The French Orchestral Trumpet Tradition in Nineteenth-Century Paris: Competing Claims of François Auguste Dauverné and Jean-Baptiste Arban, 1820–1880

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Abstract

François Georges Auguste Dauverné and Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban represent two competing claims in the French trumpet tradition that militated against the adoption of the valve trumpet in the elite orchestras of Paris. These claims were manifest in their respective biography and pedagogy. Dauverné personifies the dominant conservatism that resisted valve technology in favour of the natural trumpet of the ancien régime. As the instrument was falling into disuse, Dauverné's *Méthode pour la trompette* (1857) was a defence of the natural trumpet premised on its natural timbral purity, historical continuity, and elite status. It was also a lament shaped by Dauverné's removal from performing life in the decade after 1843. Arban's *La grande méthode complète de cornet à piston et de saxhorn* (1864) promoted the cornet as the heir to the orchestral trumpet based on its chromatic facility, timbral uniformity, and mass popularity. Arban's advocacy of the instrument was also an appeal to the art music elite at the Conservatoire, for personal acceptance in fields within which he had rarely worked and with which he had only peripheral association. While the cornet was widely used in place of the valve trumpet after 1835, its timbre was questioned, and it garnered a culturally low association with popular music, and dance orchestras, alongside its military use. Arban's career solidified the instrument's associations outside the elite orchestra. In the 1870s contrary to the advocacy of Dauverné and Arban, the trends they represented gave way to the historically contested, but ultimately pragmatic processes by which their students and younger colleagues embraced the modern valve trumpet. This instrument had come to broadly and satisfactorily unite the musical facility of the cornet, and the natural timbre, and historical and cultural nobility of the trumpet.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Engaging an evolving tradition

Valve mechanisms and valve-brass instruments were introduced to Paris in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. One of the earliest instances of the use of a valve trumpet pitched in low F in the orchestra in Europe was by François Georges Auguste Dauverné at the Paris Opera in 1827. The trumpeter also wrote one of the earliest known method books for the instrument shortly thereafter. However, the valve trumpet was used sparingly in the elite French orchestra in the first years after 1827. Instead, from 1835 at both the Paris Opera and in the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, valved cornets, developed in Paris around 1831 and pitched an octave higher than valve trumpets, filled soprano chromatic brass roles alongside a pair of natural trumpets.[1] The modern orchestral valve trumpet, like the cornet pitched in high Bb, was not commonplace in Parisian orchestras until the years after Xavier Teste introduced it to orchestral practice in 1874. The central question that this thesis explores and offers a contribution towards explaining is therefore: why did the elite orchestras of France use the cornet rather than the valve trumpet for five decades mid-century; and, how did the cultural agency of leading Parisian cornetists and trumpeters, along with the institutions with which they were associated, frame and direct the transitionary process between

[1] Hereafter l'Opéra will refer to the orchestra of the Paris Opera regardless of its historical title; la Société refers to the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire; Conservatoire refers to the Paris Conservatoire; and la Garde refers to all forms of military musical performance of the Music de la Garde Nationale. Unless otherwise noted in the text, French translations are my own.

Dauverné's adoption of the low F valve trumpet 1827, and Teste's turn to the modern valve trumpet in Bb in 1874?

Writing in 1857 Dauverné argued strongly that the natural trumpet ought to remain central to the French orchestra.[2] This claim was emblematic of a range of views amongst Paris' elite musicians at l'Opéra, la Société, and the Conservatoire, that rejected valve trumpets. Dauverné, born in Paris on the 15th of February 1800, began study of the horn when he was twelve.[3] He soon changed to trumpet and, making quick progress on the instrument, was admitted to Des Gardes du Corps du Roi in July 1814, three months after the Bourbon Restoration saw Louis XVIII take the throne.[4] Six years later Dauverné was appointed to the Principal Trumpet position in the orchestra at l'Opéra, a position he held until retirement in July 1851.[5] He was a founding member and Principal Trumpet at la Société under violinist and conductor François Antoine Habeneck and performed with that orchestra from 1828 to 1852. [6] Alongside performance Dauverné held the position of Professor of Trumpet at the Conservatoire from 1833 until his retirement in 1869.[7] Dauverné preferred the natural trumpet throughout his career.

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[2] This analysis draws on: François Dauverné, *Méthode pour la Trompette* (Paris: International Music Diffusion, 1991); François Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3, no. 1 (1991): 179-261.

[3] "La musique et la légion d'honneur," *La France Musicale*, 23 August, 1868, 261; Planque, *Agenda musical pour 1837 ou indicateur des amateurs, artistes et commerçants en musique de Paris, de la province et de l'etranger* (Paris: Librairie Musicale De E. Duverger, 1837), 56, 62, 76, 85.

[4] "La musique et la légion d'honneur," *La France Musicale*, 23 August, 1868, 261.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

One of Dauverné's most famous students, and France's most celebrated and internationally famed cornet à piston player, was Jean Baptiste Laurent Arban. In 1864 Arban argued that the cornet was the rightful heir to the natural trumpet and should replace the trumpet in all its forms in the musical life of France.[8] This claim too was emblematic of a range of attitudes held more broadly. Arban was born in Lyon on the 28th of February 1825, almost three months to the day prior to the coronation of Charles X.[9] He was a Premier Prix winner in the trumpet class at the Conservatoire in 1845. His early and rapid rise to a performing career on the cornet à piston saw him widely regarded as one of the finest virtuosos on that instrument in the nineteenth century.[10] Arban enjoyed considerable public acclaim as a cornetist, conductor, and composer, not only in Paris, but also from London to St Petersburg. He was an early supporter of the manufacturer Adolphe Sax and an advocate for his new family of saxhorns. He taught saxhorn at the Gymnase de Musique Militaire, the military annex to the Conservatoire from 1846 and in 1869 was appointed Professor of the first civilian cornet à piston class at the Conservatoire.[11]

To enrich our understanding of the history of the French trumpet tradition and the adoption of the valve trumpet, this thesis exposes and explores choices and relationships that retarded, then promoted the use of the valve trumpet over the cornet in the French orchestra. By contextualising the rhetoric and work of Dauverné and Arban and their competing claims on the trumpet tradition, it

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[8] Jean-Baptiste Arban, *Arban's Complete Method: Trumpet, Platinum Edition (Annotated by Claude Gordon)*, eds. Edwin Franko Goldman and Walter M. Smith (New York, NY: Carl Fischer Music, 2005), iv.
[9] "Nécrologie," *Le Ménestrel*, 14 April, 1889, 120.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

reveals that the final adoption of the modern valve trumpet was neither a simple nor aesthetically abstract decision. The eventual turn to the valve trumpet after 1874 hinged on a complex of social micro-politics, individual biographical concerns and loyalties, entrepreneurial desires, and aesthetics.

Literature Review: Approaches to the nineteenth century trumpet

There is little literature specifically directed to the role Dauverné and Arban played in the adoption of the valve trumpet in the orchestras of Paris. In broad terms, existing research suggests that, firstly, French players preferred the comparative facility of the higher pitched Bb cornet over the original valve trumpet pitched in low F as a replacement for the natural trumpet, then later adopted the high valve trumpet in Bb. There is little discussion as to the reasoning behind these preferences and choices. Secondly, the subsequent move to the valve trumpet is explained as a rejection of the culturally low connections of the cornet with the mass lower-middle classes and the military, and a preference for the elite connections of the trumpet within the operatic, orchestral, and academic traditions. The political processes by which these ostensibly cultural associations occurred, and the manner in which they affected the valve trumpet tradition, are not explored in detail.

The seeming orthodoxy of the foregoing views can be attributed, in large part, to the influential work of Edward Tarr, one of the leading figures in trumpet specific historical musicology for more than three decades. Tarr’s oeuvre adds considerable detail to the earlier work of Philip Bate and Anthony Baines, to suggest that natural and valve trumpets were considered exclusively orchestral instruments, and the cornet was the preferred solo instrument through the

nineteenth century.[12] He argues that the original modern trumpet with valves was pitched in low F/Eb, and was eventually superseded by the high Bb/C trumpet. Tarr's brief survey of "the acceptance of the valve trumpet in France" notes the few early occasions on which Dauverné used the instrument, but does not explore in depth the extent to which Dauverné supported its use thereafter, nor why the cornet was used in its place in Dauverné's orchestras.[13] Tarr also writes little about Arban's impact on the trumpet tradition, other than to contend that he was "the founder of the modern school of cornet- and trumpet-playing", and that his popularity and use of the Bb cornet influenced trumpet players to switch from low F to high Bb valve trumpets.[14]

An example of how the basic tenets of Tarr's work are used to underpin more recent scholarship is Geoffrey Shamu's brief survey of the use of natural trumpets and cornets in France.[15] Taking Tarr's work and findings on the nineteenth century trumpet as his starting point, he makes extensive use of Merri Franquin's "La Trompette et le Cornet" in Albert Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, to argue that the move to cornets reflected performers' search for greater security in the upper registers.[16] Shamu also notes that players at l'Opéra in particular, were reluctant to cease

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[12] Edward Tarr, *The Trumpet* (London, UK: B.T. Batsford, 1988); Edward Tarr, "The Romantic Trumpet, Part 1," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 213-261; Edward Tarr, "The Romantic Trumpet, Part 2," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 6 (1994): 110-215; Anthony Baines, *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development* (New York, NY: Dover 1993); Philip Bate, *The Trumpet and Trombone: An Outline of Their History, Development, and Construction* (London, UK: E. Benn, 1966).

[13] Tarr, "The Romantic Trumpet, Part 1," 236-8.

[14] Tarr, "The Romantic Trumpet, Part 1," 238.

[15] Geoffrey Shamu, "Merri Franquin and His Contribution to the Art of Trumpet Playing" (DMA diss., Boston University, 2009), 4-19.

[16] Ibid.; Merri Franquin, "La Trompette et le Cornet," in *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire*, eds. Albert Lavignac and Lionel de la Laurencie (Paris: Delagrave, 1925), 1597-1637.

use of the natural trumpet, and retained cornets to play parts written for valve trumpet until as late as the Paris première of *Lohengrin* in 1891.[17] Shamu suggests this was both evidence of l'Opéra trumpeters' conservative disposition, and a generational trend, with change occurring as older players retired from the orchestra.[18] He also contends that the extended technical demands of composers propelled the change to valve trumpets, as the natural trumpet lacked the chromatic capacity and the cornet lacked a timbre of sufficient brilliance and projection.[19] While Shamu's concern was for the legacy of Franquin, opportunities remain to test and contextualise Franquin's presentation of the central elements of the valve trumpet's history in France.

The work of William Runyan, Kevin McLaughlin, and Jeremy Brekke, develops the organological aspect of Tarr's work to study the use of trumpets in the nineteenth-century orchestra. These works accept Tarr's findings and assumptions, then from this assume that if instruments were called for in the score, they were materially available and players would have used them.[20] However, as Ralph Dudgeon demonstrates, while keyed bugles or keyed trumpets may have been called for in the score, this is no guarantee that keyed instruments were actually used.[21] Similarly, Diana Bickley has shown that alterations to Berlioz's manuscripts indicate that cornets were used in place of

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[17] Franquin, "La Trompette et le Cornet," 1597-1637; Shamu, "Merri Franquin," 17.

[18] Shamu, "Merri Franquin," 17.

[19] Ibid., 15.

[20] William E Runyan, "History: Keyed and Valved Bugles, Cornets and Trumpets in French Grand Opera," *Brass Bulletin* 122 (2003): 46-59; Kevin McLaughlin, "Idiomatic Uses of Brass Instruments in 19th Century Opera" (DMA diss., University of Minnesota, 1992); Jeremy Brekke, "The Forgotten Trumpet: A Historical Examination of the Low F Valve Trumpet" (DMA Diss., University of Northern Colorado, 2004).

[21] Ralph Dudgeon, *The Keyed Bugle* (Oxford, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 25.

valve trumpets in France.[22] Works such as those of McLaughlin and Brekke are not specific to France, consequently their contribution to the questions of this thesis are limited. An opportunity remains to explore which instruments were actually being used in the orchestra over time. This will bring greater contextual depth to our understanding of the trumpet tradition in the orchestras of Paris.

Richard Birkemeier's work moves in this latter direction as he engages a helpful sociological and cultural turn to recognise that individual agency also impacted on decisions concerning the valve trumpet tradition. While his research, which both predates and overlaps Tarr's on the romantic trumpet, also surveys the pan-regional use of the trumpet in the orchestra of the 1800s, he notes that differing transitionary technical changes and cultural variations affected its use across geographical areas.[23] Birkemeier argues that in France, Dauverné's preference for the natural trumpet was influential enough to defer the entrance of the valve trumpet into the orchestra until the late 1880s.[24] He places this agency within a cultural context when he goes on to argue that through the nineteenth century there was both a "French taste for the natural trumpet" and an "extensive use of the cornet-a-piston"; further, that in France the trumpet and cornet lived as two separate instruments until they began to merge late in the century and the modern trumpet is a hybrid product of that process.[25] For Birkemeier the impetus to move from natural to valve trumpets lay in the

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[22] Diana Bickley, "The Trumpet Shall Sound: Some reasons which suggest why Berlioz altered the part for Trompette à Pistons in his Overture Waverly," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 6 (1994): 61-83.

[23] Richard Birkemeier, "The History and Music of the Orchestral Trumpet of the Nineteenth Century," *International Trumpet Guild Journal* 9, no. 3 (1985): 37; Richard Birkemeier and R. Dean Ayers, "A 19th Century Trumpet in F," *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 88, no. S1 (1990): 187.

[24] Birkemeier, "The History and Music of the Orchestral Trumpet," 36-37.

[25] Ibid.; Birkemeier and Ayers, "A 19th Century Trumpet in F," 187.

increasing call for chromaticism in the scores of Hector Berlioz, Felix Mendelssohn, Robert Schumann, Franz Liszt and Richard Wagner.[26] While most of Birkemeier's examples are of German composers, he briefly notes, but does not explain, Berlioz's use of a pair of cornets alongside a pair or more of natural trumpets, to cover chromatic soprano brass material.[27] Conversely, Joyce Davis' research into the use of the cornet in French orchestration between 1830 and 1936 offers a brief starting point on questions of orchestration, but is less concerned with the broader processes that lead to the cornet's use.[28]

More recent work by John Wallace also harks back to Tarr. Wallace accepts, *a priori*, that the cornet was more popular than the trumpet, particularly in Britain and France during the nineteenth century, and for a time posed a threat to the trumpet as the preferred soprano brass instrument in French orchestras.[29] He, along with Trevor Herbert, and Jean-Yves Rauline, who also attend to mass-class music making in their research, adopt a more sociological-political perspective. They attribute much of the cornet's popularity, and its subsequent threat to the valve trumpet, to the enthusiastic adoption of newly-valved instruments by both the military and the mass middle classes after 1830.[30]

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[26] Birkemeier, "The History and Music of the Orchestral Trumpet," 36-37.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Joyce Francine Davis, "The Cornet à Pistons in French and French-infuenced orchestration from 1830 to 1936" (DMA diss., Ohio State University, 1990).

[29] John Wallace, "Brass Solo and Chamber Music from 1800," in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, eds. John Wallace and Trevor Herbert (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 236-254; John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan, *The Trumpet* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).

[30] Wallace, "Brass Solo and Chamber Music from 1800," 236-254; Trevor Herbert, "Brass Bands and Other Vernacular Brass Traditions," in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, eds. John Wallace and Trevor Herbert (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 177-192; Jean-Yves Rauline, "19th Century Amateur Music Societies in France and the Changes of Instrument Construction: Their Evolution Caught between Passivity and

These authors take it as read that Arban's career influenced the emergence of the mass classes community band and military band movements. However, due to their focus on the popularity of brass instruments with those classes, they do not explore the impact of Arban's career, nor do they consider the role of the cornet, within the orchestral field in France. These studies are also less concerned with processes leading to the eventual adoption of the valve trumpet.

Outside of player preferences, composer demands, and the mass popularity of the cornet, two additional factors impacting on the use of the cornet and valve trumpet in France appear in the literature. Firstly, research by Reine Dahlqvist, and Géry Dumoulin, into technological developments and valve and instrument patents invites questions as to the importance of French industrial and economic growth and its impact on a burgeoning instrument manufacturing business.[31] Opportunities exist to explore more deeply the extent to which this impacted on the availability of some instruments over others, or how this may have influenced the transition to valve trumpets in France. Secondly, and along the same lines, Dumoulin briefly recognises that processes of instrument manufacture and the development of pedagogy and repertoire are necessarily related.[32] These themes also appear in Ralph Dudgeon's exploration of the pedagogy and repertoire of early valved instruments; this points to the potential

Progress," *The Galpin Society Journal* 57 (2004): 236-245; Jeffrey Cooper, "A Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century: The Rise of French Instrumental Music and Parisian Concert Societies 1828-1871" (PhD Thesis, Cornell University, 1981).

[31] Géry Dumoulin, "The Cornet and Other Brass Instruments in French Patents of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *The Galpin Society Journal* 59 (2006): 77-100; Reine Dahlqvist, "Some Notes on the Early Valve," *The Galpin Society Journal* 33 (1980): 111-124.

[32] Dumoulin, "The Cornet and Other Brass," 77-100.

influence of both the expanding music publishing and teaching sectors.[33] Friedrich Anzenberger's comprehensive body of research into nineteenth-century pedagogy for slide trumpet, and hand stopping, and valve trumpet, and for cornet, reveals a rapidly growing class of teachers, new forms of institutionalised learning, and growing body of pedagogical material to service an emerging consuming and learning public.[34] This research suggests that brass instrument production and consumption in the nineteenth century was both dynamic and rapidly expanding. Opportunity exists to recognise the contribution of manufacturers in the process of moving from natural trumpets to the modern Bb trumpet.

In terms of the repertoire used for these instruments, aside from the orchestral materials referred to in the above literature, Gillian MacKay explores broadly similar questions from the perspective of the *Morceau du Concours* used at the Conservatoire through the 1800s.[35] Her work offers contextual insight into the changing nature and use of the valve trumpet and cornet. At the same time, the work of MacKay is concerned primarily with solo repertoire at the Conservatoire,

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[33] Ralph Dudgeon, "Keyed Bugle Method Books: Documents of Transition in 19th Century Brass Instrument Performance Practice and Aesthetics," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 2 (1990): 112-122.

[34] Friedrich Anzenberger, "Method Books for Valve Trumpet to 1850: An Annotated Bibliography," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 10 (1998): 50-62; Friedrich Anzenberger, "Method Books for Trumpet and Cornet Using Stopped Notes in the 19th Century," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 7 (1995): 1-11; Friedrich Anzenberger, "French Cornet Methods Published before Arban's Complete Grand Method for Cornet and Saxhorn 1 (1864)," *Brass Bulletin* 85 (1994): 76-79; Friedrich Anzenberger, "French Cornet Methods Published before Arban's Complete Grand Method for Cornet and Saxhorn 2 (1864)," *Brass Bulletin* 86 (1994): 23-25; Friedrich Anzenberger, "French Cornet Methods Published before Arban's Complete Grand Method for Cornet and Saxhorn 3 (1864)," *Brass Bulletin* 87 (1994): 45-47; Friedrich Anzenberger, "Method Books for Natural Trumpet in the 19th Century: An Annotated Bibliography," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 1-21; Friedrich Anzenberger, "The Earliest French Tutor for Slide Trumpet," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 4 (1992): 106-111; Géry Dumoulin, "History: A Look at the Evolution of the Valved Cornet and Its Repertoire - Part 3 (End): The Virtuosi and the Repertoire of the Cornet," *Brass Bulletin* 120 (2002): 56-62.

[35] M. Gillian MacKay, "Trumpet and Cornet Concours Music at the Paris Conservatoire, 1835-1925: The Development of Styles and Roles" (DMus diss., Northwestern University, 1996).

so has less to contribute when it comes to charting the move to valve trumpet in the orchestras of Paris.

None of the foregoing literature is directed to the agency or influence of Dauverné or Arban, or the broader institutional and social circumstances around the transition from natural to valve trumpets in Paris. Tarr and Birkemeier provide starting points, but their multi-regional ambit and brevity respectively, mean that opportunities exist to explore more geographically specific, and detailed structural developments, aesthetic preferences, and the agency of specific individuals within the move to the valve trumpet. This is to begin with the possibility that choices of instruments were driven by player choices, composer need, and timbral musical requirements. These need to be explored in deeper contextual detail if we are to understand the French trumpet tradition in the nineteenth century more fully.

There are very few in depth studies of the influence of Dauverné's biography and aesthetic on the trumpet tradition. This is due in large part to the scarcity of resources concerning Dauverné's life. Bryan Proksch's biographical article concerning the French trumpeters Buhl, Dauverné, and Kresser, offers a rare introduction to three potentially influential players from the early nineteenth century.[36] His use of contemporary newspaper and journal articles, along with early dictionary and encyclopaedia entries, and the much later collated references in Dallas Kern Holoman's archive of documents from la Société, highlight the value of a deep and multifaceted contextualisation of such

[36] Bryan Proksch, "Buhl, Dauverné, Kresser, and the Trumpet in Paris, ca. 1800-1840," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 20 (2008): 69-91.

individuals. There is opportunity to exploit these types of primary and secondary sources in much further detail.

A recurring assumption in the abovementioned literature is, that because Dauverné was one of the first to play a valve trumpet he was thereafter positively disposed to its use in the orchestra. Birkemeier's view that Dauverné's preference for the natural trumpet delayed the entrance of the valve trumpet into the orchestra is at odds with this assumption and thus calls for greater critical interrogation and contextualisation. Equally, there remains an opportunity to more thoroughly test Birkemeier's assertion that a French taste for the natural trumpet coupled with an extensive use of the cornet delayed the uptake of the valve trumpet.

As for the impact of the popular virtuoso Arban, Jean-Pierre Mathez's acerbic critique of his biography and career, one of the first and still very few to approach Arban critically, stands out for its exposure of invaluable primary sources, and for the fact that it seeks to contextualise Arban the man and Arban the *Méthode*.[37] The analysis of Arban in this thesis, is inspired by the last of Mathez's series of seven brief articles published between 1974 and 1977.[38] It does not seek to address Mathez's specific questions and concerns with the pedagogy. Rather, Mathez's frustration with the pedagogy and text points to the

[37] Jean-Pierre Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889: Portrait D'un Musicien Français Du Xixe Siècle* (Switzerland: Editions Bim, 1977), 15-25. The same material appears in serialised form: Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 1 - His First Twenty Years," *Brass Bulletin* 9 (1974): 10-14; Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 2 - the Beginning of His Career," *Brass Bulletin* 10 (1975): 9-16; Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," *Brass Bulletin* 11 (1975): 9-25; Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 4 - the Conflict," *Brass Bulletin* 12 (1975): 10-18; Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 5 - the Arban-Cornet," *Brass Bulletin* 13 (1976): 4-14; Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 6 - the Last Years of His Life," *Brass Bulletin* 14 (1976): 3-7; Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 7 - Critical Analysis of His Method," *Brass Bulletin* 15 (1976): 15-25.

