁶³Hugh Macdonald, "Symphonic Poem," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/27250> (accessed March 23, 2012).

¹⁶⁴Detlef Altenburg, "Symphonische Dichtung," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 9 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1998), 164-65.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Ibid.

Les Orientales;¹⁶⁸ d'Indy's *Wallenstein* (Op. 12, 1873-1881) after a poem by Friedrich Schiller, *La Forêt enchantée* (Op. 8, 1878) after Ludwig Uhland's legend *Harald*, and *Istar* (Op. 42, 1896) after a Babylonian sage;¹⁶⁹ Duparc's *Lénore* (1875) after a ballad with the same name by Gorrfried August Bürger;¹⁷⁰ and Dukas's *L'Apprenti sorcier* (1897) after Johann Wolfgang Goethe's ballad *Der Zauberlehrling*.¹⁷¹ Franck's *Les Eolides*, written between 1875 and 1876, is described by Macdonald as "delicately evocative."¹⁷² In his *Les Djinns*, Franck incorporated a piano solo into the orchestra—resembling Liszt's usage in his *Malédiction* (1833, for piano and string orchestra)¹⁷³ and *Totentanz* (two versions 1847-? 1862, for piano and orchestra),¹⁷⁴ while in his *Psyché* (1886-87) a three-part chorus is included.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, Franck used the designation "poème symphonique" for the second version of his choral piece *Rédemption* (1875).¹⁷⁶ In addition to those previously mentioned, several other of Franck's students also wrote

¹⁶⁸Macdonald, "Symphonic poem."

¹⁶⁹Andrew Thomson and Robert Orledge, "Indy, Vincent d'," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/13787> (accessed March 30, 2012).

¹⁷⁰Elisabeth Schmierer, "Duparc, Fouques Duparc, (Marie Eugène) Henri," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 5 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2001), 1625-29.

¹⁷¹Manuela Schwartz, "Dukas, Paul (Abraham)," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 5 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2001), 1558-63.

¹⁷²Macdonald, "Symphonic poem."

¹⁷³Detlef Altenburg and Axel Schröter, "Liszt, Franz," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 11 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2001), 243.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., Macdonald, "Symphonic poem."

¹⁷⁵Macdonald, "Symphonic poem."

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

symphonic poems, including Augusta Holmès (*Irlande*, 1882, and *Prologue*, 1883)¹⁷⁷ and Chausson (*Viviane*, 1882).¹⁷⁸

In 1863, Franck published a set of six pieces for organ: *Six pièces*. Consisting of “Fantaisie en ut,” *Grande pièce symphonique*, “Prélude, fugue et variation,” “Pastorale,” “Prière,” and “Final,” *Six pièces* possess, in Liszt’s opinion, “a place beside the masterpieces of Bach.” Furthermore, as Raugel points out, they “constitute a monument to the resurrection in France of the great art of the organ.”¹⁷⁹ When Georges Bizet heard the “Prélude, fugue et variation” played, he was reported to have said to Franck, “Your piece is exquisite. I did not know you were a composer, too!”¹⁸⁰ The *Grande pièce symphonique* from Franck’s *Six pièces* plays a significant role in the French organ literature, which one can only sense when taking a look of large-scale organ works written before and immediately after Franck’s work.¹⁸¹ Franck’s *Grande pièce symphonique* is in sonata form modeled after structures found in Beethoven’s symphonies: Introduction, first movement (*Allegro non troppo*), a middle movement (a three-part Scherzo framed from *Andante*), a recapitulation section modeled after Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony where all of the main themes are quoted, and a closing

¹⁷⁷Karen Henson, “Holmès, Augusta,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/13240> (accessed March 23, 2012).

¹⁷⁸Jean Gallois, “Chausson, Ernest,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/05490> (accessed March 23, 2012).

¹⁷⁹Félix Raugel, “La Musique religieuse française de l’époque révolutionnaire à la mort de César Franck,” in *La Musique religieuse française de ses origines à nos jours*, under the direction of Armand Machabey (Paris: Édition Richard-Masse, 1954), 119.

¹⁸⁰Tournemire, *César Franck*, 72.