[38] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 7 - Critical Analysis of His Method," 15-25.

possibility that the application of an alternative hermeneutic lens to the text will offer insight into the person and influence of Arban. I will return to these research opportunities presently.

Paris, conflict, and modernism

The political and social upheavals that marked Paris following the Revolution of 1789, including the subsequent waves of restoration, revolution, and changes of regime, especially those around 1830, 1848, and 1870, had social, material, personal, ideological, and existential impacts. Eric Hobsbawm's invocation of a "dramatic dialectical dance" is an apt description of post-Revolutionary political and social developments.[39] Robert Gildea's *Children of the Revolution* details more specifically the public and private tensions experienced and evinced by five generations after the French Revolution as they sought to "settle old scores" while simultaneously seeking to construct a unified French nation.[40] Of particular interest here are Gildea's second and third generations: the former generation was those like Dauverné born around 1800, which he describes as "intensely self-aware, raised in a period of excitement and greatness"; the latter were of Arban's generation, born around 1830, and this was comparatively "less ideological, more pragmatic and less committed to one particular form of government or another. It was a generation of builders rather than dreamers".[41] In contextualising the claims of Dauverné and Arban, it is important to recognise that Dauverné's generation carried a strong sense of their contribution to the

[39] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe: 1789-1848* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1996), 62.
[40] Robert Gildea, *Children of the Revolution: The French, 1799-1914* (London, UK: Penguin, 2008), 6-10.
[41] Ibid.

developments in orchestral music in the new century. After the 1820s these young artists not only contributed to developments in orchestral music, but did so in a time and in a way that remained closely aware of post-revolutionary social and political dynamics in France. This was a time for maintaining that which they deemed to be inalienable from the past as much as it was for progressing the cause of a new age. Arban's generation operated at a distance from the Revolution of 1789. In part they reacted to developments early in the century, but also perhaps less concerned with the immediate social and political dynamics post-revolution. The challenge for orchestral musicians of this generation lay in the fact that their teachers were of Dauverné's generation. Consequently, they were not necessarily indifferent to the traditions of the ancien regime, for example, but their sense of contribution to the development of music had a more pragmatic orientation.

Gildea's work demonstrates how constant political and social change inevitably formed a framework that both impeded and impelled the institutions and individuals being discussed in this thesis. The importance of the political and social context ought not be overstated. Here it serves to articulate a set of assumptions behind the present argument. There are two broad reasons for acknowledging but setting these assumptions aside at this point. Firstly, to discuss developments in music in nineteenth-century France in isolation from its political and social context, risks indifference to the deeply enmeshed way in which music both forms and expresses culture and the social, and is in its own way deeply political. Hobsbawm and Gildea take the socially and politically

entangled nature of music for granted.[42] More specific musicological work, such as Jane Fulcher's *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art*, points to the possibility that administrators, theatres, budgets, librettists, and composers and directors, both respond to and create political and social realities.[43] More specifically, James Johnson's *Listening in Paris* reveals how audiences did not merely consume preordained forms of music, but defined their identity and social position through and in how they engaged with the widening range of musical art forms and genres.[44] Similarly, Sarah Hibberd's *French Grand Opera and the Historical Imagination* recognises that such processes of identification involved political ambiguity and interpretation along with a high degree of elasticity when it came to the meaning of a particular form of art. Her analysis of French opera, for example, "illuminates the evolving relationship between the political and the aesthetic on one hand, and the diverse ways in which Parisians were thinking about themselves on the other".[45] The challenge here, as in all politically minded musicology, is to avoid essentialising a particular form or expression, and allow for a plurality of meanings in both its presentation and reception.

Secondly, while music and artistic choices are enmeshed in and expressive of their social and political context, any perceived links between large-scale political activity micro-musical choices are bound to be too highly speculative to

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[42] Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe: 1789-1848*, 256ff; Gildea, *Children of the Revolution: The French, 1799-1914*, 177ff.

[43] Jane Fulcher, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[44] James Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1995).

[45] Sarah Hibberd, *French Grand Opera and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 180.

be illuminating. For example, perhaps Dauverné was, by virtue of his upbringing, training, and early exposure to duty at the patronage of the House of Bourbon, an ardent Catholic and Legitimist. Perhaps also, his otherwise assured disposition was thus undermined during the July Revolution of 1830 after which Charles X was replaced by King Louis Philippe I from the conservative Orléan faction. Further, perhaps he also experienced an even higher level of existential insecurity as a result of the 1848 Revolution, which gave rise to the Second Republic under Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I. It is quite another thing to then argue that on the basis of socially and politically generated uncertainty, Dauverné cleaved to what he knew and valued best: Church, Bourbon Court, and an idealised pre-revolutionary history. To put it another way, that it was Dauverné's uncertain conservative disposition that determined his desire to perform on the natural trumpet because it afforded him a sense of security and continuity with a seemingly secure past.

That said, materially, ideologically and existentially, the people discussed in this thesis were in their own way being women and men of their own time. They were affected materially by the social and political dynamics within which they lived and moved. In more abstract terms, they were modern. Modern, as Marshall Berman has put it, in the sense that these post-Revolutionary publics shared a sense that they were:

> living in a revolutionary age, an age that generates explosive upheavals in every dimension of personal, social and political life. At the same time, the nineteenth-century modern public can remember what it is like to live, materially and spiritually, in worlds that are not modern at all. From this inner dichotomy, this sense of living in two

> worlds simultaneously, the ideas of modernization and modernism emerge and unfold.[46]

As a result, as individuals from the second and third generations after the 1789 Revolution sought to make sense of their world, or perhaps to transform it, modernisers could be conservative, progressive, reactionary, or variously described as romantics or realists.[47] For these reasons Paris in the nineteenth century was a highly contested space, and if anything impelled its historical trajectory, it was the inevitable dialecticism that constituted it. This contest and dialecticism makes Paris a valuable study for the deep contextualisation that occupies this thesis. The challenge: the valve trumpet represented a new technology, a new art, in an uncertain and rapidly changing world.

The social and political fluidity of France, Paris in particular, informs Johnson's *Listening in Paris*. Johnson recognises that the July Monarchy after 1830 saw an unbridled bourgeoning of the bourgeoisie, but while the identifying traits and values of that bourgeoisie had been developing through, and referred back to the decades after the French Revolution, they remained varied and contested rather than discrete.[48] Hibberd's study of Grand Opera and a French historical imagination reveals the period from 1830-1848 to be complex, contradictory, and "obsessed with its past and its future".[49] The promise of civic equality before the law did not of necessity result in cultural or class based uniformity especially when it came to music and culture. Various forms of instrumental music after 1830, to varying degrees for some in the literate working class and a

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[46] Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air* (London, UK: Verso, 1982), 17.
[47] See for example: Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 127.
[48] Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History*, 228-236.
[49] Hibberd, *French Grand Opera and the Historical Imagination*, 182.

great deal more in the mass middle classes, represented an individual and for some theorists and activists, social opportunity to explore new forms of identity. It was into this complex and at times uncertain fluidity that the cornet and valve trumpet emerged.

Derek Scott's *Sounds of the Metropolis*, and William Weber's *Music and the Middle Class*, capture something of the material implications of these phenomena.[50] Scott, for example, makes reference to the emergence of "new markets for cultural goods", and the need for such markets to suit, or appeal to, the varying classes or factions that sought to consume those goods.[51] That alignment of goods with consumers was a process that developed over time. For instance, Philippe Musard's introduction of the popular promenade concerts on the Champs Elysées, among the first to feature the new aural and visual spectacle of the virtuoso cornet soloist in the early 1830s, was a new cultural product in Paris, as was the corresponding audience. For that reason alone the concerts initially contained considerable variability and ambiguity with regard to the type of repertoire they presented, and the status of the audience that attended or to which they sought to appeal. Part of the initial attraction of these outdoor concerts was that they afforded a range of publics the opportunity to promenade and be seen, or watch, or not, as the case may be.

Following Scott's and Weber's research, the fluidity and ambiguity of the concert experience after 1830 meant that defining new forms of concert presentation was and remains problematic. The locale, the ticket price, and the

[50] Derek Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[51] Ibid., 41.

attending public quickly began to give definition to differing forms of concert from Scott's broad neo-Marxian markets and goods perspective. However, actually defining the varying types of concert and the genres of music they performed in the 1830s was still difficult. As Weber notes, within his definitional framework, while initially the new "popular music" concert outnumbered "classical music" concerts, the publics and the taste of the publics that attended these concerts was not always easily defined.[52] Defining what constituted a popular concert and a classical concert when the programme contained a Beethoven symphony, a recently composed quadrille, and a soloist performing operatic themes in 1830s Paris was, and remains, political. It goes to the definition of individuals and their social identity, and of the dominant forms of music in the cultural field. Deeply contextual research into the period therefore, has to engage with analytical categories that are themselves are changing and growing. This presents considerable theoretical and methodological challenges.

As Gildea shows, these dynamics were played out, for example, in the theatre when farces at Théâtre Variétés presented pastiches of Victor Hugo's *Hernani*, poked fun at those whose aesthetic was overly emotional, those they dismissed as "the Romantics".[53] The same dynamics allow Weber to recognise that some members of the public in the 1830s attended both classical and popular music concerts. In support he cites Emile Deschamps' view that:

> the mutual injustice [of the two publics] is explained by the difference in their points of view toward art and by the rivalry between

[52] William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 25-26.
[53] Gildea, *Children of the Revolution*, 178.

> them…they are too different in this respect and too equally matched to be able to understand each other.[54]

Deschamps identified the issues as they happened in time: if the musical arts were in themselves political, so too were the ears that heard them. In other words, both the production and the consumption of music, new or old, was subject to a complex range of social and political dynamics hierarchies and expectations.

Similar social and political contextualisation might be constructed around Georges-Eugène Haussmann's renovation cum reforms of inner Paris after June 1853. Whether for the health of the people, ease of commerce, or for greater political control and stability of the formerly narrow streets of the city, Haussmann's changes affected the public and private life of Parisians. If nothing else, the streets of Paris became a physical representation of the city's fluidity and state of change, and this alone impacted on Parisians' perception of themselves and the art they produced and consumed.

By 1870, the Franco-Prussian War, Siege of Paris, and the Paris Commune mark a further historical turning point, as political and cultural divides were both clarified and hardened. This was as true in music as in any other art or field of endeavour. The state based privilege of l'Opéra, the Conservatoire, and la Société, may have remained strong, if in seemingly more independent guises under independent management structures. Popular and dance musics, military forms, and community and amateur societies, were increasingly distinct from the formerly state held institutions, and importantly the divide between them

[54] Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, 26.

was now far more solid than was the case in the 1820s and 1830s. In addition, the strength and popularity of new ventures such as Jules Pasdeloup's Concerts Populaires, founded in 1861, is but one example of how concert performances of old and new works were increasingly commercialised and competitive.[55] Musicians became ever more professionalised, sheet music production grew in volume, an expanding teaching class formalised their pedagogy in publications, and new and improved instruments were developed by an enthusiastic manufacturing sector. To the extent that music was an evolving field that constituted the social in Paris, it was thus subject to a range of power hierarchies, social tastes and institutional conventions. Importantly, it bloomed, noticeably, through the 1870s.

In the area of trumpet performance, the emergence of valve technology introduced an additional range of immediate material and ideological debates that impacted on the use of natural and valve instruments. Military players were among the first to adopt new keyed- and valved-trumpets. As many of these players also performed in the theatres in Paris, especially prior to 1850, valve trumpets and cornets tended to be used in smaller and regional theatres prior to their use at l'Opéra and la Société and the Conservatoire. However, the desirability and suitability of valve trumpets for a range of musics was quickly a disputed topic. It was alongside new directions at l'Opéra under Rossini, a new instrumental music focus at la Société under Habeneck, and new popular concert forms initially under the likes of Jullien and Musard, that the early fate of the valve trumpet was played out.

[55] Jeffrey Cooper, "A Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century: The Rise of French Instrumental Music and Parisian Concert Societies 1828-1871" (PhD Thesis, Cornell University, 1981).

The adoption of the valve trumpet was subject to personal and institutional political hierarchies, tastes and conventions, and histories and expectations. It is these dynamic interpersonal micro-political networks that are the focus of this thesis, because the fate of the valve trumpet was determined in very large part by the relationships, the micro-political, the collaborations and conflicts between various ‘players’ in Paris.

Contribution

The original contribution of this thesis lies in its contextualisation of two key claims in the French orchestral trumpet tradition: that which sought to maintain performance on the natural trumpet; and that which advocated use of the cornet as opposed to the natural and valve trumpets in orchestral performance. This contextualisation makes a contribution toward enriching our understanding of the history of the French orchestral trumpet tradition. Within that overarching goal research questions are directed to matters of individual agency and structural and institutional determination. Primarily this is to inquire after those persons and factors that led to and sustained: the initial failure to adopt the valve trumpet over the natural trumpet at l’Opéra and la Société; the subsequent adoption of the cornet at l’Opéra and la Société; the eventual turn to the modern valve trumpet to replace both the natural trumpet and cornet in those orchestras.

The outcomes of this thesis are three-fold. Firstly, it demonstrates that between 1820 and 1880 valve trumpet practices in Paris were fluid and complex, and Dauverné and Arban were influential in the developing trumpet tradition. Secondly, the study of Dauverné reveals that the French trumpet tradition was

marked by a conservatism with regard to the natural trumpet which militated against the use of the valve trumpet in the orchestra. At the same time, this facilitated the use of the cornet as a soprano brass voice in the orchestra. This was largely a pragmatic choice based on its facility and chromatic capacity. Thirdly, the examination of Arban indicates that his career powerfully promoted the cornet in popular music and dance genres, and in the military. This influence tied it permanently to fields that evolved, and were subsequently defined, to be culturally apart from orchestral art music. In the 1870s, both trends conspired to favour the valve trumpet. The cornet's popularity and facility, in combination with its social dislocation from the orchestra, served to promote the development and use of higher pitched valve trumpets. Amongst Dauverné's and Arban's students and younger contemporaries, these trumpets were deemed to have a lasting connection to the nobility and history of the natural trumpet while in hybrid fashion incorporating the cornet's facility.

Methodology

This work of historical musicology draws primarily on archival research. A fundamental assumption behind it and more specifically its methodology, is that music is always a deeply contextual and constitutive element of society. This assumption not only allows for, but also requires, examinations of music in society from multiple perspectives and to an equal multiplicity of ends. Such deep contextualisation need not occur in a single volume on a single subject, and nor does it necessitate always a multi-disciplinary theoretical approach to problems. While I do not regard this thesis to be multi-disciplinary, because I recognise that music is embedded, constitutive of as much as it might be

thought expressive of, the society within which it emerges, I do recognise my methodological borrowings from other disciplines.

As Vincent Dubois, Emmanuel Pierru, and Jean-Matthieu Méon, point out in their study *The Sociology of Wind Bands: Amateur Music between Cultural Domination and Autonomy*, forms of social organisation of music activities are many and varied, as are the concepts by which they might be analysed.[56] Like them, I borrow from Pierre Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice*, to address the questions in this thesis. In particular, in order to describe albeit arbitrarily defined discrete spaces of objective activity, I opt for Bourdieu's term field: the elite music field, the operatic field, the instrumental field, the popular music field, the dance music field, the mass community music field, and the military music field. Together, and along with other forms of cultural practice, these fields occupy varying positions in relation to one another, and comprise what Bourdieu terms, overall, the field of cultural production. It is helpful to offer some preliminary definition of terms at this point.

Bourdieu's "field" is the confluence of forces and materials that represent the nexus of the agency-structure dialectic. He defined it as:

> a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.).[57]

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[56] Vincent Dubois, Emmanuel Pierru, and Jean-Matthieu Méon, *The Sociology of Wind Bands: Amateur Music between Cultural Domination and Autonomy* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), 3-8.

[57] Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago, Il: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 97.

A field is thus an objective lived-in space defined by a unique and distinct set of actors along with their elective and consigned positions and designations of identity and status; equally and also, it comprises specific norms, social conventions, rules, institutions, understandings and contests. In combination and relation, these create specific discourses and exchanges between actors and the field itself. Fields are further defined by the fact that they are hierarchical arenas in which actors struggle for power. These struggles are apparent in three ways: firstly, fields are defined by the specific goods at stake, such as cultural authority in the artistic field;[58] secondly, fields are defined by the competition for those goods between actors who occupy differing positions within the field; and, thirdly, fields are defined by the struggle of those actors to accrue sufficient power to be able to define the content and boundaries of the field itself.[59] While fields articulate specific practices, institutions, and discourses, their contents and boundaries remain fluid and dynamic. To the extent that fields appear and remain static, they do so by virtue of sustained power relations between actors that perpetuate the field and actors' positions within them. They may also overlap and blend, change shape and size, and might be equally defined in terms of their fluidity. This is the basis of Wendy Bottero's and Nick Crossley's critique of Bourdieu's sociological terms, and their work reflects the debates that go beyond this thesis.[60] In applying Bourdieu's definition of field here, I remain mindful that fields are performative, constituted,

[58] Ibid., 17.
[59] Ibid., 104.
[60] Wendy Bottero and Nick Crossley, "Worlds, Fields and Networks: Becker, Bourdieu and the Structures of Social Relations," *Cultural Sociology* 5, no. 1 (2011): 99–119.

sustained, and changed, through practice and patterns of repeated and changing behaviours.

The second sense in which Bourdieu's theory is methodologically useful lies in the need to be able to describe the social and cultural position of certain music practices over others. In this case the preference for the cornet and the valve trumpet, and, which practice maintained dominance in particular fields at particular times. This calls for a recognition that some forms of cultural practice come to dominate other forms of such practice, at the same time that it invites questions as to the agents and processes that are party or subject to that domination. As David Hesmondhalgh shows, there are ongoing debates concerning the application of Bourdieu's theory, but for present purposes an awareness of the possibility of cultural domination, allows for the recognition of the shifting importance and use of the cornet and valve trumpet across the nineteenth century.[61]

Bourdieu developed the economic model to argue that it is the logic of capital that orchestrates the struggles for power that constitute and delineate fields. Capital is the resource of agency and can be both material and symbolic.[62] However, capital does not simply equate to power. Cultural capital for example may consist of knowledge of a field or prestige within one or many fields, or the ability to discuss the field and to move knowingly within it, but this does not automatically translate to the capacity to alter the field. This is due not only to

[61] David Hesmondhalgh, "Bourdieu, the Media and Cultural Production," *Media, Culture & Society* 28, no. 2 (2006): 211–231.

[62] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 179; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 176.

the fact that what constitutes capital is itself contested, but the extent to which it is converted to symbolic capital: the power to name, the power to recognise and admit to membership, the power to articulate and shape what appears as common sense and "the way the world is".[63]

This thesis explores the use of cornets and trumpets in cultural fields that are established, such as the state-sponsored operatic field, along with fields that were emerging: entrepreneurial instrumental music concerts, promenade concerts in the 'popular music' field, and mass class community music making in an 'amateur music' field. While, as Jane Fulcher and also Robert Gildea observe, subsequent regimes sought to control the cultural organs of the State in varying ways to shore up the regime or engender a sense of French values or French identity, the imprimatur of the State did not equate uniformly to cultural dominance.[64] Nor did such dominance trickle down to the instruments used by individual musicians. In fact, as some in the mobilising mass industrial publics took to learning and performing on newly invented valved brass instruments, and many in those publics began to consume music *en plein air* or increasingly in dance halls and casinos, questions of cultural dominance across multiple fields of music becomes more complex.

It is insufficient to argue that an encompassing form of cultural dominance adhered to state sponsored institutions and that this was threatened from below

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[63] Richard Harker, Cheleen Mahar, and Chris Wilkes, eds., *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu: The Practice of Theory* (London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), 13; Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford, UK: Stanford University Press, 2000), 215-217; Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 108.

[64] Fulcher, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art*; Jane Fulcher, "Music and the Communal Order: The Vision of Utopian Socialism in France," *Current Musicology* 27 (1979): 27-35; Jane Fulcher, "The Orphéon Societies: Music for the Workers' in Second-Empire France," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 10, no. 1 (1979): 47-56; Gildea, *Children of the Revolution.*

by new mass classes or popular forms. For example, the promenade concerts on the Champs Elysées after 1833 represented a new form of cultural production that both formed a distinct field while it was also constitutive of and subject to wider musical and social relations and networks. In terms of both performance and consumption, the initial variability with regard to the attending publics had as much to do with the concerts' novelty, as with their varied repertoire, as with the social need for the attending publics to define themselves over and against each other.[65] A fully nuanced musicological analysis needs to attend to the variety of factors affecting how performances were composed, performed, and received. Such analysis from multiple perspectives is not unique to new fields. The same might be said of the music performances and consumption patterns at state-sponsored theatres such as the Théâtre Italien in the first decades of the nineteenth century. As James Johnson has shown, the "crowd at the Théâtre Italien was the cream of Parisian society, and since the Revolution that elite had broadened to include not just the aristocracy by birth but those ennobled by Napoleon and an increasingly prominent *haute bourgeoisie* of wealth".[66] Understanding the music performed here and its reception necessitates an understanding of these complex social and political dynamics and the effect of their changing nature on performance and patronage.

The fluidity of these fields problematises a binary opposition of elite culture and low-brow cultural forms, especially as subsequent post-Revolution democratising generations sought to realise, define, and develop their identity in

[65] Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis*, 41; Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, 19-34.
[66] Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, 187.

and through music. Juxtaposing an elite musical culture and a singular mass music culture, or the operatic field over against the popular music field for example, will not provide for rich detailed and nuanced musicological understandings. The role of the cornet in French music is a case in point: the instrument was quickly adopted for use in the popular music field and the military field, and by the late 1830s was in regular use in the operatic and orchestral-instrumental fields. If an elite operatic field is bluntly opposed to a low-brow popular field, it is difficult to fully explore and account for how and why the cornet was influential in and adhered to both fields, and in the elite orchestras, at the expense of the valve trumpet for four decades mid-century. A more specific example that points to the need for such thorough explanation is Berlioz's dismissal of the cornet in 1843 as very much in fashion in "social circles where elevation and purity of style are not considered essential qualities" and one indispensable to "second-rate compositions", and yet it played a key soprano brass role in the majority of his operatic and orchestral work.[67]

The theoretical and methodological framework applied here is thus attentive to a variety of fields, and the interrelation of those fields. My approach, and use of Bourdieu's economic language of capital is intended to allow for the examination of the artist, and manufacturing producers, and consumers, their power and influence, and the fields within which they functioned.

The decision to approach these fields through the lens offered by the words and work of Dauverné and Arban is based on an *a priori* assumption as to their cultural capital in the overall field of cultural production. In the case of

[67] Hector Berlioz, *Treatise on Instrumentation*, trans. Theodore Front (New York, NY: Kalmus, 1948), 295-297.

Dauverné, it is assumed he possessed significant cultural capital in three of Paris' elite state-sponsored institutions by virtue of his tenure as Principal Trumpet at l'Opéra 1820-1851, as Principal Trumpet at la *Société* 1828-1852, and as the inaugural Professor of Natural and Valved Trumpet at the Conservatoire 1833-1869. Then similarly Arban, whose capital accrued through being widely lauded as a virtuoso cornetist, and one of the finest on that instrument in the mid-nineteenth century, not only across his native France, but from the age of 20 in London, then Madrid, Baden, and St Petersburg. Arban's training on trumpet with Dauverné, his performance exclusively on cornet, and his appointment as Professor of the first civilian cornet à piston class at the Conservatoire in 1869, qualifies him as a potentially influential individual in this area. I begin with the assumption that Arban accrued significant capital in the field of cultural production by virtue of his status and popularity.

It is not the aim of this thesis to write a biography of Dauverné and Arban. However, given the difficulty in genuinely entering into their subjectivity, and the absence of comprehensive biographical material on both, I undertake what speculative narrative construction is possible. The starting point is their mid-century pedagogy, the primary written text available from both artists concerning the role of the cornet and trumpet in France's orchestras, and the primary insight into how these artists thought. To safeguard against the potential for eisegetical excess, the analysis of their pedagogy is therefore twofold: firstly, it seeks hermeneutic consistency within the written and published text of Dauverné's *Méthode pour la trompette* 1857 and Arban's *La grande méthode complète de cornet à piston et de saxhorn* 1864; secondly, it seeks deep contextualisation through an examination of the material choices of

both actors outside of what they articulate in their pedagogy. This means exploring their text with regard to: the setting of each in time and space; the language, composition, and rhetorical style used; the use of sources and literary forms; and the viewpoint of the author beyond the ostensible genre of an instrumental method book. It also means laying this alongside the gamut of choices they made with regard to their performing career: with whom they worked, in what environs, using which instruments, under whose patronage, for what period of time and to what end. In seeking to account for these choices, I recognise some of their influences and social positioning with regard to the power relations and dominant orthodoxies that formed and framed fields of musical endeavour in Paris.

In so doing, I examine a range of primary sources, where possible in the original French: contemporary French and English newspapers and concert reviews, along with articles particularly but not exclusively in the music journals *Le Ménestrel*, *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, *La France Musicale*, and annuals *Agenda Musical* and *Annuaire des lettres, des arts et des théâtres*, Dauverné's earlier pedagogy, and Arban's personal correspondence. Broader primary materials include: the correspondence and treatises of Hector Berlioz, and Hugh Macdonald's edition of Berlioz's orchestration treatise as an added insight into contemporary orchestral practice; Dallas Kern Holoman's rich archive of original documents of the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire; and contemporary published pedagogy by other French trumpet, cornet, and horn, players and teachers. In these latter cases I have generally adopted an English translation, the providence and utility of which is noted in each case.

Outline

Chapter two, *Dauverné's history of the valve trumpet tradition*, explores the introduction of the valve trumpet and cornet in Paris in the 1820s and 1830s. By doing so through the lens of Dauverné's history of the trumpet, which comprises part one of his *Méthode*, it locates the man and his thought in the orchestral field up to 1840. It reveals that Dauverné never wholeheartedly or unreservedly embraced the valve trumpet or cornet. Despite writing method books for valve trumpet in 1827 and 1834 and being the first to perform on the instrument, Dauverné preferred the natural trumpet throughout his career. Dauverné's aesthetic and appreciation of the valve trumpet was deeply shaped by Louis-François Dauprat, Joseph Émile Meifred, and Jacques François Gallay. These influential natural horn players rejected the application of valve technology to horns and trumpets and resisted their use at l'Opéra, la Société, and the Conservatoire. The dominance of this thinking in the orchestral field heavily tempered Dauverné's initial enthusiasm for the valve trumpet. In addition, his technical difficulty with early valve mechanisms also undermined his willingness to use these instruments in the orchestra. In 1857 Dauverné's historical account says little about early experimentation with valves, and little about the use of valve trumpets and cornets in Paris' orchestras. Together these themes help to imbue the *Méthode* with its later conceived apologist's agenda. This illuminating agenda is explored more fully in chapter four.

Chapter three, *Players in Paris, pragmatists and partisans*, reveals that valve technology made a powerful impact in Paris and was embraced by many players through the 1830s. This was at odds with Dauverné's and the natural horn school's conservatism. Military players who worked in theatre orchestras

alongside their local legion bands were instrumental in transferring valve practice on trumpets and cornets between the military and orchestral fields. Fuelling this was the cornet's extreme popularity, especially in the hands of its first hero-like soloist Dufrène, in new outdoor concert forms and in dance orchestras. Then in 1835, Jacques Halévy's *La Juive* saw valve trumpets and cornets used in combination at l'Opéra for the first time. This very quickly evolved into an influential practice which paired two natural trumpets with two cornets in the trumpet sections at l'Opéra and la Société. The absence of valve trumpets from these orchestras gave rise to heated and continuous debates over the merits of valve trumpets and cornets in the orchestra. A major contributor to these discussions was Hector Berlioz who in 1843 heard German orchestral players who had almost unanimously switched from natural to cylinder-valve trumpets. He found their performance superior to that of his countrymen. He also found the latter's substitution of cornets for valve trumpets distasteful, and worked closely with manufacturer Adolphe Sax to promote the use of valve trumpets in France's orchestras. Other 'players' participated in these debates. This included composers and administrators: Giacomo Meyerbeer, particularly, but also Halévy, and Georges Kastner, and leading military and orchestral performers, in particular Joseph Gebhardt Kresser and Joseph Forestier.[68] Their presence illustrates that while Dauverné's preference for the natural trumpet remained a dominant one in the orchestral field, the presence and success of valve instruments also saw that dominance constantly questioned and debated on material, aesthetic, and cultural grounds.

[68] Cormac Newark. "Metaphors for Meyerbeer." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 2002., 23, JSTOR Journals, EBSCOhost (accessed March 30, 2016).

The first half of chapter four, *Dauverné's decline and the Méthode 1857 in context*, focusses on Dauverné's social position and his ability as a player. Efforts to have him removed from la Société in the decade after 1843 indicate a high level of concern with his ability. This was borne out most clearly and in particular, by the appointment of Kresser, his colleague from l'Opéra, to replace him as principal trumpet in December 1843. This does suggest that Dauverné's reluctance to use the valve trumpet was not only due to an allegiance to Dauprat and his colleagues, but shaped materially by his technical deficiencies as a musician. Comparative and contextual analysis of Dauverné's *Théorie Ou Tablature* of 1827, his first method for valve trumpet, and his *Méthode* of 1857 indicate that: Dauverné found mastering the required finger technique challenging and looked for ways to minimise and simplify valve use; he struggled to maintain accurate performance in the upper register of both the natural and the valve trumpets; and on both instruments, Dauverné found it challenging to articulate rapid passages effectively and cleanly. Not only did these limitations encourage Dauverné to stay with the instrument he knew well, they undermined his evaluation of the suitability of the valve instrument in the orchestra.

The second half of the chapter turns to Dauverné's publication of the *Méthode* in the years after his final removal from la Société and resignation from l'Opéra in 1851. It reveals his primary purpose, to defend the natural trumpet's place in the orchestra and halt its disappearance from the orchestral field altogether. Dauverné develops a fourfold apologetic in favour of the natural trumpet: its connection to church and court throughout history; its state in nature; its elevated and unique style or taste; and its utility. Dauverné's *Méthode* defends

the natural trumpet based on its natural timbral purity and historical continuity and elite status. This explains the minimal presence of the valve trumpet and cornet observed in chapter two. It also points to an increased orchestral use of cornets, and in some isolated cases valve trumpets as a result of the early pragmatism of musicians outlined in chapter three. Dauverné's *Méthode* not only reveals the natural trumpet's decline, but alerts us to the possibility of a shift in the dominance of the Dauprat horn school. Before exploring those two developments further in chapters six and seven, chapter five addresses the use of the cornet in the 1850s and 1860s.

Chapter five, *Arban's early success in Paris and London*, explores the use of the cornet through the career of Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban. While Arban was a trumpet graduate from the Conservatoire his early career saw him develop as an outstanding cornet soloist and leader of dance orchestras. Arban worked closely with Sax demonstrating the latter's saxhorns. In April 1848 he dazzled audiences at the Conservatoire in a performance that featured new multiple-tonguing techniques, revolutionary for trumpet and cornet players, on Sax's compensator cornet. At the same time, Arban enjoyed peripheral connections with pro-valve trumpet and cornet players in Paris in the likes of Kresser, Forestier, and the composer Berlioz. However, Arban chose the life of a travelling virtuoso in the emerging mass popular field over the orchestral tradition, by furthering his career in London. That choice perpetuated the great popularity of the cornet, the public's enthusiasm for the popular concert and dance genres, as well as Arban's own status and acclaim.

Chapter six, *Manoeuvring in and beyond Arban's Grande Méthode*, focusses on the decade prior to Dauverné's retirement from the Conservatoire. It reveals the

heightened intensity, through the 1860s, in the continuing debates about the desirability of the cornet over the trumpet in the orchestra. Seven years after Dauverné's *Méthode*, Arban's *Grande Méthode* 1864 advocated the cornet as the modern heir to the rapidly disappearing trumpet, based on its chromatic facility, timbral uniformity and mass popularity. Analysis of the text indicates that the *Grande Méthode* was an intensely political document meant to enhance Arban's cultural capital at the Conservatoire. It was after the fact, a method book for saxhorn. In particular, Arban maligned the horn virtuoso Gallay and his cohort who maintained the Dauprat anti-valve philosophy. He also sought to marginalise Forestier, Paris' military cornet teacher and leading orchestral cornet player since 1845, and it included Dauverné who had loyalties with and worked alongside both men. Dauverné's pending retirement, and Arban's hope of a professorial position as his replacement, fuelled his desire to establish the cornet as the new trumpet, and firmly establish himself above any other as its virtuoso romantic hero.

Chapter seven, *Turning to the valve trumpet*, explores how the cultural agency of Dauverné and Arban, along with the musical claims they represented, were experienced at the Conservatoire in the 1870s following Dauverné's retirement. Taking this institutional focus further, this chapter concludes with a brief survey of the influential performance of Xavier-Napoléon Teste. This exemplifies how two other powerful Parisian music institutions, in l'Opéra and la Société, began to adopt a new tradition with younger generation of brass musicians in the 1870s. After Dauverné, Arban was given a cornet class at the Conservatoire, but remained on the periphery of the orchestral and operatic fields. His class enjoyed strong numbers and success at the annual Concours in its early years.

Dauverné's trumpet class continued under the conservative direction of Arban's former classmate Jules Cerclier. It attracted few students and these gained ever lower results if any at the Concours. Jacques Hippolyte Maury, an orchestral cornet player with a strong background in horn was appointed to Arban's former saxhorn class. The presence of Cerclier and Maury shows that the machinations discussed in chapter six went beyond the cornetists in Paris. In 1874, the year of Dauverné's death, Maury replaced Arban following the latter's resignation to tour. Maury's tenure adhered closely to the orchestral tradition with which he was familiar, rather than maintaining Arban's virtuosic solo focus. At the same time, outside the Conservatoire, the appointment of an outlier in Xavier-Napoléon Teste as a section cornetist at l'Opéra and then principal trumpet at la Société, again in 1874, represented a more recent and a differing claim to those of Dauverné and Arban in the trumpet tradition. Teste was not a student of Dauverné at the Conservatoire. He preferred the higher pitched orchestral valve trumpet. It was in this instrument that he sought to broadly and satisfactorily unite the musical facility of the cornet, and the natural, historical and cultural nobility of the trumpet. It was not simply that Teste and the players who followed hastened the valve trumpet into the orchestra in France. With Teste's appointment to the elite orchestras in Paris, the institutions signalled they had moved beyond the claims represented by Dauverné and Arban and finally turned to the modern valve trumpet.

Chapter 2

Dauverné's history of the valve trumpet tradition

Introduction

Dauverné's *Méthode pour la trompette* 1857 offers the most comprehensive insight into the thoughts of this artist who had performed in the elite operatic and orchestral music field since 1820 (see figure 1). Part one of Dauverné's *Méthode* comprises a lengthy and detailed history of the trumpet dating back to a pre-Judeo-Christian antiquity, the only one of his four method books to do so. As that history includes discussion of the valve trumpet and its precursors, and the introduction of the cornet, it provides a sense of Dauverné's understanding of the role and position of these instruments in the cultural field. In order to develop a deeper contextual analysis of Dauverné's historical account, this chapter explores some of the influential actors within the cultural field and the extent to which they defined the parameters of that field. In particular, it considers the instruments and practices he deemed appropriate for use in the orchestra. In the process, this study illuminates Dauverné's position within and contribution to debates concerning the use of the valve trumpet and cornet in the orchestras of France.

Dauverné's historical text suggests he never wholeheartedly or unreservedly embraced the valve trumpet or cornet. From his earliest experiences with valve trumpets in 1826, and through the emergence of the cornet in Paris after 1833, Dauverné's aesthetic and practice appears to have been heavily influenced by two broad groups: influential members of Louis-François Dauprat's natural horn school, and elders and colleagues at l'Opéra and the Conservatoire, who

exhibited reluctance with regard to the new technology. Initially Dauverné appeared open to the use of valve trumpets, especially in the military if not also the orchestra. However, technically he experienced difficulties with the valve's mechanism, and artistically, out of a strengthening and emboldening purist natural aesthetic as his career progressed, was at best ambivalent about their use in the orchestra. Ultimately, Dauverné was open to using the valve trumpet when and to the extent to which it sounded and responded like a natural trumpet. Materially this was manifest as a preference for the natural trumpet throughout his career.

Chapters two and three contextualise Dauverné's influences and influence in the cultural field. They reveal that Dauverné did little to encourage the adoption of the valve trumpet and allowed the cornet to occupy its place at l'Opéra and la Société. The discussion herein contains ambiguities with regard to the nomenclature. Firstly, experimentation with brass instruments, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, was marked by an evolving system of classification and production. Keyed bugles and keyed trumpets were often conflated, but this confusion also extended to similarities between keyed trumpets and valve trumpets, or between valve trumpets, the cornet à pistons, and cornopeans. In addition, an enthusiastic and entrepreneurial manufacturing sector, keen to move newly produced stock to an emerging mass market, and working with a diverse array of root models, materials and parts, was not initially conducive to standardisation. Secondly, this fluidity was evident in orchestral composition and performance; scores may have called for keyed trumpet, but in fact be performed on valve trumpet or cornet depending on the availability of both instrument and performer.

Figure 1. Dauverné aged 35.[1]

[1] P. C. Van Geel, *François Georges Auguste Dauverné*, 1835, Lithograph, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84169877.

Thirdly, these fluid and blurring practices were evident in the pedagogy and repertoire being published for new instruments. This analysis begins with Dauverné's historical account on the assumption that his orchestral experience and military background afforded him sufficient insight into developing an accurate taxonomy of the various trumpets in use.

Dauverné on early valve technology in Paris

According to Dauverné, the introduction of valve trumpets was felt first in the elite theatres of Paris in and after 1827.[2] From the perspective of his position as Principal Trumpet at l'Opéra at the time, Dauverné recalls that Hippolyte-André-Baptiste Chelard's *Macbeth* (1827), Gioachino Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (1829), Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable* (1831), Fromental Halévy's *La Juive* (1835), and Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* (1836), were the first works to feature valve trumpet.[3] Dauverné suggests that the catalyst for this was that he and his uncle and teacher Joseph-David Buhl, Chef de la Musique des Gardes-du-Corps, were in receipt of the first valve trumpets in Paris from Gasparo Spontini in Berlin in October 1826.[4] He also claims that the valve trumpet was unknown in France prior to that date.

The process leading to the introduction of non-natural trumpets in French Orchestras had begun much earlier. Spontini, Generalmusikdirektor at the Berlin Opera from 1820 to 1842, writing to George Kastner in 1840 recalls that he exported valve horns, and trumpets and cornets with two and three pistons,

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[2] François Georges Auguste Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, ca. 1828), 2.
[3] François Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3, no. 1 (1991): 208.
[4] Ibid.; Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons*, 2.

to Dauprat and Buhl in Paris between 1823 and 1831.[5] If the original shipments to Paris were of valve horns, with trumpets and other instruments arriving later, this might explain the difference between 1823 and the 1826 date in Dauverné's account. It was well known in Paris, as Kastner's *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire* shows, that experimentation with keys and valves outside of Paris had been occurring for some time. Anton Weidinger had developed a keyed trumpet in Vienna at the turn of the century; Berliners, Heinrich Stölzel & Freidrich Blühmel were experimenting with valves for horns, and indirectly later trumpets, as early as 1811 and patented a model in 1818.[6] The Viennese Joseph Riedl and his partner Josef Kail from Prague, also patented the Vienna valve in 1823, and Kail had written and performed his *Variationen für die Trompete in F*, one of the earliest known solo works for valve trumpet, in 1827.

In his *Théorie ou Tablature de la Trompette à Pistons* from 1828, Dauverné claims that piston trumpets had already been in use for roughly three years throughout Germany, Berlin, Vienna, Karlsruhe, and in Baden.[7] However, in 1857, apart from a brief reference to Weidinger and Stölzel and Blühmel, Dauverné's history of the trumpet reveals very little about early experimentation with valve manufacture, far less performance.[8] Dauverné's *Théorie ou Tablature* offers a brief parenthetical note that Jacques-Charles Labbaye had secured a patent and had commenced manufacturing piston trumpets in Paris around 1828.[9] In 1857, Dauverné makes no reference to the pioneering work of

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[5] Spontini's correspondence cited in Jean-Georges Kastner, *Manuel général de Musique Militaire* (Paris: Didot Frères, 1848), 192.
[6] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 208.
[7] Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons*, 3.
[8] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 208.
[9] Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons*, 3.

his countrymen, such as J.B. Dupont's "omnitonique" horn dating from 1815, or his friend and colleague Joseph Meifred's work with Labbaye in developing a valve horn and Meifred's lauded demonstration of that instrument in 1828.[10] The review of works of art and industry exhibited at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1855, is considerably more forthcoming on these historical topics, recognising Spontini's connection with valves in Paris, along with the contributions of Meifred, and French manufacturers in Antoine-Halary, and later François Périnet.[11] Similarly Charles Soullier's *Nouveau Dictionnaire de musique* (1855) adds the names of makers Deshayes and Gustave Besson.[12] Perhaps publications such as Soullier's, along with Berlioz's articles for *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires* on prize winning valve technology at the Universal Exhibition through 1855 and 1856 meant that Dauverné felt the history of the valve trumpet and cornet had been well enough covered as to merit only a few lines in his history.[13] Alternatively, a more comprehensive historical treatment of valve trumpets that connected them directly to the traditions of the natural trumpet was outside the aims of Dauverné's history, or the valve trumpet was not important to him at the time of writing.

Dauverné's initial study of the valve trumpet recognised that the valve was an ingenious invention, and that its initial spread across Europe was influential in

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[10] François-Joseph Fetis, "Nouvelles de Paris," *Revue Musicale*, 1828, 346; François-Joseph Fetis, "Publications Classiques," *Revue Musicale*, 1830, 190; *Revue de Paris* (Paris: Fournier, 1836), 278.

[11] Benoît Duportail, Ch Béranger, and Ém Bères, *Le Travail Universel: Revue Complète des Oeuvres de L'art et de l'industrie Exposées à Paris en 1855* (Paris: Aux Bureaux de "La patrie," 1856), 581-582.

[12] Charles Soullier, *Nouveau dictionnaire de musique illustré, élémentaire, théorique, historique, artistique, professionnel et complet, à l'usage des jeunes amateurs, des professeurs de musique, des institutions et des familles* (Paris: E. Bazault, 1855), 238.

[13] Hector Berlioz, "Exposition Universelle," *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires* (12 January, 1855): 3.

the manufacture of new brass instruments.[14] However, apart from the five operas mentioned previously, his later history says nothing of the use of the valve trumpet in the orchestra. He also makes only a passing reference to the use of cornets during the two decades between *Les Huguenots* and the publication of his 1857 *Méthode*. Dauverné does not explain the common and subsequently influential practice at both l'Opéra and la Société, instituted during his tenure in both orchestras, of pairing two natural trumpets with two cornets in preference to using the valve trumpet. While Dauverné provided an ostensibly detailed history of the trumpet, the lack of material on the origin and use of the valve trumpet is not only a reflection of its comparatively recent invention, but a measure of the instrument's import for Dauverné as he penned his historical record in 1857.

The influence of Rossini and l'Opéra

It is no accident that the increased use, if not the emergence, of chromatic brass at l'Opéra coincided with the arrival of Rossini. The semblance of an elite musical tradition in Paris, particularly influential gentlemen at the newly established Conservatoire, may well have regarded Rossini as something of a vulgar upstart to begin with, but his work at the Théâtre Italien was nonetheless popular.[15] In 1823, Rossini's repertoire already constituted two thirds of the repertoire performed at the popular Théâtre.[16] That the administration at l'Opéra

[14] Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons*, 2.

[15] Stendahl, *Life of Rossini* (New York, NY: Criterion, 1824), vii.

[16] Richard Osborne, "Rossini's Life," in *The Cambridge Companion to Rossini*, ed. Emanuele Senici (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 18; James Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1995),184.

sought reinvigoration through the services of Rossini says they perceived considerable cultural and economic capital in that popularity.