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, 79.

movement which flows into a concluding fugue.¹⁸² This extended piece was conceived as a cycle in which the main theme of the first section in F-sharp minor “is transposed into the [relative] major for the Grand-Chœur . . . , is the basis of the fugue subject, and recurs in the repetition of the themes at the recapitulation.”¹⁸³ Sabatier points out that the piece achieves “a historical milestone” by modeling formally after the framework of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony and by skillfully utilizing various timbres of a Cavallé-Coll organ (foundations, flutes, reeds, and strings) as a symphonic orchestra.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, Franck’s *Grande pièce symphonique* breaks “the ground for the ten *Symphonies* of Widor,¹⁸⁵ the large-scale sonatas of J. G. Rheinberger and Alexandre Guilmant, and the extended chorale fantasias of Max Reger.”¹⁸⁶ There are three major organ works written in the nineteenth century before Franck’s *Grande pièce symphonique*: Felix Mendelssohn’s Six Sonatas, Op. 65 (1844-5),¹⁸⁷ Franz Liszt’s

¹⁸²Herbert Haag, *César Franck als Orgelkomponist* (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1936), 30.

¹⁸³Smith, *Playing the Organ Works of César Franck*, 80.

¹⁸⁴François Sabatier, “César Franck,” in *Guide de la musique d’orgue*, under the direction of Gilles Cantagrel (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1991), 364.

¹⁸⁵The first set of four symphonies for organ, op. 13, was published in 1876, eight years after the publication of Franck’s *Grande pièce symphonique*.

¹⁸⁶Winter, “Piano Music after c. 1750, 5. 19th-Century National Trends.”

¹⁸⁷Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Neue Ausgabe Sämtliche Orgelwerke II* (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter, 1994), 81-85.

Fantasie und Fugue über den Choral 'Ad nos, ad salutarem undam' (1850),¹⁸⁸ and Julius Reubke's Sonata in C Minor on the 94th Psalm (1857).¹⁸⁹

Mendelssohn's sonatas were commissioned by the English publishers Coventry and Hollier and intended originally to be three voluntaries. Mendelssohn "uses the term 'sonata' in a very loose manner:"¹⁹⁰ three of them (nos. 1, 2, and 4) have four movements, while nos. 5 and 6 have three movements, and no. 3 has two movements. Further striking characteristics include a closing slow and soft movement in nos. 3 and 6, incorporation of chorale melodies in four of the six sonatas (nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6),¹⁹¹ and utilization of different forms (binary, fugue, rondo, and variations).¹⁹² In brief, Mendelssohn's Six Sonatas harken back to the Baroque with their use of chorale melodies and fugal writing;¹⁹³ they, as Todd states, "summarize and epitomize Mendelssohn's rediscovery of Bach."¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸Alan Walker, Maria Eckhardt, and Rena Chamin Mueller, "Liszt, Franz," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/48265pg28> (accessed March 13, 2012).

¹⁸⁹Hans Klotz and Daniel Chorzempa, "Reubke," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/23267pg2> (accessed March 13, 2012).

¹⁹⁰Douglas M. Moorehead, "Mendelssohn's Organ Sonatas: A Look at Number 3," *Music/The AGO-RCCO Magazine* 9, no. 11 (November 1975): 30.

¹⁹¹"Was mein Gott will, das gescheh allzeit" (Sonata No. 1); "Aus tiefer Not" (Sonata No. 3); a choral-like opening in the first movement of Sonata No. 5, which is unrelated to any existing chorale melodies and is described by Albrecht as a "Choral ohne Worte," (see, Christoph Albrecht, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Sämtliche Orgelwerke II* (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter, 1994), 84); "Vater unser im Himmelreich" (Sonata No. 6).

¹⁹²Arnold, *Organ Literature*, 175-79.

¹⁹³Viktor Lukas, *Reclams Orgelmusikführer* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun, 1992), 195.

¹⁹⁴R. Larry Todd, "Mendelssohn, Felix," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/51795pg10> (accessed February 7, 2012).