There is little doubt that directors, composers, artists, and orchestral performers within Rossini's sphere were influenced by his ideas. A pertinent example is Rossini's use of a keyed bugle in his orchestration for *Semiramide* in an 1823 production at *La Fenice* in Venice. The following year Giacomo Meyerbeer, who had been studying in Italy and become acquainted with and admired Rossini, also used a keyed bugle for the first time in his production *Il Crociato in Egito*.[17] It is likely that Rossini advised Meyerbeer and the use of keyed bugle resulted from Rossini's encouragement to experiment with the instrument. The work premiered in Paris in 1825, and Meyerbeer went on to propel the French Grand Opera juggernaut through *Robert le Diable* and *Les Huguenots*, both works calling for chromatic soprano brass.[18]

Dauverné does not mention the use of a keyed bugle, or any other similar instrument, in Meyerbeer's production of *Il Crociato in Egito* at the Théâtre Italien in 1825. Nor does he mention their use in the orchestral field more broadly. Unsurprisingly, given his training with Buhl in the military, he acknowledges the common use of keyed bugles in military bands following their introduction to France around 1815.[19] As Ralph Dudgeon speculates, military players were no doubt called upon when keyed bugles or similar instruments were used for diegetic effect on and behind the Grand Opera stage.[20] If keyed

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[17] William E Runyan, "History: Keyed and Valved Bugles, Cornets and Trumpets in French Grand Opera," *Brass Bulletin* 122 (2003): 49.
[18] Hervé Lacombe, *The Keys to French Opera in the Nineteenth Century* (London, UK: University of California Press, 2001), 364.
[19] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 208.
[20] Ralph Dudgeon, *The Keyed Bugle* (Oxford, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 25.

bugles had been used in the orchestra proper, it is very likely Dauverné would have spoken of the process in the same way he did of the trompettes d' harmonie in Jean-Baptist Lully's *Alceste*.[21] The latter term refers to the natural orchestral trumpet, as distinct from the similar outdoor cavalry trumpet, with crooks for various keys. Here Dauverné explains that:

> these instruments had previously appeared on stage, where musicians who were dressed in theatre costumes, had played them. But in 1751, they joined the personnel of the *Académie royal de musique* on a permanent basis.[22]

More explicit evidence for the role Rossini played in the introduction of chromatic trumpets in Paris is revealed in Dauverné's discussion of keyed trumpets. Dauverné makes no specific mention of the use of keyed trumpets at l'Opéra between 1823 and 1826. Later, while his history appears to be careful to distinguish between the keyed trumpet and the valve trumpet, Dauverné recalls performing works for keyed trumpets on valve trumpets; here in particular, the trompette à clés parts in Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* where two keyed trumpets are paired with two natural trumpets (see figure 2), and in Meyerbeer's *Robert Diable* where the score alternates between natural and keyed instruments.[23] He does relate, however, that "in 1827 and 1828 the Gambati brothers, of Italian origin, artists of merit, assigned to the *Académie royale de musique*, were heard to great advantage in many concerts on this kind of Trumpet".[24]

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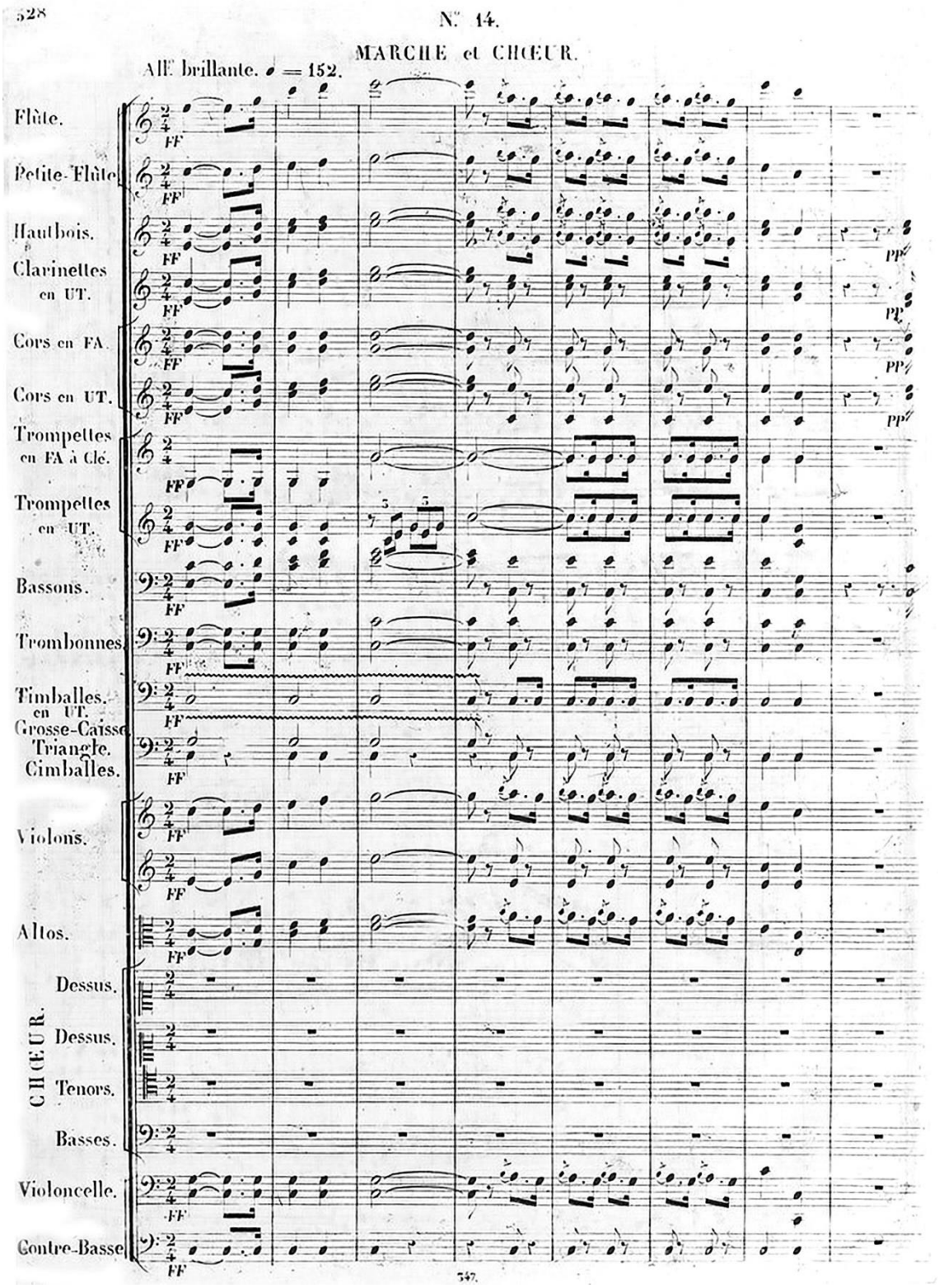
[21] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 206.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., 209.
[24] Ibid., 208.

Figure 2. Gioachino Rossini, *Guillaume Tell*, Act 3 Nº 14, 1829.[25]



[25] Gioachino Rossini, *Guillaume Tell* (Paris: Brandus, 1829), Act 3 No 14.

It is very likely the Gambati brothers were known to Rossini, even if only by reputation through the Italian Opera in London, as reviews place them there in 1826.[26] During the first years of Rossini's tenure at l'Opéra the brothers were invited to play keyed trumpet, and stayed for two seasons. Rossini's orchestration of *Guillaume Tell*, offers some insight into how the trumpet section probably functioned during their residency: it requires two keyed parts, intended for performance by the Gambatis, alongside two natural trumpet parts, intended for Dauverné and Buhl or Legros. However, Dauverné's recollection suggests that the Gambatis did not perform the keyed trumpet parts for the premier of *Guillaume Tell* at the Salle Le Peletier on the 3rd of August 1829.[27] It is likely they had left Paris before the premier as they are found performing in London in May that year, and are not heard in Paris after Rossini returned to Bologna.[28] Although, one of the brothers returned to Paris around 1832 to audition for the role of Professor of Trumpet at the Conservatoire.[29] Then in New York, following the death of his brother, Alessandro Gambati participated in an infamous trumpet contest with English trumpeter John Thompson Norton in 1834.[30]

Outside the use of keyed and valved trumpets Dauverné recalls that it was alongside and after Rossini that composers began asking for the for the trompette d' harmonie to be crooked into wider keys and to perform new

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[26] "Kings Theatre," *Morning Post*, 28 January, 1826, 1; "Kings Theatre," *Evening Post*, 1 February, 1826, 3; "Principal Instrumental Performers," *Yorkshire Gazette*, 12 September, 1835, 3.

[27] Hervé Lacombe, *The Keys to French Opera*, 348.

[28] "Kings Theatre," *Morning Post*, 16 May, 1829, 3; "Argyle Rooms," *Morning Post*, 13 May, 1829, 3.

[29] Merri Franquin, "La trompette et le cornet," in *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, eds. Albert Lavignac and Lionel de la Laurencie (Paris: Delagrave, 1925), 1608.

[30] Unsigned, *Supplement to the Musical Library March to December 1834* (London, UK: Charles Knight, 1834), 80.

extended roles.[31] He specifically identifies Daniel Auber, Michele Carafa, Meyerbeer, Halévy, Hector Berlioz, and Ambroise Thomas, as leading this new practice.[32] These straight natural trumpets were traditionally crooked in the standard keys of low F, E, D, C and Bb. From Rossini forward, the trompette d' harmonie was more often pitched one tone higher in G, with crooks chromatically down from F to low Ab.[33] Expanding soloist roles in the orchestra saw Dauverné observe that not only did these composers call for extended crooking, but they had "let this instrument share in the honor of solo and accompaniment".[34]

Dauverné's claim that use of the valve trumpet at l'Opéra resulted directly from the arrival of Spontini's instruments needs to be considered in more continuous terms with this background of experimentation with various key and valve technologies in Paris. It also needs to recognise the influence of Rossini and the subsequent composer-driven and expanding role for the trumpet in the orchestra.

Dauverné's aesthetic formation and response to the valve trumpet

Spontini sent the first consignment of valve trumpets to the 45-year-old Buhl. While Buhl played second trumpet to Dauverné at l'Opéra he was: Principal Trumpet at the then still more popular Théâtre Italien; Chief of Music for the Gardes du corps du Roi; he also retained the legacy of being Dauverné's teacher; and in the absence of a professor of trumpet at the Conservatoire was

[31] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 218.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 207.

the leading senior trumpeter in Paris following Gutman's retirement from l'Opéra at the end of 1819.[35] Buhl was ideally placed to be able to evaluate the new instruments with a view as to how they might be used in the military and in the orchestra. Dauverné on the other hand was still only in his mid-20s, and just six years into his tenure as Principal Trumpet at l'Opéra. It is likely he was thought too inexperienced for the important task of evaluating the new instruments for use at l'Opéra. Dauverné was one of the first to experiment with the valve trumpet, but it is unlikely that Buhl handed the issue of new valve instruments entirely over to his nephew. Dauverné's *Théorie ou Tablature* does suggest that Buhl commissioned him to make a thorough study of the new instrument. Dauverné writes that he had no instruction on the valve trumpet, and had made a very careful study of its mechanism so as to understand its operation.[36] He also dedicated to Buhl the *Théorie ou Tablature*, his findings and first responses to the instrument, or in his words a "temporary guide" to the use of the valve trumpet.[37] In addition, given their shared working environments, and the fact that Spontini had also sent valve horns to Dauprat, it is likely both trumpeters plus at least Dauprat and Meifred would have discussed their shared experimentation with the instruments, and it is likely that Buhl and Dauprat in particular afforded the young trumpeter the benefit of their counsel.

While Dauverné recalls using Spontini's valve trumpet "to great advantage" in the shortened season of Chelard's *Macbeth* in 1827, he makes no mention of its

[35] Arnaud and Duverger, *l'indicateur général des spectacles de Paris, des départemens de la France et des principales villes étrangères* (Paris: Bureau de l'Almanach du Commerce, 1819), 88.
[36] Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons*, 2.
[37] Ibid.

use until the premier of Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* two years later.[38] At best, Dauverné believed that the history of the valve trumpet during that period had been accounted for in his own earlier method books or the works of others. Alternatively, Dauverné deemed the detail concerning his early experimentation with the valve trumpet to be outside the ambit of his publication in 1857.

The period between *Macbeth* and *Guillaume Tell* was not only filled by the Gambatis. It involved a significant degree of experimentation for Dauverné as he set about mastering the new valve trumpet. His *Théorie ou Tablature* is the earliest known method book for valve trumpet in France, and one of the earliest valve trumpet methods to be published.[39] He is not explicit on the specifications of the instrument he used, but it is clear that something akin to the early three-Stölzel-valved trumpet pictured in the *Théorie ou Tablature* was his study (see figure 3).[40]

[38] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 208.
[39] Friedrich Anzenberger, "Method Books for Valve Trumpet to 1850: An Annotated Bibliography," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 10 (1998): 50-62.
[40] Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons*, 7.

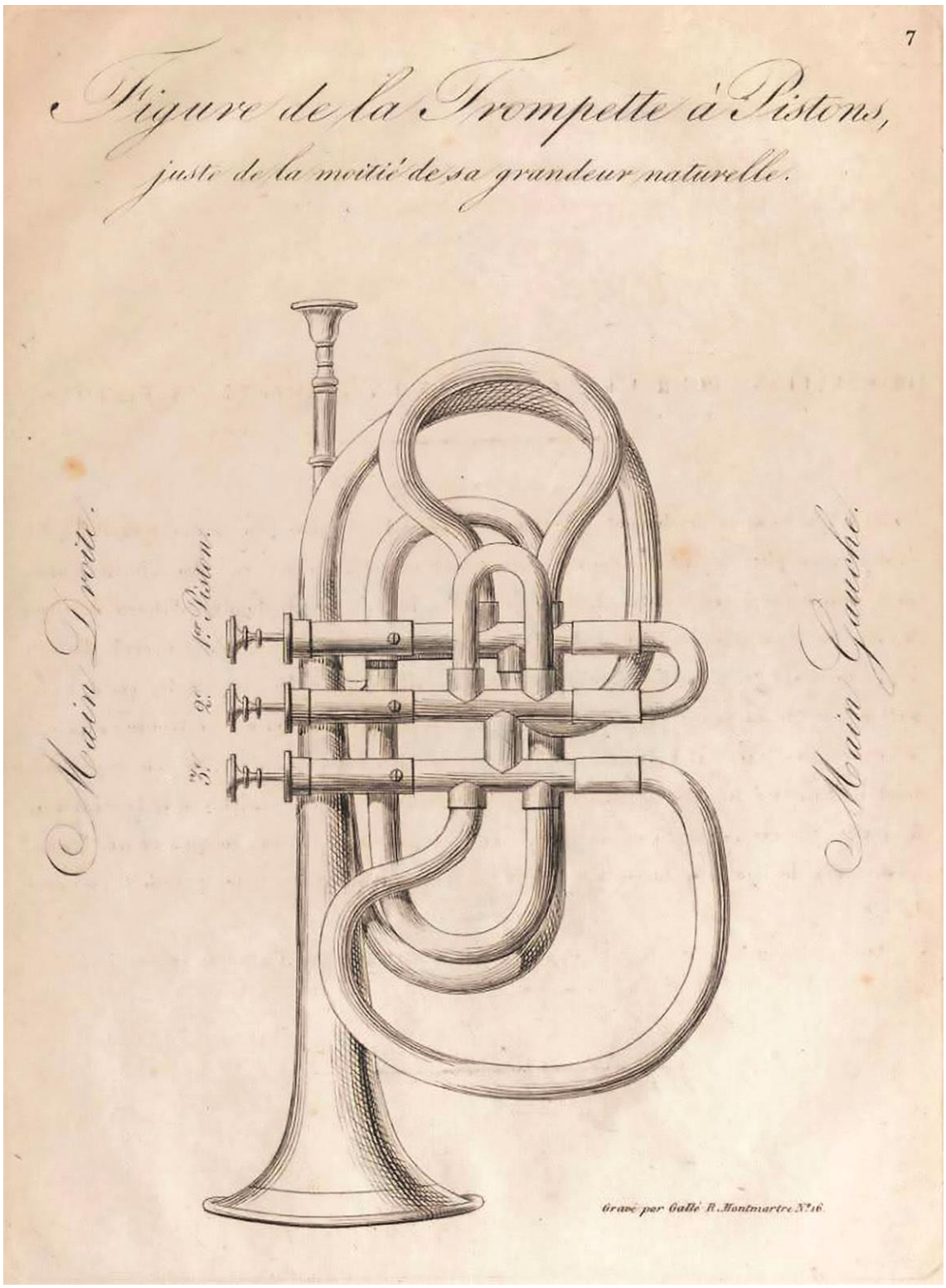

Figure 3. Dauverné's trumpet with three Stölzel valves.[41]

[41] Ibid.

Writing in 1828, Dauverné's initial impression of the valve was of a "very ingenious mechanism".[42] He contended that its advantages were fourfold: it could play in all keys; it could achieve the trumpet's brilliant sound on all notes without the need for keys and or hand-stopping which diminish the sound; it did not require extensive use of crooks and changes thereof; and it was uniformly affected by temperature and the environment.[43] Dauverné saw the valve trumpet in continuous terms with the natural trumpet. "The trumpet" he enthuses, was "now advanced and enriched with a larger number of notes" which will not deny the composer "its brilliant character and solemnity".[44]

Dauverné also outlines his frustrations with the instrument. "Despite the most diligent work" he explains, "the trumpet's pistons do not allow performance as brilliant as we could achieve on those instruments with keys and holes".[45] Dauverné's comparison here is with instruments such as the clarinet or flute, not with trumpets with keys and holes. He also suggests that, in any case, writing for the trumpet in ways comparable to these instruments would introduce counterproductive fatigue in the trumpeter's lips.[46] Dauverné goes on to argue that the depression and release of the valve takes time and this impedes rapidity and facility in performance. "The little force that is required in the fingers to hold the pistons" he says, "renders them stiff enough to deprive them of their agility".[47] Despite Dauverné's statements regarding the advantages of the valve,

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[42] Ibid., 2.
[43] Ibid., 4.
[44] "Quoique la trompette soit maintenant bien perfectionnée et enrichie dune grande quantité de notes, les Compositeurs, je pense, ne lui feront pas perdre pour cela son caractère brillant et solemnelle." Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 4-5.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., 5.

his concluding remarks also put the contrary view that not only is the extensive use of pistons more complicated, but the more the pistons are deployed in combination the less sharp and bright the trumpet sounds.[48]

Dauverné concludes his evaluation of the valve trumpet in measured but generally positive terms. Broadly speaking he found that the addition of valves was beneficial for composers.[49] With hard work from trumpeters he cautioned, the valve instrument was able to contribute pleasant affects in the orchestra.[50] Dauverné's rhetoric in *Théorie ou Tablature* strongly suggests that Buhl's commission to his nephew pertained to the utility of the new instrument in the orchestra.[51] Perhaps Buhl himself made a parallel assessment as to its use in military circles.

Dauverné's history of the trumpet in 1857 says nothing about this early experimentation with the valve trumpet. He makes a point in 1828 and in 1857 to assert that Spontini's first shipments were not only to Buhl but to him.[52] In both cases, but more so the latter Dauverné is keen to present himself as the authority and claim the cultural capital to have always been the one to make the decision as to the instrument's merit. Rather more importantly, for all his enthusiasm in 1828, by 1857 Dauverné is far less enamoured of the valve trumpet. In the 1857 *Méthode* he found the new valve trumpet less than

[48] Ibid., 5.
[49] Ibid., 13.
[50] Ibid., 5.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid., 2.

satisfactory in its timbre, and the precision of the valve mechanisms poor due to its primitive manufacture.[53]

Dauverné's initial experience of that valve trumpet, and his observations concerning its development and relevance, were shaped by his habitus and formative aesthetic. Both were formative, because at this point Dauverné had been learning the trumpet for twelve years, and employed at l'Opéra for half of those. This was an aesthetic that simultaneously underpinned and guided Dauverné's analysis and evaluation of the new valve trumpet, at the same time that it was being constituted by that process. Evidence of this process in 1828 can be found in the internally contradictory elements of his *Théorie ou Tablature*, wherein he argues that the advantage of valves was the uniformity of the trumpet's timbre on all the notes, but at the same time he finds that the disadvantage of valves was that when used in combination they robbed the instrument of its characteristic sharpness and brightness.[54] The development of Dauverné's aesthetic though 1827 and 1828 was informed in particular by his immediate perception, experience, and response, to the keyed trumpet of the Gambatis. That is, at the same time that Dauverné was learning and evaluating the new valve trumpet, he was sitting alongside and listening to the performances of the Gambati brothers on keyed trumpet at l'Opéra. He was also participating in the debates across the orchestral music field concerning the utility and aesthetic desirability of both the older keyed and newer valved instruments.

[53] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 208.
[54] Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons*, 4, 13.

Thirty years after the event, Dauverné politely recalls that the tone of the Gambatis' keyed trumpets in 1827-28 had "an ever so slightly nasal character" and these instruments were inferior to the natural trumpet.[55] Later in his historical account, where there is no direct personal reflection on the identities involved, Dauverné puts his historically informed view more fully and robustly:

> It is by analogous reasons that keyed trumpets *only produce sounds which are, to a certain point, diffused and nasal sounding*, which must make one prefer even the piston trumpet.[56]

It is possible that the early keyed trumpet performances Dauverné experienced did not portray the keyed instrument in its best light. The Gambati brothers had received many good reviews in London for performances of their duet arrangements of opera melodies both before and after their tenure in Paris.[57] However, prior to their arrival at l'Opéra reviewers in London did not regard them as remarkable when compared to English trumpeters.[58] While the Gambatis could negotiate the chromaticism in Meyerbeer's *Il Crociato in Egito*, one reviewer noted that their "tone, however, was raw, compared with Mr. Harper's, who rose in estimation,—high as he before stood,—after their visit to England".[59] Harper was deservedly an English hero for his timbral clarity and technical proficiency and this all the more highlighted the timbral ambiguity of the Gambatis' keyed instruments. Five years later, a reviewer from New York also reflected that in London the Gambati brothers were:

> highly esteemed for their admirable precision in the band, and for their neatness of execution in the pieces which they played together,

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[55] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 208.

[56] Ibid., 244. Emphasis mine.

[57] "Kings Theatre," *Morning Post*, 28 January, 1826, 1; "Kings Theatre," *Evening Post*, 1 February, 1826, 3; "Principal Instrumental Performers," *Yorkshire Gazette*, 12 September, 1835, 3; "Argyle Rooms," *Morning Post*, 13 May, 1829, 3.

[58] "Kings Theatre," *Evening Mail*, 1 February, 1826, 3.

[59] "Third Day," *Yorkshire Gazette*, 27 September, 1828, 4.

> but *serious objection was made to the inferiority of their tone* and they were found to be incapable of executing the music of the oratorios.[60]

The formative nature of Dauverné's aesthetic in the 1820s was also due to his still emerging position within the cultural field. By virtue of his youth and limited orchestral experience, Dauverné possessed little cultural capital, and was potentially heavily influenced by the clutch of musicians at l'Opéra and the Conservatoire who were older and more experienced than he. The most obvious of these were the generational leaders of trumpet and horn performance in Paris: Buhl and his contemporary Dauprat. Both elders had published on and were disposed away from the use of 'non-natural' instruments. Dauverné does not appear to have departed far from their thought. For instance, Dauprat had articulated his distaste for keyed instruments in his *Méthode de cor-alto et cor-basse, premier, second cor* in 1824. He argued:

> Some people wanted to try by means of holes and keys, to make the very considerable series of false sounds disappear from the Horn, [and] at the same time perhaps, by the same processes, place in it those [notes] that are missing completely from the low [range]. But this attempt, already made on the Trumpet, has changed the timbre of the instrument to a point [so as] to give it a *completely peculiar character, to make it an instrument which is neither Trumpet, nor any other known instrument*.[61]

Dauprat's own position was founded on three decades of specialisation in hand horn performance at the Paris Conservatoire. Born in 1781 prior to the Revolution Dauprat had been a student of Heinrich Domnich. Domnich in turn was founding Professor of Horn at the Conservatoire in 1795, and the leading

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[60] Unsigned, *Supplement to the Musical Library March to December 1834* (London, UK: Charles Knight, 1834), 80. Emphasis mine.

[61] Jeffrey Leighton Snedeker, "Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse, Louis François Dauprat [English Translation]," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 4 (1992): 169. Emphasis mine; Louis-François Dauprat, "Article 3," in *Method for Cor Alto and Cor Basse* (Bloomington, CA: Birdalone Music, 1994).

exponent of hand-stopping on the horn in Europe.[62] Domnich had published comprehensive detail on the hand-stopping technique in his *Méthode du premier et du second cor à l'usage du Conservatoire*, in 1808.[63] Dauprat, an equally ardent advocate of the hand horn and first prize-winner in Domnich's class in 1796-97 subsequently joined l'Opéra in 1808, then succeeded his teacher at the Conservatoire in 1816.[64] Dauprat was possessed of considerable cultural capital based on the fact that he expertly maintained the natural horn tradition. His *Méthode* updated but importantly powerfully sustained the primacy of the natural horn and hand-horn technique at the Conservatoire and at l'Opéra.[65]

Buhl at this stage, like Dauprat, adhered to the natural instruments of the past for use in the orchestra. This is why his *Méthode* makes no mention of keyed trumpets. While keyed trumpets and keyed bugles were used in the military contexts with which Buhl was familiar, they were deemed aesthetically unsuitable for orchestral use because of their poor and variable tonal quality. Buhl's *Méthode* emphasises the cultural value of the open and brilliant character of the natural trumpet. For example, he argued:

> the timbre of the hand-stopped notes is not the same as the open notes; the composer should avoid them if it is important to hear the brilliant character of the trumpet sound; hand-stopping can be used with advantage within a phrase of a convenient "song" with the instrument.[66]

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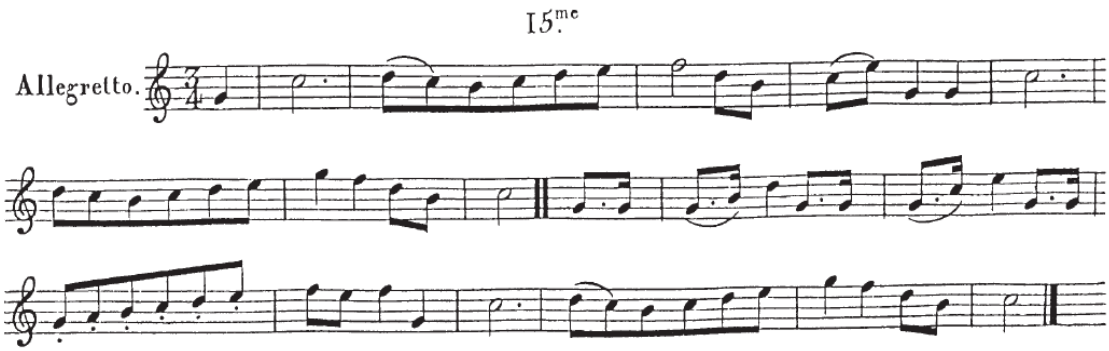
[62] Heinrich Domnich, *Méthode de premier et de second cor* (Paris: Le Roy, 1808).
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de cor* (Paris: Henri Lemoine, 1893).
[66] Friedrich Anzenberger, "Method Books for Trumpet and Cornet Using Stopped Notes in the 19th Century," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 7 (1995): 3-4.

Buhl's preference for the brilliance of the open natural trumpet sound sees him devote a third of his method to instructions on hand-stopping and how to produce stopped notes that sound as open and equal to open notes as possible (see figure 4).

Figure 4. David Buhl, Méthode de Trompette 1825.[67]



Dauverné's account of the use of the demilune trompette d' harmonie reveals something of the influence of Dauprat and Buhl. He recalls that prior to 1826 the trumpeters at l'Opéra had used these curved model trumpets combined with hand-stopping to achieve "some tones and semitones" outside the natural series.[68] Dauverné's demilune trumpet, manufactured by Marcel Auguste Raoux in 1820, is item 433 in Gustave Chouquet's *Catalogue Raisonné des Instruments de Cette Collection: Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique*. The instrument was donated to the museum by Dauverné who was also the likely source for the accompanying annotation which states that it was the only instrument he had used at l'Opéra between 1820 and 1826.[69] While

[67] David Buhl, "No. 15," in *Methode de Trompette* (1825), as cited in Anzenberger, "Method Books for Trumpet and Cornet Using Stopped Notes in the 19th Century," 4.
[68] François Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," (1991): 218.
[69] Gustave Chouquet, *Catalogue raisonné des instruments de cette collection: Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique* (Paris: Librairie Firmin-Didot Frères 1875), 91.

Buhl's *Méthode* suggests that hand-stopping was not well known among Paris' trumpeters, he, Dauverné and Legros, in l'Opéra trumpet section were guided in its regular use by their horn colleagues.[70] In the elite orchestral field, the trumpet players followed the lead of specialists in Paris' hand horn tradition in adopting hand-stopping to create additional non-natural pitch options. In this context it was Dauprat who led decision-making on approaches to horn and trumpet performance, not the young Dauverné.

By 1828 Dauverné was further enmeshed in the orchestral field and alongside its influential performers through François-Antoine Habeneck's founding of the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. Dauverné, Buhl, and Legros were founding members of the trumpet section.[71] Dauprat, Jean Auguste Blangy, Jean-Baptiste Mengal, Meifred, and later in 1828 Jacques François Gallay formed the horn section.[72] Blangy, born in 1779 was initially the elder statesmen in the section but moved to viola not long after the orchestra was founded.[73] Meifred had graduated with first prize from Dauprat's class in 1818 at the age of 27; in 1819 he performed at the Théâtre Italien, then played at l'Opéra from 1822 to 1850, the first decade of which was alongside Dauprat.[74] Mengal, born 1792, had studied with Domnich, gaining first prize in

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[70] Anzenberger, "Method Books for Trumpet and Cornet Using Stopped Notes in the 19th Century," 3; "Music Instrumentale," *Journal général d'annonce des oeuvres de musique, gravures, lithographies: Publiés en France et à l'étranger* (1825): 242.

[71] D. Kern Holoman, "Sociétaires by Order of Admission: 1828-1848," University of California Press, accessed 1 December, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

[72] Ibid.

[73] D. Kern Holoman, "Sociétaires by Alphabetical Order: B," University of California Press, accessed 1 December, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

[74] Arnaud and Duverger, *L'indicateur général des spectacles de Paris, des départemens de la France et des principales villes étrangères*, 11, 88; D. Kern Holoman, "Sociétaires by Alphabetical Order: M," University of California Press, accessed 1 December, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

1814, and began to accrue additional cultural capital in the orchestral field upon being appointed first horn at l'Opéra.[75] Then finally Gallay, born in 1795, was also a prominent and influential member of Dauprat's natural horn school, winning first prize one year after being admitted to the Conservatoire in 1820.[76] Gallay performed as principal horn at the Théâtre Italien alongside Buhl after 1825, and with Dauprat for a decade after 1828 at la Société, performing there as a natural horn soloist on at least four occasions.[77]

These horn players advocated and perpetuated the Domnich-Dauprat natural horn school in Paris. Their unifying aesthetic was sceptical of valve mechanisms because valves were perceived to bring loss rather than advancement for the horn. For these orchestral performers, the valve was a threat because it represented loss, and a break with the pre-revolutionary tradition to which they believed they belonged. In 1824 Dauprat argued:

> these species of Trumpet, as well as the Ophicleide (Keyed serpent), borrowed from the English and perfected in France, can today enrich instrumental music and increase composers' resources, but they cannot replace those from which they originated. It would probably be the same with the Horn, if it were submitted to similar changes: it would lose its character and the true quality of its natural and false sounds. The majority of these latter [sounds] have a charm that is peculiar to them, and which use, so to speak, shadows, nuances, opposites of natural sounds. It is then to be presumed that, far from gaining by their total suppression, the Horn would lose a lot.[78]

Dauverné's use of the hand stopping technique and his rejection of the nasal timbre of keyed trumpets is evidence of the influence of his older colleagues.

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[75] Holoman, "Sociétaires by Alphabetical Order: M." University of California Press, accessed 1 December, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

[76] D. Kern Holoman, "Sociétaires by Alphabetical Order: G," University of California Press, accessed 1 December, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Snedeker, "Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse," 169-170; Dauprat, "Article 3," in *Method for Cor Alto and Cor Basse*.

He, like Buhl and members of the hand horn school, quickly came to prioritise the brilliance and openness of the natural trumpet. In the years around 1826, these elders at l'Opéra and the Conservatoire had discussed and for the most part early rejected key and valve mechanisms. These players' desire to maintain the natural instruments of the past guided the younger Dauverné as his aesthetic developed and his cultural capital in the orchestral field accumulated.

In addition to the Parisian preference for hand-stopping on horn and trumpet at l'Opéra and the Conservatoire, further evidence that Dauverné and other orchestral trumpet players rejected valve mechanisms can be found in their use of the slide trumpet. The slide trumpet offered chromatic sounds with the openness of the natural trumpet that he required. Dauverné is not specific on the dates, noting only that the instrument's introduction to Paris followed its invention which he attributes to the English trumpeter John Hyde.[79] French slide trumpets were being manufactured in the 1820s as Legram applied for a patent and subsequently published a method for such in 1821.[80] As Legram was a military trumpeter, it is possible that the instrument, like the keyed bugle, was considered more a military instrument than an orchestral instrument in Paris. Dauverné's history suggests that he made greater use of the slide trumpet as his career progressed, preferring it to the valve trumpet.[81] However, he says little about the extent to which the slide trumpet was used in the orchestra in the 1820s and 1830s.

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[79] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 207.
[80] Friedrich Anzenberger, "The Earliest French Tutor for Slide Trumpet," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 4 (1992): 111.
[81] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 207.

Dauverné's recollection that Spontini's valve trumpets "served as a type and starting point" for the large-scale successful manufacture of valved brass previously unknown in France then, ought to be understood in at least two ways.[82] Firstly, French brass instrument manufacturing in the first decades of the century was a still developing industry that was indeed "put into a flutter", as Dauverné put it, by the arrival of new fully formed technology from Berlin. This was not merely a question of musical tastes or endeavours, but indicative of the fact that industrial and economic growth was slower in a still largely rural France than in Britain. Nonetheless, Paris' coterie of artisan brass instrument manufacturers took inspiration from the German instruments where brass instrument manufacture already had a comparatively long history. Secondly, Dauverné's historical text indicates that it was only at this point in the late 1820s that he became personally engaged in an artistic and technological debate in the orchestral field that had already been framed and circulating since at least the beginning of the century.

The valve trumpet from *Théorie* 1827 to *Méthode* 1834

Dauverné's approach to the Spontini trumpet was borne of a mix of predispositions that would advocate care in terms of assessing the new valve trumpet's sonority, and the precision of the valve mechanism in facilitating that sonority across its registers. His initial satisfaction with the first valve instrument was thus a qualified one. Then, in the 1857 *Méthod*e, Dauverné's review of keyed trumpets concludes with the remark that the timbre of the keyed trumpet was so deficient that this "must make one prefer *even the piston trumpet"*.[83]

[82] Ibid., 208.
[83] Ibid., 244. Emphasis mine.

This does suggest that for him, the valve trumpet was closer in kind to the keyed trumpet. In 1857, Dauverné argued that both instruments fell short of the timbral purity of the natural trumpet. He appears to have quickly come to and then maintained this position over three decades.

Dauverné's *Théorie Ou Tablature* contains fingering charts and scales in both major and minor keys.[84] This text encourages players to use crooks, rather than learn the keys beyond two or at the most three sharps or flats.[85] This is because Dauverné found the fingering of three valves in the more extended keys too complicated. In part, a cumbersome manufacture would explain his difficulties, not to mention the use of the highly viscous olive oil as a valve lubricant.[86] However, by avoiding the extended keys through the use of crooks, Dauverné also sought to minimise variability in intonation timbre. In effect Dauverné found the instrument satisfactory when it approximated the evenness of sound and intonation of the natural trumpet to which he was accustomed. He preferred to use the valve mechanism as a last resort, a device to be used sparingly for the achievement of non-natural tones. While these caveats are implied in Dauverné's text rather than overtly expressed, they are evidence of the same driving aesthetic preferences that he, Buhl and Dauprat, had exhibited earlier with regard to the keyed trumpet and to hand stopping on the trumpet.

Further evidence of Dauverné's thinking can be found in his second method, the *Méthode de Trompette à piston* (1834) published six years later. This method was dedicated to the manufacturer Antoine-Halary to whom Dauverné says he

[84] Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons*, 9-14.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., 6.

had taken the Spontini trumpet for modifications.[87] According to his 1857 history Dauverné recalls that the modifications were made between the time of the instrument's arrival in October 1826 and his debut performance in June 1827. While in deference to Dauverné's account this may be taken at face value, it is likely that the bulk of Antoine-Halary's work, such as the addition of moveable valve slides with which to tune the valves, occurred in the year after 1827 and prior to the publication of the 1834 *Méthode*.

Dauverné's frustration with valves can be seen in his ongoing quest for what he believed to be an overall even tonal quality, and a simpler valve mechanism. Materially, between 1828 and 1834, Dauverné appears to have rejected the third valve entirely because he found its fingering too cumbersome and complex. For instance, his 1834 *Méthode* contains an illustration of the instrument for which it was most likely written, a two-Stölzel-valved trumpet, with crooks in low F, E, Eb, D, and C (see figure 5).[88] It is likely that the occasion for the 1834 *Méthode* was the perfection of this instrument by Antoine-Halary.

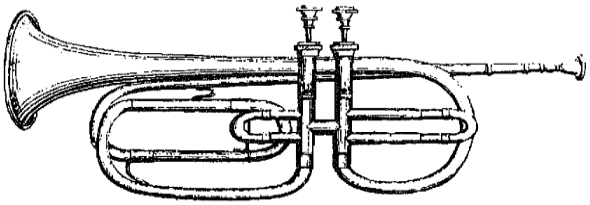

Figure 5. Dauverné's Trumpet with two Stölzel valves.[89]

[87] Friedrich Anzenberger, "Method Books for Valve Trumpet to 1850: An Annotated Bibliography," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 10 (1998): 53.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.

Dauverné was sufficiently satisfied with Halary's modifications to the trumpet as to publicly perform on it in 1833. In his *Méthode* 1834, under the section headed "Advantage que présente la Trompette à Pistons", Dauverné makes reference to this performance and it is clear that it held some importance for him at the time. On Sunday the 28th of April 1833 he performed on a two-valve Stölzel trumpet in an all piston-instrument brass quintet for the sixth concert of the Conservatoire's season.[90] This instrumental and choral programme featured Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, works by Weber and Mozart, and a brass Quintet by Jacques Strunz. The quintet comprised Meifred, Jacquemin and Bailly on horns, Dufrène on cornet, and Dauverné on valved F trumpet. While the group had actually performed the same work at a benefit concert on the 12th of April at Le Théâtre du Palais-Royal, the Conservatoire performance was significant for its presentation of five valved brass instruments played together in an elite 'art music' forum.[91] The performers reprised the same work at the Salle Pleyel the following January.[92] There is no sense that the quintet was poorly received in any of these performances. Curiously, however, these three occasions are among the very few mentions of Dauverné publicly performing on valve trumpet within or outside the orchestra.

The Conservatoire performance was important because it sounded the arrival of valved brass under two new professors in Meifred and Dauverné. Dauverné had successfully auditioned for the position of Professor of Trumpet late in 1832. As Merri Franquin suggests this turn was not at Dauverné's initiative.[93] In fact it

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[90] "Bulletin Musical," *L'Indépendant*, 28 April, 1833, 3.
[91] "Bigarrures," *Le Figaro*, 12 April, 1833, np.
[92] "Bulletin Musical," *L'Indépendant*, 12 January, 1834, 2.
[93] Franquin, "La trompette et le cornet," 1608.

was one of the Gambati brothers who first made inquiries about becoming the founding professor of a trumpet class at the Conservatoire.[94] It is unlikely that Signor Gambati's overture to then Director of the Conservatoire Luigi Cherubini, who had been in the position since 1822, directly resulted in an audition. It is far more likely that the Conservatoire was aware of a growing need not only to cater for a new and expanding market of trumpet students, but to resource Paris' elite theatres with orchestras comprising complete and able instrumentalists. For example, while l'Opéra was now under the private direction of Louis Véron, his management could not afford a sub-standard orchestra; this whether for ticket sales to the newly moneyed classes, or for the extent to which it reflected ongoing institutional ties to the ruling class and the government of 'The King of the French' Louis-Philippe. Either way, following the audition, Dauverné, not Gambati, was installed as the inaugural Professor of Trumpet commencing in 1833.[95]

Meifred had been appointed professor of valve horn and commenced teaching at the same point. More precisely Meifred's appointment ought to be understood as a low-horn valved position, intended specifically as an addition to the continuing and still influential and successful high-natural-hand-horn class of Dauprat. As a leading low horn exponent, Meifred was fully conversant with Dauprat's hand-horn technique and Meifred's aesthetic and practice made recourse to valves only when certain pitches were unobtainable by any other means. As Jeffrey Snedeker, and building from his research also John Ericson have shown, Meifred aimed to: afford the low-horn those pitches it could not

[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.

match with high-horn players due to the gaps in the harmonic series; to give those pitches good intonation; to preserve muted pitches but render them equally coloured and agreeable with those of the upper octave, especially the leading note in any key; and finally, to afford composers the benefit of crook changes such that the timbral agreement between the horns mutually suited the compositional outcome.[96]

While a proponent of the valve horn, Meifred's *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* published in 1840 articulates his alignment with the aesthetic and teaching of Dauprat and Gallay. If he did wish to see the valve horn replace the natural horn, his *Méthode* evinces considerable political sensitivity in deference to the teaching and leadership of Dauprat, and by extension to the influential solo and orchestral work of Gallay. Meifred's hybrid approach to the valve horn provided for judicious use of the mechanism to augment and enhance the horn while retaining a role for hand-stopping in making timbral adjustments akin to those on the natural horn. For Meifred in the 1840s, two valves as opposed to three, were sufficient to secure the required musical results, and the simultaneous use of valves and hand-stopping on certain notes would allow the player to retain the natural horn's characteristics in terms of colour and intonation.[97] That is, Meifred's low valve horn was intended to sound like and

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[96] Jeffrey Leighton Snedeker, "Joseph Meifred's Méthode pour le Cor Chromatique ou à Pistons (1840)," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 4 (1992): 87-105; Jeffrey Leighton Snedeker, *Hand or Valve (or Both): Horn Teaching, Technique, and Technology at the Paris Conservatoire, ca. 1840-1903* [Cité de la Musique, Actes du colloque Paris: un laboratoire i'dées, facture et répertoire des cuivres 1840 et 1930] (Paris: Historic Brass Society, 2007), 207-218; Jeffrey Leighton Snedeker, "Joseph Meifred's Méthode pour le Cor Chromatique ou à Pistons, and, Early Valved Horn Performance and Pedagogy in Nineteenth-Century France" (DMA diss., The University of Wisconsin, 1991).

[97] On Meifred's technique and aesthetic see Amy Jo McBeth, "Jacques François Gallay: A Study of His Life and Selected Works for Accompanied Horn" (DMA diss., The University of Iowa, 2005); Snedeker, "Joseph Meifred's Méthode pour le Cor Chromatique ou à Pistons (1840)," 87-105; Snedeker, *Hand or Valve (or Both)*, 207-218.

match as far as possible Dauprat's high natural hand horn. This was entirely in keeping with Dauprat's early philosophy that the new valve instruments could enrich the orchestra but they could not replace natural instruments. The very same understanding and approach to valves informs and underpins Dauverné's early exploration of valves on the trumpet; it is this understanding that he reiterates more adamantly in the 1857 *Méthode*.

Dauverné's appointment to a teaching position at the Conservatoire was new in a way distinct from that of Meifred's. There had been no pre-existing natural trumpet class whereas Meifred's valve horn class joined an active and influential natural horn tradition. Also, Meifred brought a long background of experimentation with valve technology, while for Dauverné this was still a comparatively recent debate and practice. Dauverné did not record his thinking at the time regarding teaching natural and valve trumpet; but his habitus is characterised by caution and deference to the opinion of his horn colleagues. For example, his aesthetic mirrors Meifred's approach to the valve horn. In particular, his decision to perform on a two-valve trumpet rather than a three-valve instrument after 1833. While this practice maintained a cautious openness to the benefits of valves, Dauverné made minimal use of them. His main goal was to preserve the timbre and clarity of the natural trumpet and its position in the orchestra.

In the Strunz Quintet performances, Dauverné was closely aligned with Meifred who on the basis of age, experience, and indeed simple weight of numbers, was the leader. The concert featured three valve horns, a new valved *petit cor* known as the Cornet à Piston, and Dauverné's valve trumpet in low F. The instrumentation suggests that the shorter cornet played the higher soprano lines

and the longer valve trumpet performed more middle register material above and alongside the horns. Dauverné's 1857 history neither mentions this performance experience, nor of playing valve trumpet at any other point after 1834. If Dauverné's performance at the time was important for him, its importance is significantly diminished by its absence from his later historical record. Its absence undermines the importance of the valve trumpet in the history of the trumpet he portrays.

The 1833 valve quintet performance marked an important turning point in the French trumpet tradition. That turning point was deeply enmeshed in the person and performance of the cornet player Dufrène.

The cornet, a kind of small trumpet

Paralleling and contrasting the gradual evolution of Dauverné's practice with regard to the valve trumpet, between 1830 and 1833 a powerful revolution in the French trumpet tradition occurred, the cornet à piston took Paris by storm. Dauverné's history of 1857 grants the cornet only very brief attention. Within a paragraph of less than fifty words he describes it as "a kind of small Trumpet".[98] If, as with the valve trumpet, Dauverné's inattention to the cornet was a measure of his interest in the instrument mid-century, it was at odds with his earlier experience. Dauverné's *Méthode Théorique & Pratique du Cornet à Pistons ou Cylinders* (1845/46), for example, is much more forthcoming in terms of how he viewed the instrument at the time. He states:

> In 1831, Mr. Antoine-Halary, had the fortuitous idea of applying the principle of the mechanism devised by Stölzel, to the Post Horn (Cornet Post) [,] a kind of small trumpet which Postmasters in Germany used to announce the beginning and ending of journeys,

[98] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 209.