Liszt's *Ad nos* is composed in an extended structure (a modified sonata) and is monothematic, cyclic, and rhapsodic.¹⁹⁵ However, it can be regarded as a choral fantasia because of its use of the chorale "Ad nos, ad salutarem undam" (taken from the chorale in Meyerbeer's opera *Le Prophète*).¹⁹⁶ Reubke's *94th Psalm*, based on nine verses from Psalm 94, was influenced by Liszt in the use of theme and form (monothematic and cyclic), and it was composed as a three-section single movement.¹⁹⁷ In the opinion of Klotz and Chorzempa, Reubke's piece "belongs to the tradition of instrumental settings of psalm texts and, in a general sense, is heir to the Baroque *Affektenlehre*."¹⁹⁸

In brief, despite the fact that Franck's *Grande pièce symphonique*, Liszt's *Ad nos*, and Reubke's *94th Psalm* are cyclic, through-composed, and use sonata form as their basic structure, Franck's composition is "the first French organ piece that is characterized and conceptualized as a 'Pièce symphonique.'"¹⁹⁹ As summarized in the online notes for the radio program "Pipedreams" for an episode called "Franckly Unexpected" broadcast on April 23, 2001, "One of the late romantic masterworks for orchestra is a symphony by César Franck. And one of the great achievements of the 19th century French organ school was this same César Franck's introduction of a symphonic manner of writing for the pipe

¹⁹⁵R. Larry Todd, "Liszt, Fantasy and Fugue for Organ on 'Ad nos, ad salutarem undam,'" *19th-Century Music* 4, no. 3 (Spring 1981): 250-61.

¹⁹⁶Graham Barber, "German Organ Music after 1800," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 255.

¹⁹⁷Sara Jeffe, "Reubke, 2. [Friedrich] Julius," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 13 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2005), 1581-82.

¹⁹⁸Klotz and Chorzempa, "Reubke."

¹⁹⁹Haag, *César Franck als Orgelkomponist*, 30.

organ.”²⁰⁰ This “great achievement” Franck brought through his *Grande pièce symphonique* further inspired not only his own students (such as Vierne and Tournemire), but also other organ composers (such as Widor) to write symphonies for organ solo. Recognized as the master of the genre, Widor composed a total of ten organ symphonies for solo organ, the first eight of which were published in two sets as op. 13 (nos. 1-4, published in 1872) and op. 42 (nos. 5-8, published in 1887).²⁰¹ Written in six or seven (no. 8) “independent movements,”²⁰² these eight symphonies (especially those less extended nos. 1-4) have been suggested by Grace to be “more fairly called suites.”²⁰³ Into each of his last two organ symphonies, *Gothique*, Op. 75 (1895) and *Romaine*, Op. 73 (1900), Widor incorporated a different chant melody,²⁰⁴ which might seem to reflect the Catholic ethos of Bordes and d’Indy’s Schola Cantorum.²⁰⁵

Vierne, who was born with “a congenital cataract condition”²⁰⁶ and later left with minimal vision due to an operation performed on him at the age of seven,

²⁰⁰“Franckly Unexpected,” <http://pipedreams.publicradio.org/listings/2001/0117/> (accessed May 15, 2012).

²⁰¹Félix Raugel and Andrew Thomson, “Widor, Charles-Marie,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/30261> (accessed March 23, 2012).

²⁰²Page C. Long, “Vierne and His Six Organ Symphonies,” pt. 1, *The Diapason* (June 1970): 25.

²⁰³Harvey Grace, *French Organ Music, Past and Present* (New York: H. W. Gray, 1919), 132.

²⁰⁴“Puer natus” for *Gothique* and “Haec dies” for *Romaine*; see, Raugel and Thomson, “Widor, Charles-Marie.”

²⁰⁵Raugel and Thomson, “Widor, Charles-Marie.”

²⁰⁶Rollin Smith, “Vierne, Louis,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.sbts.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/29335> (accessed March 23, 2012).

contributed to the organ symphony with six works.²⁰⁷ Despite his extremely brief study of organ with Franck at the Conservatoire (from October to November 1890, though he had studied composition privately with Franck since sometime in 1888),²⁰⁸ Vierne left the longest account of Franck's teaching activities at the Paris Conservatoire among the latter's students.²⁰⁹ Vierne's organ symphonies display Franck's influence especially through, as Maurice Duruflé states, "a thematic inventiveness, a depth of thought, a lyricism, a very personal emotion derived . . . from César Franck, particularly through the chromaticism of the harmonic language."²¹⁰ Furthermore, Vierne's use of thematic transformation in his fourth (op. 32, 1917), fifth (op. 47, 1923/24), and sixth (op. 50, 1930) organ symphonies show the influence of the Franckian cyclic principle:²¹¹ in no. 4, the theme of the first movement is transformed to become the B theme of the fourth movement and the main theme of the last movement as well.²¹² In each of nos. 5 and 6, two cyclic themes are used, transformed differently, and appear in the later movements.²¹³

Known as a gifted improviser and chiefly remembered for his *L'Orgue mystique* (a cycle of fifty-one organ suites based on plainchant and designed for a Sunday of the church calendar year), Tournemire contributed to the organ symphony with six

²⁰⁷Hollingshaus, "Vierne, 1. Louis (Victor Jules)," 1571-73.

²⁰⁸Ibid.

²⁰⁹Smith, "Vierne, Louis."

²¹⁰Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 520.

²¹¹Hollingshaus, "Vierne, 1. Louis (Victor Jules)," 1571-73.

²¹²Page C. Long, "Vierne and His Six Organ Symphonies," pt. 2, *The Diapason* (August 1970): 8.

²¹³Ibid.

large-scale compositions.²¹⁴ Upon Pierné's resignation from Sainte-Clotilde, Tournemire was named its titular organist in April 1898, a post he retained until his death in 1939.²¹⁵ Formally Tournemire's organ symphonies, composed between 1899 (the first one) and 1939 (the remaining five 1933-39), display Franck's influence in the use of cyclic ideas.²¹⁶ They tend to be improvisatory in style and less strict in form,²¹⁷ following a concept that combines "spirituality with eschatology,"²¹⁸ intending to depict symbols and imagery.²¹⁹

Franck's *Trois chorals*, completed just before his death in 1890, are fantasias in nature and based on melodies created by the composer. They furthermore inspired Tournemire in his *Triple choral*, Op. 41 (1910).²²⁰ *Trois chorals*, in Butt's opinion, possibly "mark the highest point of French achievement in organ composition during the nineteenth century: drawing on the Germanic chorale tradition, particularly in its Lisztian manifestation, these pieces are relatively concise and coherent."²²¹ They remain highly received, performed, and studied to this day. In the notes for Marcel Dupré's recording on the organ at Saint Thomas Church in New York in October 1957, James Lyons wrote

²¹⁴Helga Schauerte-Maubouet, "Tournemire, Charles (Arnould)," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 14 (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2005), 971-74.

²¹⁵Ibid.

²¹⁶Sisson, "Charles Tournemire, 1870-1939," 56-63.

²¹⁷Ibid.; Schauerte-Maubouet, "Tournemire, Charles (Arnould)," 971.

²¹⁸Schauerte-Maubouet, "Tournemire, Charles (Arnould)," 971.

²¹⁹Ibid.; Sisson, "Charles Tournemire, 1870-1939," 56-63.

²²⁰Sisson, "Charles Tournemire, 1870-1939," 57.

²²¹Butt, "Choral Culture and the Regeneration of the Organ," 541.

that “[i]n every way these peerless works [*Trois chorals*] may be said to represent the quintessence of his [Franck’s] art. . . . [T]hey embrace the full length and breadth of his expressive power translated into terms of a single instrument—and no composer of any period was ever more a master of this kind of instruments.”²²² Albert Schweitzer commented in the same notes that these three *chorals* were structured as “fantasy on a formal, noble theme, which, however, is freely conceived.”²²³

Franck’s organ compositions have continued to garner praise from organists of some renown more than a century after their appearance. In the preface to his edition of Franck’s complete repertoire for organ published by Bornemann in France in 1955, Marcel Dupré, one of the leading twentieth-century French organists and organ composers, wrote that Franck was a terrific improviser, composer, and a virtuoso on the organ.²²⁴ Jane Watts, a Welsh organist who studied with Marie-Claire Alain, stated in the notes for her recording at the Danion-Gonzalez organ of Chartres Cathedral that Franck was “one of the best-known 19th-century composers for the organ, [and] his work has constantly remained in the performers’ repertoire.”²²⁵

In summary, César Franck stands as the first French composer of the nineteenth century whose organ compositions rose to a level of artistry that has resulted in their acceptance as part of the enduring canon of organ literature. He built upon and benefitted from the earlier efforts of Lemmens, Choron, Niedermeyer, and others to specifically educate musicians for service to the church as choral directors and organists.