> and which have been put to use for some time in our military bands. As to the advancement and influential spread of the Cornet, this was the reserve of a young artist, Mr. Dufrène, whom we have had the opportunity to hear to great effect and witness his success in balls, and especially in Concerts such as those which began in 1833 on the Champs-Elysees. After some time, it was felt important and needed, to return to the instrument the third valve, in order to fill in the gaps that had existed across its range by virtue of its absence...The Cornet is so widespread today. Not only that, it is now, as it were, the soul of the Quadrille, and in addition, it frequently plays a central and important role in the dramas of our most famous composers.[99]

Dauverné credits Halary with marrying a German post-horn and Stölzel valves to make the first cornet in 1831. His later history says this occurred sometime around 1832.[100] There is some conjecture over the extent to which Halary was entirely the originator of the design, or whether he was a very successful reproducer. Dauprat's introduction to Joseph Forestier's *Method pour le Cornet à Pistons* suggests that sometime before 1834, Halary copied Meifred's valve mechanism for the horn and applied it to the small German Post-horn.[101] George Kastner cites correspondence from Spontini in his *Manuel General de Music Militaire* of 1848 in which the latter suggests that what amounted to invention and perfection by the Parisian manufacturers, was little more than imitation and reproduction.[102] Perhaps Dauverné's tact in 1857 lies in

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[99] "En 1831, Mr. Antoine-Halary, eût l'heureuse idée d'appliquer le principe de méchanisme imaginé par Stölzel, au Post-Horn (Cornet de Post) [,] espèce de petite Trompette dont les Postillons en Allemagne se servent pour announcer le départ et l'arrivée des voyagers et mis en usage depuis longtemps, dans nos musiques militaires. Alors, l'advantage de propager le Cornet à pistons fût réservé à un jeune Artiste, Mr Dufrène, qui eut l'occasion de faire entendre cer instrument avec succès, dans les bals et notamment, dans les Concerts qui, en 1833, prirent naissance aux Champs-Elysees. Plus tard, on sentit l'importance et la nécessité de restituer à l'Instrument, son 3e Piston, afin de pouvoir combler les lacunes qui existaient dans sa gamme, cause par son absence...Le Cornet à pistons est tellement répandu aujourd'hui, que non seulement, il est pour ainsi dire l'ame du Quadrille, mais encore, il tient une place importante dans les dramatiques de nos plus célebrès compositeurs". Cited in Edward Tarr's only known copy of the cornet method by Dauverné: Tarr, "The Romantic Trumpet, Part 1," (1993): 258.

[100] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 209.

[101] Baines, *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development*, 226.

[102] Kastner, *Manuel général de Musique Militaire*, 192.

recognising that the Spontini valve trumpet served as a “type and starting point”. Equally Spontini’s observation points to the flux of prior experimentation with valve mechanisms by French and other makers. What is clear is the range of Parisian manufacturers who expanded and accelerated their work in the 1830s. Between 1833 and 1838, Joseph Pertus, Meifred and Arsène Deshays, Périnet, and Louis Müller, who had all secured five-year patents on valve cornet designs set to work: adapting all manner of existing instruments with the addition of the valve mechanism; scrapping already made instruments and converting them to new purposes; finding available stock that would match the bell and tubular sections of the new instruments; making valve mechanisms; and modelling parts on the imported and other successful models.[103] Other manufacturers like the Raoux family who had long specialised in horns also continued to produce an array of trumpets and cornets though this period.[104]

The earliest popular exponents of the cornet were horn players. Meifred was at the very least involved in the production of early model cornets by Halary, and it was his and Dauprat’s students who first took to performing on the new instrument. One of its first and most successful and influential players was Dufrène from the Strunz Quintet performances in 1833.[105] Dufrène’s *Grande Méthode Raisonnée de Cornet-Trompette* À *Pistons* published in 1834, identifies him as an “Artiste de l’Academie Royale de Musique”.[106] This orchestral horn player was well known to both Meifred and Dauverné, he played

[103] Géry Dumoulin, “The Cornet and Other Brass Instruments in French Patents of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 59 (2006): 77-100.
[104] Tula Giannini, “The Raoux Family of Master Horn Makers in France: New Documents and Perspectives,” *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 40 (2014): 112-162.
[105] Dufrène is also cited as Dufresne in a few works.
[106] Anzenberger, “Method Books for Valve Trumpet to 1850,” 54.

alongside both at l'Opéra. In Dufrène's *Méthode* a curved two-Stölzel-valve cornet is pictured, along with, unsurprisingly, instructions for hand stopping.[107] Dufrène's method also pictures a straight cornet, which suggests that this too was already becoming known in Paris. It is likely that Dufrène played both instruments. Here is evidence for the cultural capital and subsequent influence of the natural horn school, and for Meifred's preference for only two valves.

The cornet and in particular the career of Dufrène ignited the boulevards and public gardens of Paris. Given the cornet's recent invention, Dufrène was not only a fast learner but also a talented musician. Assisted by his likely background experimenting and performing on early valve horns with Meifred, he quickly gained a reputation for his mastery of the smaller higher instrument. In 1834 Charles Ladvocat observed that Dufrène, possessed of a "delicious talent", had popularised the cornet "within only a year or two" of it becoming known to the public.[108] His "golden trumpet" wrote another social commentator, "charms the soul", and according to *Le Ménestrel*, evening walkers at the Jardin Turc were drawn to Dufrène's "suave trumpet".[109]

While Louis Antoine Jullien, at the time a composition student of Halévy at the Conservatoire, was making a name for himself as a composer and conductor of dance and the newly 'popular music' concert, Dufrène successfully partnered another entrepreneurial composer-conductor in Philippe Musard. Musard's earliest successes in 1833 were in providing dance music expressly for the elite

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[107] Ibid.

[108] Charles Ladvocat, *Paris, ou le livre des cent-et-un, tome quatorzième* (Paris: Paris De S. A. R. Leduc d'Orleans, 1834), 254.

[109] "Société Philothecnique," *Gazette des salons*, 1 January, 1835, np.

at Opera balls.[110] Equally, just as Dauverné pointed to Dufrène and Musard's shared success in concerts on the Champs Elysées, they forged a formidable presence with a wider public. Such was Dufrène's success as a solo cornetist for the ball, that in 1838 Jules David could write passionately of an intense to desire for dancing in the phrase "surely the cornet of Dufrène runs through your veins".[111] From the earliest performances in the bazaar in Rue St Honoré, later to become Salle Valentino, to Jardin Turc, and the Champs Elysées, their outdoor concerts were regularly advertised with Musard the conductor and Dufrène, the featured soloist, as the primary draw cards.[112]

Initially, Dufrène's success hinged on performing as a soloist in popular operatic material arranged by Musard. In the later 1830s, as Musard began to look to London as the next step in his career, Dufrène expanded his solo and leadership role in Paris. Around 1836 he appears to have moved away from the orchestral field entirely so as to focus on the bourgeoning popular music field. By 1837 his name does not appear in the l'Opéra manifest as a horn player.[113] Dufrène had moved from augmenting his performance at l'Opéra with some popular dance and concert music, or duet performances with Gallay at the Théâtre des Variétés and the like, to leading balls for prodigious, and the mostly newly moneyed bourgeois, crowds who engaged in "endless nights of

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[110] "Exprès pour les bals de l'opéra - 'Proscription de la Contradanse'," *Le Ménestrel*, 29 December, 1833, np.

[111] Jules David, *Le Club des Désoeuvrés* (Paris: Werdet Libraire-Éditeur, 1838), 176.

[112] "Spectacles," *L'Indépendant*, 10 July, 1834, 3; "Concerts Musard," *Le Miroir de Paris*, 24 May, 1835, np; "Les concerts en plein vent," *Le Mercure de France*, 15 July, 1835, 88; "Chronique Theatrale," *Le Figaro*, 6 June, 1839, np.

[113] Planque, *Agenda musical pour 1837 ou indicateur des amateurs, artistes et commerçants en musique de Paris, de la province et de l'etranger* (Paris: Librairie Musicale De E. Duverger, 1837).

partying".[114] In this way, his public outdoor concerts on and around the Champs-Elysées continued to cater to a much wider array of consuming publics.

The Strunz Quintet concert of April 1833 saw Dufrène introduce the cornet to the art music elite of the Conservatoire. This was an elite driven project, and probably emanated from Meifred's interest in valve technology. Dufrène's popularity outside the académie reveals how, at the genesis of the popular music field in Paris in the 1830s, there was for its performers a considerable degree of overlap with the elite orchestral field. This was particularly true for the first generation of cornet artists, as the arrival of a second cornet virtuoso in Joseph Forestier made clear. In October 1834 Salon Lafitte advertised their concert with the fact that they had secured the services of a "trompette à piston player who rivals Dufrène – his name is Forestier".[115] While this may have been little more than clever marketing that played on the popular currency of the cornet soloist, it introduced another star horn player turned cornet player to the Paris public. Forestier graduated from Dauprat's natural horn class, at the age of 19, in 1834. Like Dufrène he originally performed on horn in theatre orchestras as well as performing as soloist in the popular *Air Varie* on well-known opera melodies, in the ballrooms, concert rooms, and outdoor gardens across Paris.[116]

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[114] "Une Foule Prodigieuse Assistait à Cette Délicieuse Fête de Nuit - 'Bals Masques'," *La Syllphide*, 6 December, 1840, 1; "Bulletin des Theatres," *Figaro*, 14 May, 1835, np; "Nouvelles Des Arts," *Journal des Artistes*, 23 December, 1838, 394; "Chronique," *Les Coulisses*, 17 December, 1840, 3.

[115] "Concerts Des Salons Lafitte," *La Romance Journal de Musique*, 18 October, 1834, 166.

[116] *Le Montaigne*, *Bulletin Littéraire* (Paris: Périgueux, 1836), 83.

Whereas Dufrène's early career saw him move toward the popular music field, Forestier's leaned more toward the military and orchestral fields. In 1836, within two years of his graduation with the premier prix on natural horn, Forestier became the first professor of cornet à piston at the newly formed Gymnase de Musique Militaire.[117] His presence there, and similarly Dufrène's as a military cornetist, influenced and energised the early spread of the cornet into military bands. Forestier, like Dufrène, took the cornet from the elite environs of the Conservatoire and through his public popularity propelled it into the popular dance music field and the military field. A further measure of their joint status as cornetists, and their respective capital in popular and military music, lies in their publication of method books for the cornet in 1834 and 1844 respectively.

These publications are also important because they signal something of the evolving nature of the cornet over against the valve trumpet during the 1830s. Dufrène's *Grande Méthode Raisonnée de Cornet-Trompette À Pistons* 1834 is written for cornets and trumpets with valves and calls unsurprisingly for hand-stopping on both.[118] Forestier's *Méthode pour le cornet à piston*, which appeared a decade later, was not published for cornet and trumpet with valves; his method was written purely for cornet. This differed from Dufrène's *Méthode* and others at the time that were being produced mostly by players with military ties, such as Lagoaner's *Méthode Complète d*e Cornet-Trompette *À Pistons* in 1835, and Carnaud's *Méthode de Cornet à Pistons et de Trompette à Piston* from before 1841.[119] However, given that the latter two focus on the higher

[117] Planque, *Agenda Musical pour 1837*, 60.
[118] Anzenberger, "Method Books for Trumpet and Cornet Using Stopped Notes in the 19th Century," 2.
[119] Ibid.

notation of the cornet and make little reference to any low F trumpet notation, it is safe to assume that despite the reference to trumpet in their titles both works actually also adopted Forestier's later focus on the cornet.[120] The fact that Dufrène's *Méthode*, while perhaps ambiguously titled, differentiated between the cornet and the low F trumpet reveals his orchestral context and awareness of their differences. Whether a shrewd manufacturer or eager publisher saw and encouraged the title as a marketing tactic is unclear.

As for Dauverné, his 1834 *Méthode* for valve trumpet, also opportunistically contains on one page notes and a fingering chart for the cornet à piston.[121] Anzenberger points out that the latter notation is in the lower trumpet octave rather than the upper cornet register.[122] On the one hand this reflects an understandable absence of convention with regard to notation in the early days of the instrument. On the other, while Dauverné's one-page reference to the cornet was something of a token gesture, it flags his openness to the instrument. His appreciation for the cornet does appear to have grown. Dauverné published 24 popular operatic melodies, from Bellini, Donizetti, Mozart, Mercadente, Rossini, and Weber, for the instrument in 1837, and in 1846 published a brief theoretical and practical *Méthode* for the instrument.[123]

Dauverné's motivation in publishing material for cornet is not clear. Given that the instrument emerged from the horn family it is reasonable to expect that

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[120] On notation see Anzenberger, "Method Books for Valve Trumpet to 1850: An Annotated Bibliography," 52; and Anzenberger, "Method Books for Trumpet and Cornet Using Stopped Notes in the 19th Century," 5.

[121] Friedrich Anzenberger, "French Cornet Methods Published before Arban's Complete Grand Method for Cornet and Saxhorn 1 (1864)," *Brass Bulletin* 85 (1994): 79.

[122] Ibid.

[123] "Musique Nouvelle," *L'Indépendant*, 22 October, 1837, 3; François Dauverné, *Méthode théorique et practique de cornet à piston ou à cylindres* (Paris: Henry Lemoine, 1846).

Meifred rather than Dauverné might publish instruction material. Perhaps its high tessitura was outside Meifred's area of specialisation, so Dauverné was Meifred's next logical choice. The simplest explanation for the practice of addressing both cornet and valve trumpet in a single volume is that the instruments, in terms of their mechanism, emerged around the same time and had some basic similarities in design. However, more significantly this practice points to how the cornet and valve trumpet were beginning to be used at the time. If the likes of Meifred, Dauverné, Dufrène and Forestier, did perceive the cornet at its birth as a petit cor, it very quickly began to fulfil the role of petit trompette. At the same time, reporting and advertising concerning the cornet often conflated it with a valve trumpet. In the decade after 1833 in the dance and popular music field in particular Dufrène and Forestier were often referred to as valve trumpet players rather than as cornet players.[124] In the late 1830s, Paris' elite orchestras began to use the cornet, not the valve trumpet, in precisely this way.

One decade on, appreciating the advantages of valves

Dauverné was initially open to the utility and application of the valve trumpet. Also, writing at the distance of 1857, he recalls that in 1826 he was "able to appreciate the advantages of the valve mechanism".[125] In the ten years after Spontini, genuine valve trumpet methods in Paris were still rare, and having written two such methods in that period, and publically performed on the

[124] "Chronique," *Le Ménestrel*, 13 July, 1834, np; "Concerts des salons Lafitte," *La Romance Journal de Musique,* 18 October, 1834, 166; "Société Philothecnique," *Gazette des salons*, 1 January, 1835, 410; "Bulletin des Theatres," *Figaro*, 14 May, 1835, np.

[125] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 208; Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à Pistons*, 1-14.

instrument, Dauverné stands out as a supporter of the valve trumpet. However, by 1834 he still found the fingering of three valves in the more extended keys too complicated, and continued to advocate for limited valve use so as to minimise what were for him the resultant variability in intonation and timbre. Ten years after its “introduction”, Dauverné found the valve trumpet satisfactory only when it most closely approximated the evenness of sound, intonation, and feel, of the natural trumpet to which he was accustomed. This view was heavily influenced by his elders and more experienced colleagues, particularly, Buhl, Dauprat, Meifred and Gallay. Members of Dauprat’s hand-horn school held strong reservations about the application of keys and valves to the horn and the trumpet. Dauverné’s satisfaction with the first valve trumpets, and his appreciation of the valve mechanism were thus both heavily qualified.

In 1857 Dauverné’s history of the trumpet does not explore the valve trumpet in depth. He glosses over the considerable history of experimentation with chromatic brass by French musicians and manufacturers prior to the arrival of Rossini and later the instruments of Spontini. Dauverné says little about the introduction of valve trumpets into the French orchestra. The brevity of its treatment and the lack of account with regard to its use beyond five operas at l’Opéra is curious. As a leading performer with associations across the elite orchestras of Paris, Dauverné had the opportunity to discuss extensively the use of the valve trumpet. Its absence from his account suggests that it was of lesser import to him at the time. Dauverné’s portrayal of the valve trumpet in 1857 is in stark contrast to his evaluation of it in 1828. In the 1857 *Méthode* he portrays it as an instrument of a different genus rather than a more closely related species of trumpet. As a result, Dauverné’s mid-century history tends to

present the natural trumpet as the only true trumpet. Before examining these latter points further through Dauverné's habitus in chapter four, the next chapter explores the use of the cornet and its prevalence over the valve trumpet in more depth. While Dauverné's history omits any reference to the manner in which the cornet came to occupy chromatic soprano brass roles at the expense of the valve trumpet in Paris, it is to that question that the next chapter is directed.

Chapter 3

Players in Paris, pragmatists and partisans

Introduction

In a single letter and but a few lines, written from Berlin to Mademoiselle Louise Bertin in November 1843, Hector Berlioz crystallises the central tensions that structured the French trumpet tradition in the first half of the nineteenth century. These tensions concerned the ongoing use of the natural trumpet, and the use of the cornet in place of the valve trumpet. Berlioz observes:

> The Germans have done well to abandon the use of the simple trumpet almost entirely. In France we have still very few chromatic (or cylinder) trumpets, the incredible popularity of the Cornet à Pistons having so far stood in their way - wrongly, as I think the tone of the cornet is far from being so noble or brilliant as that of the trumpet.[1]

This chapter is continuous with chapter 2. However, rather than being guided by the historical narrative of Dauverné, this chapter explores the decade after 1833 to reveal that the valve trumpet was marginalised from the elite orchestras in which Dauverné performed. At l'Opéra, Berlioz's score for *Benvenuto Cellini* composed through 1836 premièred in 1838, instituted what would become the dominant orchestral practice for at least another decade, that is the pairing of two natural trumpets with two cornets in the trumpet section. Dauverné's preference for the natural trumpet saw him and his horn playing colleagues adopt the same practice at la Société. While performers outside Dauverné's performance field did continue to use the valve trumpet, the cornet was a

[1] Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs* ed. and trans. Ernest Newman (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1960), 308.

popular and often practical choice, particularly for dance orchestra musicians and those in the military.

Alongside those player choices, ran a debate to which Berlioz regularly contributed. This debate questioned the ongoing presence of the natural trumpet. It also questioned the appropriateness of the cornet's timbre over that of the valve trumpet, and the desirability of the former over the latter as the leading soprano brass voice in the orchestra. This concern for the appropriate timbre in the trumpet section echoed that which had framed the first evaluations of keyed trumpets and valve trumpets two decades earlier. A wide array of 'players' in the cultural field of orchestral music contributed to this debate: composers such as Berlioz, Meyerbeer and Halévy; leading military musicians, especially Kastner; and after 1843, Adolphe Sax with his new valved manufactures, became an often controversial focal point for the exchange of ideas. Dauverné is almost entirely peripheral to such discussions. However, he maintained a practice that was partisan. Dauverné remained committed to using the natural trumpet over the valve trumpet. The general conservatism at l'Opéra, la Société, and the Conservatoire, led and in this way supported Dauverné in the decade after 1833. Dauverné's focus on the natural trumpet over the valve trumpet, and his deference to the natural horn school, served to promote cornet performance at l'Opéra and la Société. This practice influenced that across the elite orchestras of Paris.

This chapter employs three broad optics to explore and contextualise the trumpet-cornet debate. Firstly, that afforded by Berlioz's technologically progressive and international aesthetic, as revealed in his journalism, memoirs, and earliest versions of his *Treatise on Orchestration*. These underscore his

frustration with the extent to which France lagged behind Germany in its adoption of the valve trumpet. Secondly, and closely related, is Berlioz's composition of *Benvenuto Cellini* for l'Opéra, and the subsequent re-orchestration of his earlier scores to include cornet rather than valve trumpet in the years after 1836. This reveals his adaptation to the prevailing orchestral practice. Thirdly, is Berlioz's support for the manufactures and entrepreneurial efforts of Adolphe Sax. This highlights the shared frustrations of both men that Parisian trumpeters remained reluctant to make use of valve trumpets even when they were available in Paris.

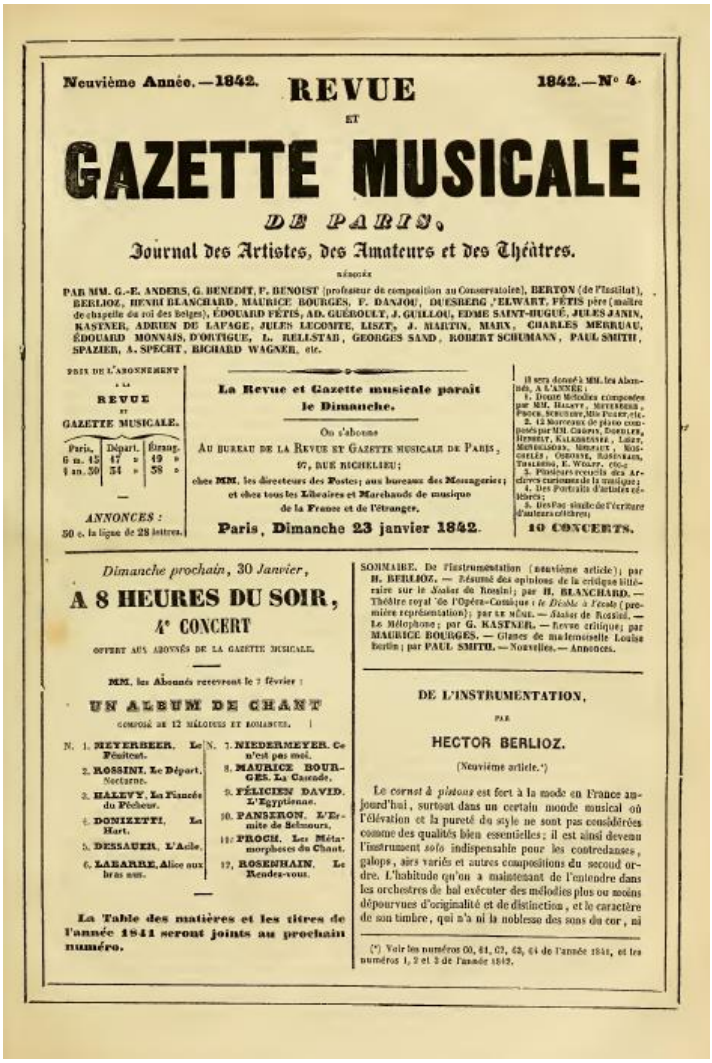
The cornet, the quadrille, and second-rate compositions

Berlioz's earliest published material on the cornet appeared in his series on orchestration in *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* in January 1842.[2] While some of the technical text would alter in subsequent publications of this text, his entries under "Trompette" and "Cornet à Piston" are heavily layered with the debates over the role of the trumpet and the suitability of the cornet in the orchestra. Even allowing for a degree of personal and political hyperbole, Berlioz's treatment of the cornet is on the face of it, damning. He argues that the cornet was very much in fashion:

> especially in certain social circles where elevation and purity of style are not considered essential qualities. It has become the indispensable solo instrument in quadrilles, gallops, variations and other second-rate compositions. The prevailing custom in dance orchestras of assigning melodies more or less devoid of originality and distinction to the comet, as well as the essential character of its tone - which has neither the nobility of the horn nor the dignity of the trumpet – make the introduction of the cornet into the higher melodic style very difficult. Nevertheless, it might be used here with advantage; but only in rare instances, and provided that it is given

[2] Hector Berlioz, "de l'instrumentation," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 23 January, 1842, 25-26.

only slow and dignified passages. Thus, the cornet is very suitable for the ritornelle of the trio in “Robert le Diable” … Gay melodies played on this instrument will always run the risk of losing some of their nobility, if they possess any. If they lack it, their triviality is greatly increased. A commonplace phrase which might appear tolerable when played by the violins or wood-winds would become trite and vulgar if rendered by the blaring, obtrusive and coarse tone of the cornet. This danger is obviated if the passage is played by one or several trombones at the same time; their powerful voice would cover and ennoble that of the cornet. Employed in harmonies, the cornet blends very well with the mass of brass instruments. It serves to complete the chords of the trumpets, and it can contribute to the orchestra those diatonic or chromatic groups of notes which, because of their rapidity, suit neither the trombone nor the horns.[3]



Neuvième Année.—1842. REVUE ET GAZETTE MUSICALE DE PARIS, 1842.—N° 4.