²²²James Lyons, “Notes,” in *Marcel Dupré Recital*, CD 434 311-2 (Mercury, 1992), 6.

²²³Ibid.

²²⁴Marcel Dupré, ed., *Œuvres complètes pour orgue de César Franck* (Paris: S. Bornemann, 1955), v.

²²⁵Jane Watts, “Notes,” in *Great European Organs*, no. 18 (Priory, 1993).

As teacher, Franck educated an enormous number of students (including one American), who themselves excelled in the various professional fields they pursued and passed on their craft to their students, creating a vibrant French organ school that has included such masters as Widor, Vierne, Messiaen, and Dupré, and continues to the present day. As performer, Franck possessed well-documented artistry and technique in both his improvisations and the execution of written music, something he also demanded from his students, thereby establishing high standards not only for his students but also for following generations. As composer, Franck's techniques and formal concepts, including the use of cyclic form and the creation of the organ symphony, exercised an "enduring" influence through the Paris Conservatoire, the Schola Cantorum, and, to a certain extent, the École César Franck.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

With his fervent teaching, awe-inspiring improvisation and performance, and well-crafted compositions, César Franck, as demonstrated in this dissertation, was a pivotal figure in the revitalization of French organ music after the Revolution of 1789. This revival was possible to a certain extent because of earlier efforts of Alexandre Étienne Choron and Louis Niedermeyer. Considering the destruction of religious institutions and their music during and immediately after the Revolution, Choron's endeavor to revive church music education in France through the positions he held and later through his own school was extremely significant. Even when the government discontinued funding his school, Choron was nonetheless determined to continue to offer church music education free of charge until his death. By the time Niedermeyer came on the scene, general music education was in a better state, but there was still a need for reviving church music education. The passion of Choron and Niedermeyer for reviving church music education in France earlier in the century no doubt prepared the way for Franck.

The installation of a professorship in organ at the Paris Conservatoire also served to promote the art of organ playing outside of religious schools and churches. Through his professorship at the Paris Conservatoire, Franck was able to exercise his

impact on a wider level. Alexandre Pierre François Boëly, one of the most significant organists and organ composers after the Revolution, was largely self-taught. He was one of the first in France to discover the music of old masters (J. S. Bach and Haydn) through his own study, and became consequently an advocate for their music. His “severe” style was admired by Franck, Saint-Saëns (one of Boëly’s students), and others. Boëly’s compositions also seemed to influence Franck’s organ works, notably “Prélude, fugue et variation,” Op. 18 and “Prière,” Op. 20.

The interest in renovating damaged organs and building new organs at the beginning of the nineteenth century in France led to the creation of the so-called ‘symphonic’ organ produced mainly by the firm of Aristide Cavallé-Coll. With a number of innovations brought by English organ builders, such as John Abbey and Charles Barker, to France and continental Europe, and combining interesting stops from German and Spanish organs in his instruments, Cavallé-Coll built organs equipped with a variety of sounds (principles, flutes, reeds, and mutation stops), expressive boxes, couplers and pistons control by the feet, lightness of key action, and the possibility of creating a smooth crescendo and decrescendo. Cavallé-Coll organs provided Franck and his contemporaries with larger and more diverse instruments for their compositional creativity and thus played an important role for Franck as a revitalizing figure of French organ music.

Franck’s twelve pieces for organ, though few in number, are considered as “jewels” written in a time when few organ composers—however outstanding they were as improvisers—devoted themselves to composition. Among Franck’s twelve organ works, *Grande pièce symphonique*, published as part of *Six pièces* in 1864, is of

distinctive significance. With this piece, in combination with the expanding size and tonal possibilities of the contemporaneous Cavallé-Coll organ, Franck initiated a new so-called ‘symphonic’ genre for organ, to which successive organ composers both in and outside of France (such as the Symphony in G for organ solo by an American composer Leo Sowerby) tremendously contributed. These organ symphonic works form a central part of the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century organ repertoire. Franck’s use of cyclic themes (first seen in his *Trois trios concertants*, Op. 1, No. 1, published in 1843) and formal structure modeled especially on Beethoven’s Symphony No. 9 in his *Grande pièce symphonique* marked him as a forward-looking composer leading the way to the future of French organ music.