Journal des Artistes, des Amateurs et des Théâtres.

RÉDIGÉE

PAR MM. G.-E. ANDERS, G. BENEDIT, F. BENOIST (professeur de composition au Conservatoire), BERTON (de l'Institut), BERLIOZ, HENRI BLANCHARD, MAURICE BOURGES, F. DANJOU, DUESBERG, ELWART, FÉTIS père (maître de chapelle du roi des Belges), ÉDOUARD FÉTIS, AD. GUÉROULT, J. GUILLOU, EDME SAINT-HUGUÉ, JULES JANIN, KASTNER, ADRIEN DE LAFAGE, JULES LECOMTE, LISZT, J. MARTIN, MARX, CHARLES MERRUAU, ÉDOUARD MONNAIS, D'ORTIGUE, L. RELLSTAB, GEORGES SAND, ROBERT SCHUMANN, PAUL SMITH, SPAZIER, A. SPECHT, RICHARD WAGNER, etc.

PRIX DE L'ABONNEMENT A LA REVUE ET GAZETTE MUSICALE.

Paris.	Départ.	Étrang.
6 m. 15	17 »	19 »
1 an. 30	34 »	38 »

ANNONCES : 50 c. la ligne de 28 lettres.

La Revue et Gazette musicale paraît le Dimanche.

On s'abonne AU BUREAU DE LA REVUE ET GAZETTE MUSICALE DE PARIS, 97, RUE RICHELIEU; chez MM. les directeurs des Postes; aux bureaux des Messageries; et chez tous les Libraires et Marchands de musique de la France et de l'étranger.

Paris, Dimanche 23 janvier 1842.

Il sera donné à MM. les Abonnés, A L'ANNÉE :
1. Douze Mélodies composées par MM. HALEVY, MEYERBEER, PROCH, SCHUBERT, Mlle PUGET, etc.
2. 12 Morceaux de piano composés par MM. CHOPIN, DOEHLER, HENSELT, KALKBRENNER, LISZT, MENDELSOHN, MERLAUX, MOSCHELÈS, OSBORNE, ROSENHAIN, THALBERG, E. WOLFF, etc.;
3. Plusieurs recueils des Archives curieuses de la musique;
4. Des Portraits d'artistes célèbres;
5. Des Fac-simile de l'écriture d'auteurs célèbres;

10 CONCERTS.

Dimanche prochain, 30 *Janvier*,

A 8 HEURES DU SOIR,

4e CONCERT

OFFERT AUX ABONNÉS DE LA GAZETTE MUSICALE.

MM. les Abonnés recevront le 7 février :

UN ALBUM DE CHANT

COMPOSÉ DE 12 MÉLODIES ET ROMANCES.

N. 1. MEYERBEER, Le Pénitent.
2. ROSSINI, Le Départ, Nocturne.
3. HALEVY, La Fiancée du Pêcheur.
4. DONIZETTI, La Hart.
5. DESSAUER, L'Asile.
6. LABARRE, Alice aux bras nus.
7. NIEDERMEYER, Ce n'est pas moi.
8. MAURICE BOURGES, La Cascade.
9. FÉLICIEN DAVID, L'Egyptienne.
10. PANSERON, L'Ermite de Selmours.
11. PROCH, Les Métamorphoses du Chant.
12. ROSENHAIN, Le Rendez-vous.

La Table des matières et les titres de l'année 1841 seront joints au prochain numéro.

SOMMAIRE. De l'instrumentation (neuvième article); par H. BERLIOZ. — Résumé des opinions de la critique littéraire sur le *Stabat* de Rossini; par H. BLANCHARD. — Théâtre royal de l'Opéra-Comique : *le Diable à l'école* (première représentation); par LE MÊME. — *Stabat* de Rossini. — Le Mélophone; par G. KASTNER. — Revue critique; par MAURICE BOURGES. — Glanes de mademoiselle Louise Bertin; par PAUL SMITH. — Nouvelles. — Annonces.

DE L'INSTRUMENTATION,

PAR

HECTOR BERLIOZ.

(Neuvième article.*)

Le *cornet à pistons* est fort à la mode en France aujourd'hui, surtout dans un certain monde musical où l'élévation et la pureté du style ne sont pas considérées comme des qualités bien essentielles; il est ainsi devenu l'instrument *solo* indispensable pour les contredanses, galops, airs variés et autres compositions du second ordre. L'habitude qu'on a maintenant de l'entendre dans les orchestres de bal exécuter des mélodies plus ou moins dépourvues d'originalité et de distinction, et le caractère de son timbre, qui n'a ni la noblesse des sons du cor, ni

(*) Voir les numéros 60, 61, 62, 63, 64 de l'année 1841, et les numéros 1, 2 et 3 de l'année 1842.

Figure 6. Berlioz’s Treatise 1842 serialised.[4]

[3] Hector Berlioz, *Treatise on Instrumentation*, trans. Theodore Front (New York, NY: Kalmus, 1948), 295-297.

[4] Berlioz, “de l’instrumentation,” 25.

For Berlioz, within ten years of its introduction the cornet had become a second-rate instrument. This by virtue of both its inherent timbre, and its social associations, and these two factors were necessarily intrinsically related. Where Berlioz's original "par le son mordant, fanfaron, déhonté" is translated above as the cornet possessing a "blaring, obtrusive and coarse tone", Hugh Macdonald has also rendered the phrase as, a "saucy, swashbuckling, shameless sound".[5] Both translations capture Berlioz's disdain for the cornet. The social character alluded to in Macdonald's illustrates the high priority that Berlioz afforded character and expression as integral formative elements of tone colour.

In popular and public culture, two of the cornet's strongest and most widespread associations were: its use as an instrument for virtuosic display, as in air and variations solos for promenade concerts; and as the new leading melodic voice in dance music across the strata of Parisian society. The character and expressivity of the cornet were quickly captured and defined in cultural and political terms by these associations. Dauverné was fully aware the cornet had become a key element of any successful dance music. His *Méthode Théorique & Pratique du Cornet à Pistons ou Cylindres* written in 1845 noted that it had become the "soul of the Quadrille".[6]

The quadrille had put the Paris dance set in to a whirl around the same time that the cornet appeared in Paris. Through the 1830s it developed from a formerly elite-class contredanse francaise, to a more standardised set of steps. Initially this was most likely an accommodation for reticent middle class males

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[5] Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 194.

[6] Dauverné, cited in Edward Tarr, "The Romantic Trumpet, Part 1," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 258.

or choreographically unschooled military men as Maribeth Clark observes; but it might equally be interpreted as an early practical expression of an emerging bourgeois cultural dominance.[7] The simplification of the contredanse into the quadrille saw it flourish outside the elite class. It quickly became egalitarian to the extent that it transcended the upper and middle elites. This led *Le Ménestrel* to lament the degradation of social dancing as early as 1834.[8] By 1848 the quadrille and the ball had become ubiquitous. As Victor Rozier recalled in 1855, "before 1848 you couldn't walk down any street in Paris without noticing, above a wine shop, a pitifully flickering lantern on which was written *Bal*".[9] The cornet played a central musical role in this dance craze as it spread into the lower mass middle-classes and into the casinos, public bars, and streets and gardens of Paris.

The bulk of early music written for the cornet was for its lead role at the ball. This consisted of arrangements of popular operatic themes and original dance compositions from the likes of Jullien and Musard. As *Le Ménestrel* noted at the time, the majority of Parisians danced to popular opera melodies before they had ever seen or heard the original works.[10] Clark suggests that these opera-based quadrilles challenged the delineation of art music and the music of popular culture.[11] It is true that the melodies themselves travelled freely enough across theatre, salon, ballroom and bar.[12] Equally, wherever the quadrille was

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[7] Maribeth Clark, "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," *The Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002): 506.
[8] "La Contredanse," *Le Ménestrel*, 23 March, 1834, np.
[9] Victor Rozier, "Before 1848" in *Les bals publics à Paris* (Paris: Havard, 1855) cited in Luc Sante, *The Other Paris* (London, UK: Faber and Faber, 2015), 169.
[10] "La Contredanse," np.
[11] Clark, "The Quadrille," 506.
[12] Ibid.

danced, its musical structure rested on regular and predictable patterns to fit the four-square choreography. Also often creative musical interest attended to the needs of the dance before any other niceties reflective of a particular cultural field. However, in reality there was an emerging dichotomy between art music and popular dance music. The cornet might well be played with subtlety and nuance in indoor salons or smaller elite ballrooms in the hands of the Conservatoire trained Dufrène or Forestier. In contrast, its mass popularity also hinged on its acoustic carrying power in noisy taverns and outdoors venues. In such venues, often in the hands of players who did not enjoy an elite orchestral background, such subtlety in performance may have been a priority secondary to carrying the melody and maintaining a regular dance beat.

The latter are the social circles that Berlioz regards as indifferent to elevated matters of style. The cornet's close association with social dance, saw it tied ever closer to the necessarily formulaic nature of its music. Its prolific use in music that Berlioz regarded as lacking originality and the environs in which that music was performed determined its second-rate nature. Berlioz's view represented one argument in a largely elite debate. If the cornet's mass popularity had quickly rendered it commonplace this was of little import to the mass dancing public. Berlioz argued that the cornet's indifferent timbre and low cultural associations meant that it could not make a unique and worthwhile contribution to the orchestra. As a result, he defined the instrument by what it lacked. It was able to produce rapid chromaticism that could not be achieved on the horn or trombone, but it did not possess the nobility of the horn or the dignity

of the trumpet.[13] His advice on orchestration amounted to how the instrument could be hidden. This could be achieved through minimal and judicious use in melodic material which could be covered in more first rate ways by other instruments, and by disguising its voice inside larger brass chords.[14]

It is striking then, that despite his apparent strong distaste for the instrument, Berlioz regularly wrote for the cornet from 1836 onward. This was a pragmatic decision on his part, and is thus highly revealing because it provides insight into the realities of orchestral performance practice in Paris.

From valve trumpets to cornets at l'Opéra

Dauverné's aesthetic and practical insistence on the primacy of the natural trumpet is borne out in the orchestrations of the leading composers at l'Opéra in the years after 1826. Initially this meant that composers at l'Opéra wrote for both natural trumpet and keyed then valve trumpet. By 1835, the latter had been replaced by the cornet.

As the last chapter revealed, Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* which premièred in 1829, called for a pair of keyed trumpets in low F. Given the dominance of Dauprat's horn school and its influence on Dauverné, it is extremely unlikely that Runyan's suggestion that a pair of such instruments were used.[15] In keeping with Dauverné's account, valve trumpets were used to perform this work.[16] A similar argument applies to Meyerbeer's *Robert Le Diable* that premiered in November

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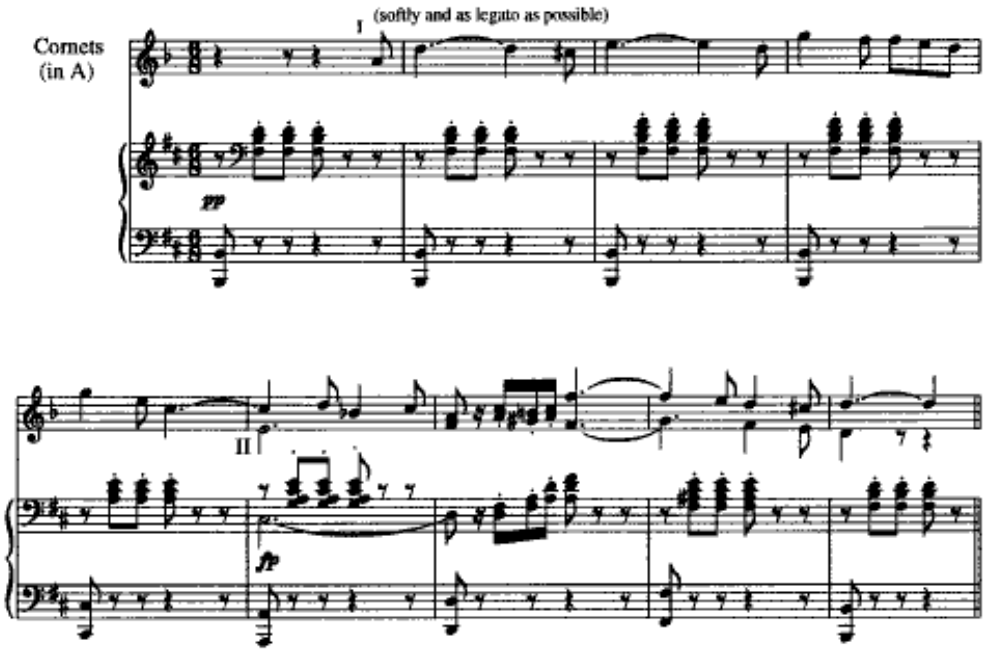
[13] Clark, "The Quadrille," 506.
[14] Ibid.
[15] William E Runyan, "History: Keyed and Valved Bugles, Cornets and Trumpets in French Grand Opera," *Brass Bulletin* 122 (2003): 49.
[16] François Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3, no. 1 (1991): 208.

of 1831. Meyerbeer wrote for a section of four, pairing two keyed trumpets with two natural trumpets in D. Whereas a two-player section could perform *Guillaume Tell*, by alternating between natural and valve instruments, Meyerbeer's trumpet section required dedicated and distinct natural and keyed parts. It is extremely unlikely keyed trumpets were used, and Dauverné recalls that the work was performed using valve trumpets.[17]

However, Berlioz's *Treatise* of 1843 suggests that at some point after the *Diable* premier and before 1843, performers at l'Opéra began to perform the keyed trumpet parts on cornets. In the section on how to orchestrate for the cornet in his *Treatise* Berlioz provides an example from the keyed trumpet part in Act V of Meyerbeer's *Diable* (see figure 7).[18]

Figure 7. Berlioz's citation of Meyerbeer's *Diable* Act V Finale.[19]



[17] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 208.
[18] Berlioz, *Treatise on Instrumentation*, 295.
[19] Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 193.

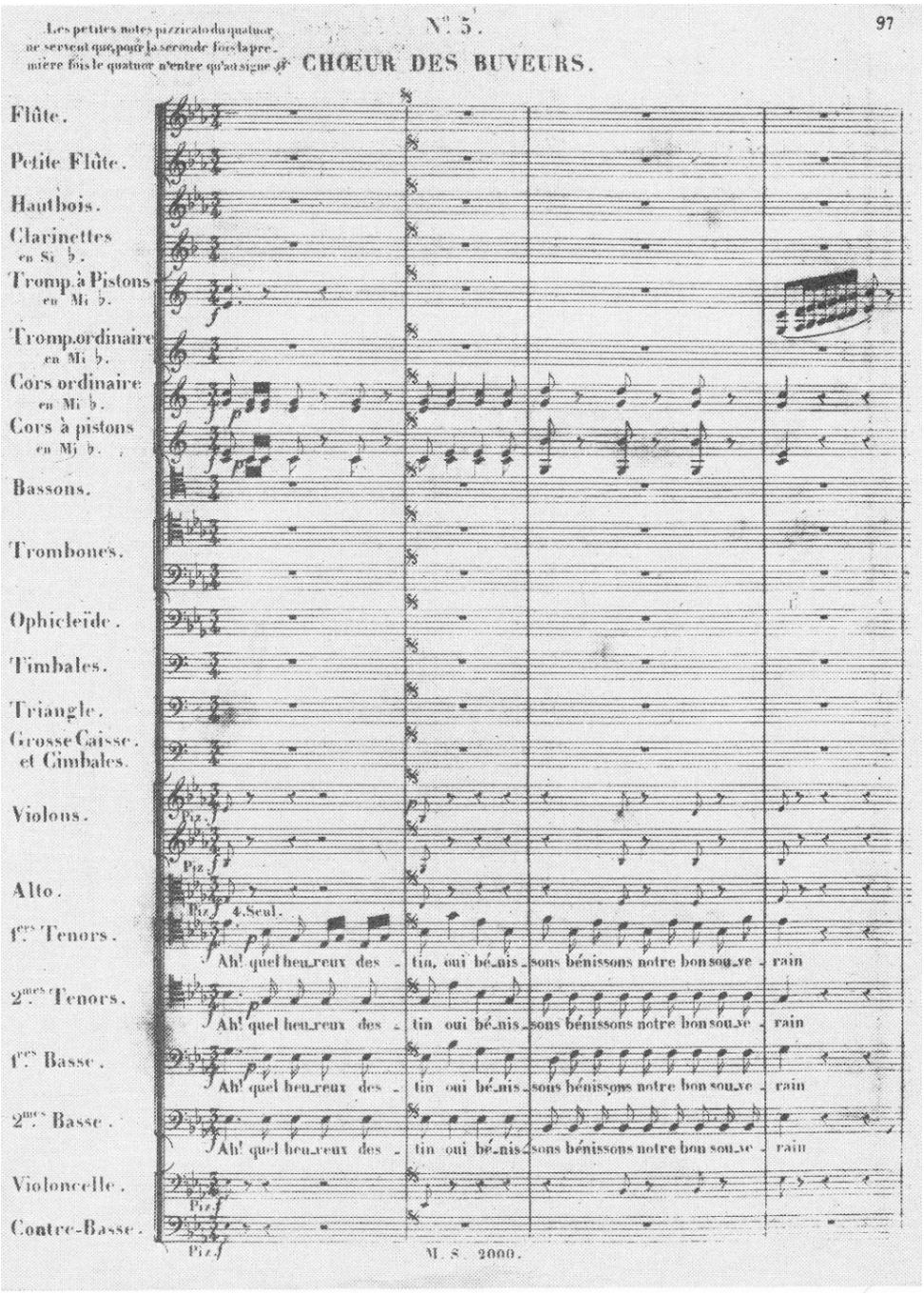
In November 1831 the cornet was still in its infancy. Dauverné's recollection of the premier performances being on valve trumpet then, is accurate. However, there are practical challenges in the material. The higher valved parts would have been both high and difficult to play securely on a valve trumpet crooked in low A. Given that Dufrène was an available resource within l'Opéra at the time, and had begun making a name as a cornetist after 1833, it is possible that subsequent to the premier performances in 1831, he and another performed these parts on the cornet.[20] In terms of timbre, the conical and wound shape of such instruments would have heard them able to produce the dark sound that Meyerbeer eludes to when he recommends English horns or violas as a substitute in their absence.[21]

The first time trompettes à pistons officially appeared in the score at l'Opéra was in Halévy's *La Juive* that premiered in 1835.[22] Halévy followed Meyerbeer's model, pairing two valve trumpets alongside two natural trumpets. The valve parts are variously crooked in Eb, F, G, and A, and this broadly accords with Dauverné's and Meifred's preference for changing crooks so as to minimise recourse to valves. Throughout the score the valve trumpets appear above the natural trumpets. The opening entry for the valve trumpets in *Act I Nº 5 Choeur des Buveurs* is a rapid ascending Eb major scale from Eb_3 to Eb_4; written in C major the low F trumpet was crooked down a tone to Eb (see figure 8). This figure is repeated twice, brief historically motivic fanfare interjections follow, and then later there is a descending scale from G_4 to G_3. For the first trumpet part,

[20] Robert Ignatius Letellier, *Meyerbeer's Robert le Diable: The Premier Opéra Romantique* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 111.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Jacques François Halévy, *La Juive* (New York, NY: Garland, 1980).

the opening passages appear in the third octave of the instrument. They are indicative of that which appears infrequently through the score, predominantly diatonic material with only one or two chromatic alterations (see figure 8).