Franck perfected his cyclic compositional technique especially in his later works, including *Prélude, choral et fugue* for piano (1884), Sonata for violin (1886), *Prélude, aria et final* for piano (1887), Symphony in D Minor (1887-8), and his String Quartet of 1889. His use of cyclic form was codified by d’Indy as “*thèmes cycliques*” in his *Cours de composition musicale* and perpetuated by a number of his students, including Chausson, Holmès, d’Indy, Pierné, and Vierne. Furthermore, Franck contributed to the French Romantic oratorio with *Ruth* (1846 and 1871), *La Tour de Babel* (1865), *Rédemption* (1873; second version, 1875, named as “poème symphonique”), *Les Béatitudes* (1869-1879), and *Rébecca* (1881). Franck’s symphonic poems *Le Chasseur maudit* (1881-2), *Les Djinns* (1884), and *Psyché* (1886-7) are among the most representative of the genre of that time. Many of Franck’s compositions, including the twelve pieces for organ, are still performed and studied regularly today.

Franck's novel teaching in composition and in his organ class at the Paris Conservatoire, other institutes, and in his home attracted not only his own students, but also countless auditors, producing a great number of admirers and proponents (including one American) and consequently leaving a significant legacy. Franck's superb improvisations and performances of his own organ compositions and those of J. S. Bach amazed those who heard him, including Liszt and Bizet. His legacy was handed down through such renowned organists as Tournemire, Vierne, Marcel Dupré, Maurice Duruflé, Jean Langlais, Olivier Messiaen, Gaston Litaize, Jehan Alain, Rolande Falcinelli, Jeanne Demessieux, Marie-Madeleine Duruflé, Pierre Cochereau, Marie-Claire Alain, Daniel Roth (the current organist at Saint-Sulpice, Paris, who recorded all of Franck's organ works), and Olivier Latry (the current organist at Notre-Dame-de-Paris and organ professor at the Paris Conservatoire). No doubt, the high esteem afforded these twentieth- and twenty-first-century French organists and organ composers for their improvisations, performances, and compositions would not have been possible without the foundation so expertly laid by César Franck. Through his compositional, educational, improvisational, and performing endeavors in organ music, he provided the bridge between the devastation left after the Revolution to the vibrant and flourishing environment of French organ music in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

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ABSTRACT

CÉSAR FRANCK AS A PIVOTAL FIGURE IN THE REVITALIZATION OF FRENCH ORGAN MUSIC AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Anna Pan, D.M.A.
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2012
Chair: Dr. Thomas W. Bolton

Though widely known as a skillful improviser and teacher in his day, César Franck has been largely overlooked concerning the pivotal role he played in the revival of French organ music after the bloody and destructive Revolution of 1789. This dissertation presents evidence of Franck's importance as teacher, performer, and composer who served as a crucial bridge between the ruinous state of organ music after the French Revolution and the vibrant French organ school of the twentieth century.

Chapter 1 presents the problem and provides background for the study. Chapter 2 presents an overview of the effects of the Revolution on the state, the church, and organ music. Chapter 3 is a description of post-revolutionary political developments, improved organ design and construction, and music education efforts that lead to the beginnings of recovery of French organ music. Chapter 4 is a detailed picture of Franck's educational, performing, and compositional activities. Chapter 5 reveals the significant influence and legacy of Franck as a result of his teaching, performing, and composition. The final chapter is a conclusion of the findings.

VITA

Anna Pan

PERSONAL

Born: January 17, 1970, Kaohsiung, Taiwan
Parents: Jin-Wu and Lin-Chu Pan

EDUCATIONAL

B.A in Church Music, Taiwanese Theological College and Seminary, 1995
Magister im Bereich der Germanistik, unfinished, 1995-2001
M.C.M. with a performance certificate in organ, Southern Baptist
Theological Seminary, 2008
D.M.A. in organ performance, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2012

MINISTRY

Assistant to the Music Minister and Organist, Grace Baptist Church,
Taipei, Taiwan, 2001-2003
Music Ministry Assistant, Bethany Baptist Church, Louisville, Kentucky,
2003-2012
Music Ministry Assistant, Pisgah Presbyterian Church, Versailles, Kentucky,
2012-