Figure 8. Halévy, *La Juive*, Acte I Nº 5 Choer Des Buveurs.[23]



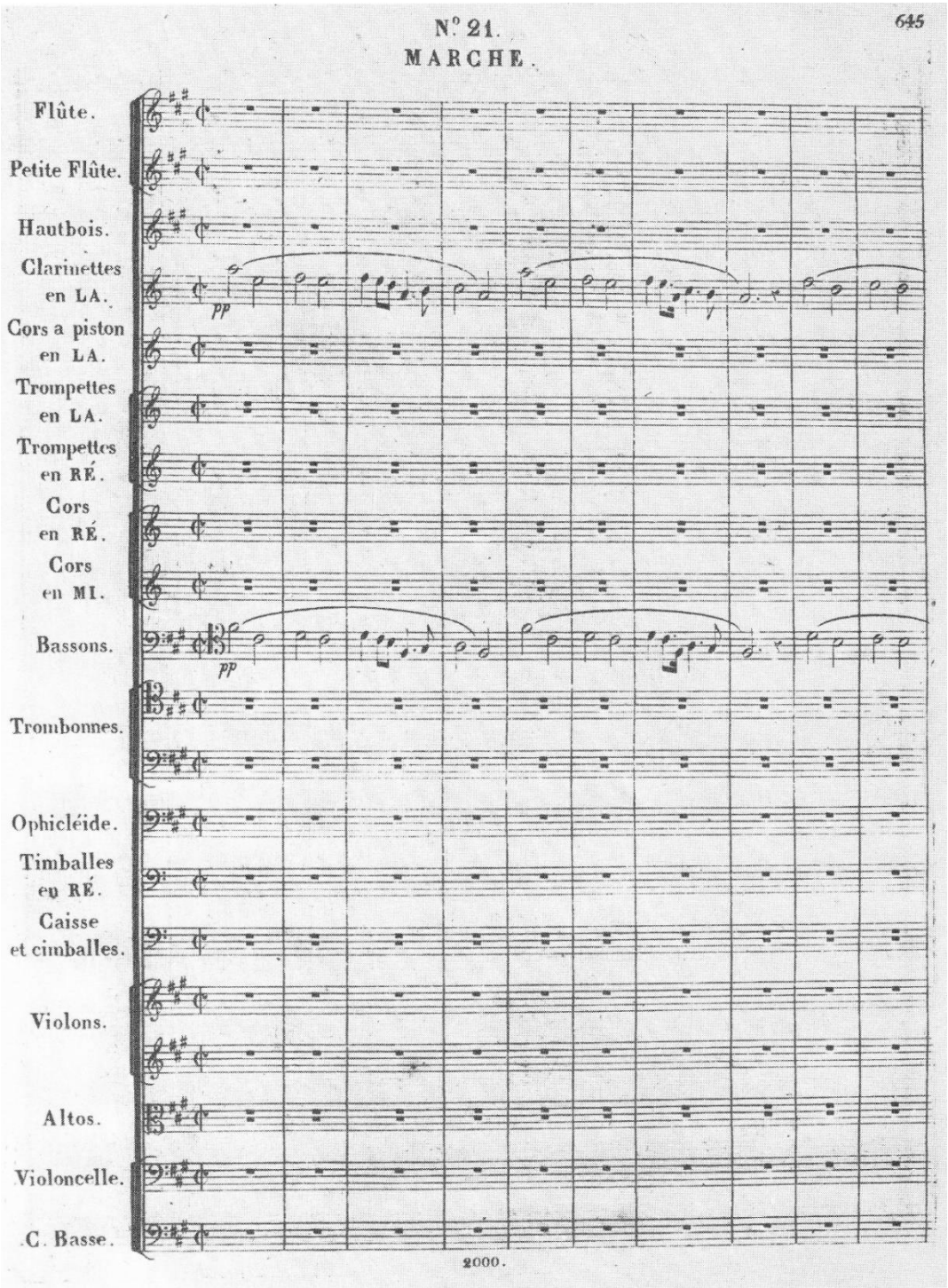
[23] Jacques François Halévy, *La Juive* (New York, NY: Garland, 1980), Act I Nº 5 Choer Des Buveurs.

There are two reasons to suspect that the cornet rather than valve trumpet was used in or immediately after the premier of *La Juive*. The first is a practical speculation. If the register and therefore security, or perhaps the quick tempo proved difficult, the phrase could have been played with greater facility on the higher pitch Bb flat cornet. This would place the Eb major scale runs in the cornet's second octave where they might be performed with greater security and facility. The second reason is far less speculative. Halévy's *La Juive* was also the first time that valve horns had been used at l'Opéra.[24] As with the trumpets, Halévy paired two valve horns with two natural horns. In contrast to the trumpets, the valve horns appear below the natural horns throughout the score. This is in keeping with Meifred's intention for the valve horn, to fill in missing notes due to the distribution of harmonics, but retain and match the range of colour and nuance afforded the natural horn with hand stopping. It is likely that these lower valved parts were played by Meifred, and Duvernoy or Norbert both of whom were also in the section at the time.[25] Importantly, in the second to last number of the opera, *Acte V Nº 21 Marche*, and for the first time, Halévy writes for two "cor à pistons en la" scored above the natural trumpet (see figure 9). This is directly in place of where the valve trumpet parts appear throughout the remainder of the entire score.

[24] Cecil Forsyth, *Orchestration* (London, UK: Macmillan, 1914), 125.

[25] D. Kern Holoman, "Personnel," University of California Press, accessed 18 February, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/; Planque, *Agenda musical pour 1837 ou indicateur des amateurs, artistes et commerçants en musique de Paris, de la province et de l'etranger* (Paris: Librairie Musicale De E. Duverger, 1837), 62.

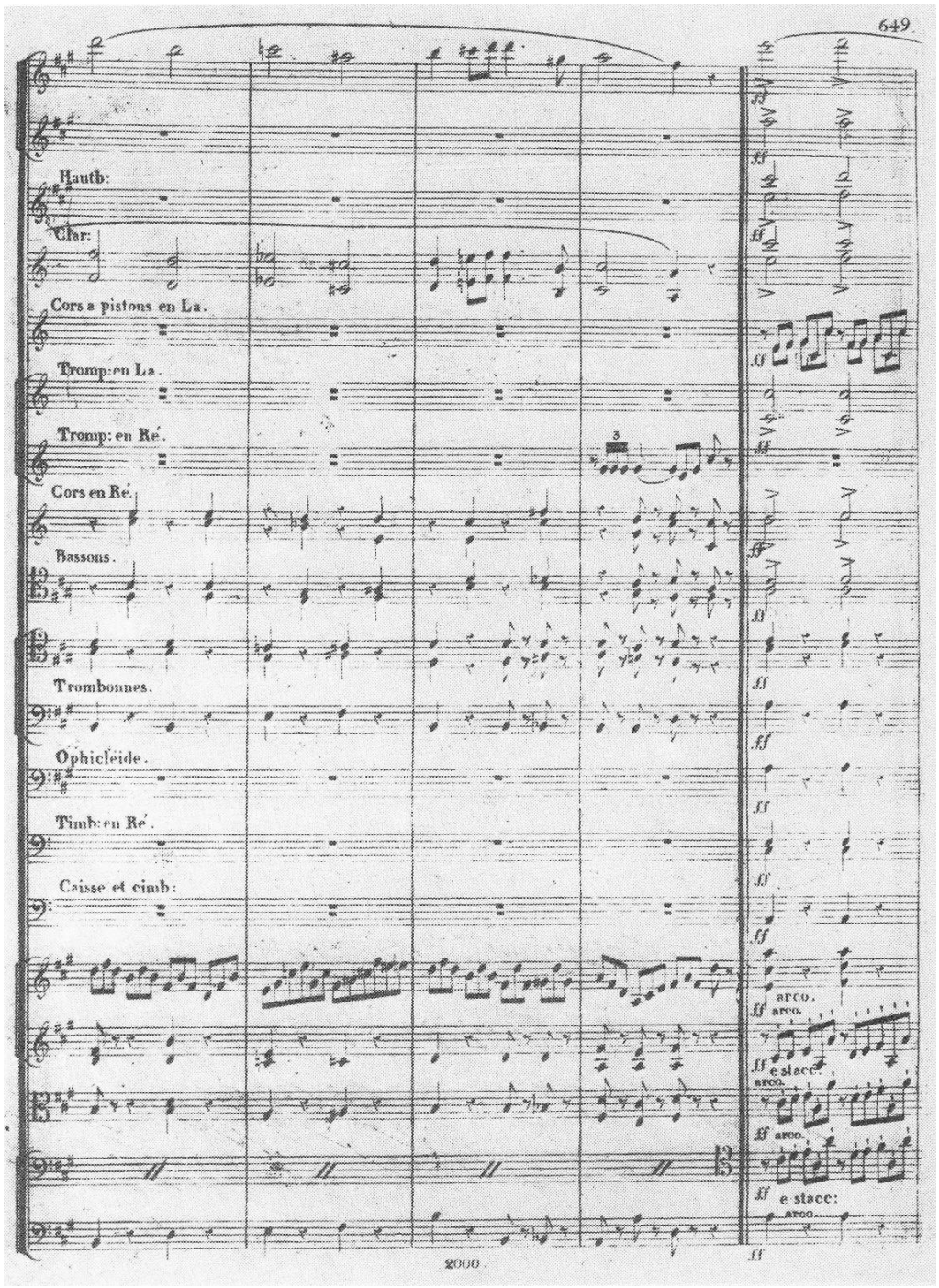
Figure 9. Halévy, *La Juive*, Acte V Nº 21 Marche.[26]



[26] Jacques François Halévy, *La Juive* (New York, NY: Garland, 1980), Act V Nº 21 Marche

Not only so, but the writing for the cor à pistons is distinct from the remainder of the horn parts. It is uniquely arpeggiated in concert with the string writing (see figure 10).

Figure 10. Halévy, *La Juive*, Acte V Nº 21 Marche – unique cornet writing.[27]



[27] Ibid., 649.

The four trumpet parts are occupied through this section of the score, but it requires only two natural horns. The location of these parts above the trumpets in the score, the tessitura in unison with the strings, and their unique and florid orchestration, strongly suggests that these parts were played on the cornet by the valve horn players. At the outset this is not a move to cornets in preference to valve trumpets at l'Opéra. In this opera, natural trumpets sat alongside valve trumpets, and in one brief section, the valve horn players took up cornets, or the petit cor à pistons, to play soprano brass material. The most likely explanation here is that the first-time inclusion of the valve horn was a result of lobbying from Meifred, and this included reference to the use of cornets by these players if such a sonority was deemed desirable.

To return to the question of facility in performing the valve trumpet parts, the presence and use of the cornet in this way leaves open the possibility that it was used similarly elsewhere. Less than successful performances of higher scalic or rapid valve material in the valve trumpet parts could have led to the use of cornets in their stead. The pair of valve horn players could have easily used cornets to cover the valve trumpet parts in Act I, with the pair of valve trumpet players filling in the otherwise missing notes in the horn parts.

Halévy's inclusion of the cornet to play such a small section of florid material in *La Juive* may have been a matter of indifference to the trumpet section at l'Opéra. Whether or not Boireaux, Kresser, and Schiltz, were more able or more willing than Dauverné to play valve trumpets, in *La Juive* the cornet and the valve trumpet appeared alongside each other at l'Opéra for the first time. The cornet played a role akin to that it played in the popular dance music field, one of soprano brass voice in the orchestral brass section. By the following year,

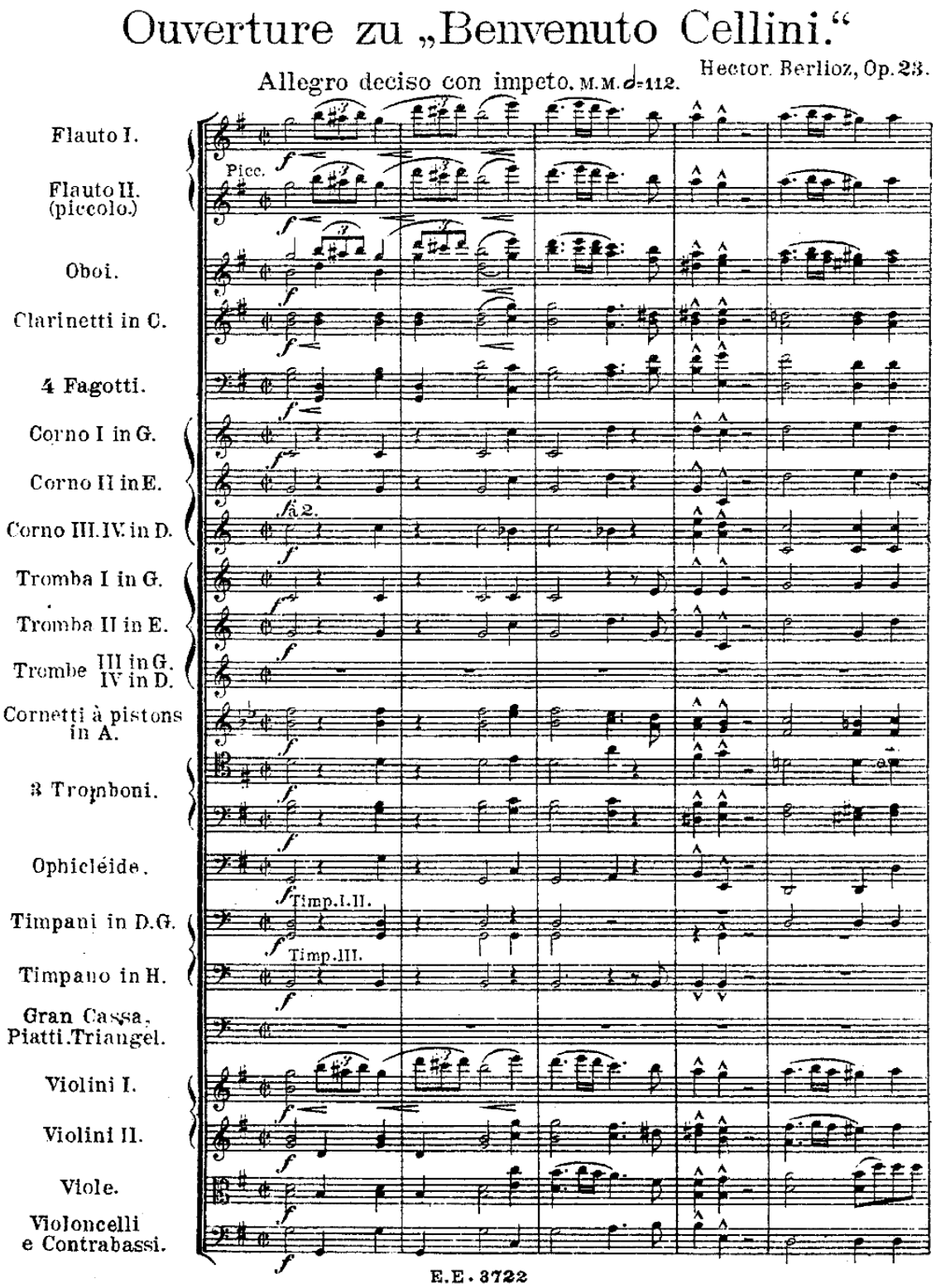
1836, the valve trumpet appeared no longer. Whether by virtue of the influence of the horn players and their ability on the cornet, or because of Dauverné's desire for the natural trumpet and his limited interest in the valve trumpet, the use of the cornet by Meifred's trained elite horn players added to the cluster of institutional factors that kept the valve trumpet out of the orchestra.

The absence of valve trumpets after *Benvenuto Cellini*

Berlioz's *Benvenuto Cellini* in preparation since at least 1836 premiered fully at l'Opéra in 1838.[28] The orchestral score follows the trumpet pairing model of Meyerbeer and Halévy, but in this case pairing two cornets with two natural trumpets. Extra natural trumpets are also added at times (see figure 11). Outside the foregoing references to *La Juive*, Berlioz was the first to write specifically for cornets as opposed to valve trumpets at l'Opéra. It would not be surprising if in the pursuit of new colours and variety in orchestration, Berlioz creatively opted to include cornets. However, it would be surprising if the fastidious orchestrator chose not to write for valve trumpets if the timbre were available. According to Berlioz's *Memoirs*, he was obliged to use cornets in his orchestrations through this period due to the scarcity of valve trumpets and the popularity of the cornet in Paris.[29] Most importantly then, in writing for cornet in *Benvenuto Cellini* Berlioz was not instituting a new practice, but following an already established one at l'Opéra.

[28] Hibberd, *French Grand Opera and the Historical Imagination*, 4; Berlioz, *Memoirs*, 204-205.
[29] Berlioz, *Memoirs,* 308.

Figure 11. Hector Berlioz, *Overture from Benvenuto Cellini* Op. 23.[30]



[30] Hector Berlioz, "Overture zu Benvenuto Cellini" Op. 23 (Leipzig: Ernst Eulenberg, 1899), 1.

What makes this more remarkable, and indicates that Berlioz was responding to orchestral practice at l'Opéra, was his willingness to write for valve trumpet in works prior to this. For example, Diana Bickley's research into Berlioz's revisions of his early works demonstrates that his first overture *Waverley*, written in 1827, originally required one valve trumpet and two natural trumpets. However, its revision in 1839 has the valve trumpet transposed up an octave in various sections.[31] The later change of register would have rendered it more playable on the higher pitched cornet. A similar scenario applies to his *Les Francs-Juges* first performed in 1828. The original version called for two natural trumpets pitched in C, but the 1836 revised version has a pair of natural trumpets in E and a valve trumpet in Eb.[32] A later annotation in Berlioz's original score has inserted "cornets" and crossed out "valved trumpet" on the valve part.[33] *Symphonie Fantastique* written in 1830 would likewise be revised, and the original scoring of one valve trumpet plus two natural trumpets, was later replaced by a pair of natural trumpets along with a pair of cornets; *Harold en Italie* written in 1834 was also later revised and orchestrated in the same way.[34]

Which is to say, following *Benvenuto Cellini*, Berlioz continued pairing two natural trumpets with two cornets. Both *Roméo et Juliette* in 1839 and *Le Carnaval Romain* in 1843 retain the practice. Other French composers retained the practice of pairing two natural trumpets with two cornets into the 1880s. For example: Charles Gounod *Faust* (1859); Ambroise Thomas *Mignon* (1866) and

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[31] Diana Bickley, "The Trumpet Shall Sound: Some reasons which suggest why Berlioz altered the part for Trompette à Pistons in his Overture Waverly," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 6 (1994): 61-83.
[32] Ibid., 76.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 61-83.

Hamlet (1868); Léo Delibes *Coppélia* (1870) and *Sylvia* (1876); César Franck *Les Béatitudes* (1879), *Le Chasseur Maudit* (1882), and *Symphony* (1888); Georges Bizet *L'Arlésienne* (1872); and Emmanuel Chabrier *España* (1883) and *Gwendoline* (1885). This does suggest that by 1838 orchestral trumpet sections in Paris had adopted the practice instituted at l'Opéra and la Société in which valve trumpets were omitted in favour of natural trumpets paired with cornets. It is also possible that this move was energised not only from within l'Opéra, but by practices outside it. Berlioz intimated that it was due to the cornet's popularity. If Berlioz's *Benvenuto Cellini* marked the cornet turn in the orchestras of Paris, it is very likely that the transition was fuelled more broadly by the debates, aesthetics, and practical choices, of a further array of players across Paris.

Players in Paris, a snapshot from *Agenda Musical* 1836-37

While the cornet began its life as a petit cor, Berlioz's orchestration points to the fact that between 1836 and 1838 the cornet made a definite transition to *de facto* valve trumpet at l'Opéra, la Société, and other theatre orchestras. The cornet enjoyed immense popularity in the hands of Dufrène with Musard, and then also Forrestier. Outside this, in theatres, dance orchestras, and the military, the cornet was used alongside, and increasingly instead of, the valve trumpet. Professional directories such as those collated in *Agenda Musical* offer insight into the degree to which the cornet had permeated music making across a range of cultural fields, and come to be used as the premier soprano brass voice, in the years immediately prior to the premier of *Benvenuto Cellini*.

Agenda Musical lists the practical choices of orchestral artists across the theatres and orchestras of Paris. At l'Opéra the trumpet section comprised Dauverné, Boireaux, Josef Kresser, and Schiltz.[35] Boireaux's instrument at l'Opéra is specified only as "trompette", but he is also listed as playing "trompettes et pistons" in the 4th Legion of the Music de la Garde Nationale.[36] Kresser's entry in the general directory identifies him as "trompette à l'Opéra et cor à pistons".[37] The cor à piston combination was possible, but it is more likely that cornet à piston is meant. Kresser's name appears in the 5th Legion of la Garde, identified as "trompette".[38] This reference suggests that Kresser played natural trumpet here. It falls directly under the specified piston, meaning cornet, players, Forestier and "son of Musard".[39] Kresser's name also appears in the 10th Legion as a trumpeter, this time alongside Sainsoillier as the piston player, although the grammar is not entirely clear and it might be intended to mark Kresser also as a piston player.[40] One or both entries in the 5th and 10th Legions may be correct. Either way, Kresser was a natural trumpet player and teacher at the Gymnase who also had experience playing with valves.[41] Schiltz is listed only as "trompette" at l'Opéra, and appears with the same classification in the 3rd Legion of la Garde.[42] While professionally identified as a natural trumpet player, Schiltz is later named as the composer of music for cornet à

[35] Planque, *Agenda musical pour 1837*, 62.
[36] Ibid., 84.
[37] Ibid., 182.
[38] Ibid., 84.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., 87.
[41] Ibid., 59.
[42] Ibid., 83.

piston in sheet music advertisements in *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*.[43] It appears that he too was familiar with cornet performance. Finally, Dauverné is only ever listed as a natural trumpeter in the directories. All four members of l'Opéra trumpet section played natural trumpet as their primary instrument, but were also conversant to vary degrees with piston instruments. This familiarity was mainly the result of their performing connections outside l'Opéra, at la Garde.

The practice of playing both natural trumpets and valve instruments, increasingly the cornet, was also reflected in other theatres in Paris. Reitter played trumpet at the Théâtre Royal de l'Opéra-Comique and valve trumpet in l'Garde; Rodel played both trumpet and cornet à pistons at the Athénée Musical; Steinbauer, is listed as a trumpet player in the Théâtre des Variétés, and l'Garde, but also as a teacher of cornet à pistons; and Baissière played both trompette et cor à pistons at Théâtre du Vaudeville.[44] It is not surprising that, having encountered valves and accumulated some proficiency on them in military service, these players seized the opportunity to perform on them in the theatre as well.

More broadly, the *Agenda Musical* directories suggest that trumpet players across Paris began to turn to the cornet through the late 1830s. Discounting the numerous cornet players listed as amateur musicians, of the 70 or so brass players in the *Agenda Musical* directory for 1837, five are clearly identified as playing cornet à piston alongside one or more of the varying forms of natural

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[43] "Cornet à Pistons," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 12 February, 1843, 58; "Cornet à Pistons," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 15 October, 1843, 358.
[44] Planque, *Agenda musical pour 1837*, 62-69.

and valve trumpet, and nine are registered as playing horn and cornet.[45] One powerful example of this is Dauverné's uncle David Buhl who no longer appears as a trumpeter at l'Opéra or the Theatre Italien, but is listed as a cornet à piston player in the 1837 directory.[46] Whereas the first generation cornetists were horn players, by 1837 it was also an accepted practice to play the trumpet and the cornet in combination.

The main drivers for these trends were practical and personal. The *Agenda Musical* directories show that most working brass musicians performed across both the military and orchestral fields. In the 1830s and 1840s these were still not wholly socially or professionally distinct. Most of these performers began to use valve technology as a result of their military service. Here experimentation with valves occurred earlier and, as Buhl's career shows, was embraced more readily than in the orchestra, particularly l'Opéra and la Société. The people who worked in and across these fields had the greatest opportunity to accrue the most cultural capital, and so influence practices. As the military and orchestral fields had a large overlap of personnel, key players who had the highest profile and exposure, and ability, had the potential to shape the field. Dauverné thus stands out: his influence in favour of the natural trumpet and against the valve trumpet, extended through his performances at l'Opéra, la Société, and l'Garde, and then also through his teaching at the Conservatoire. His colleague Kresser had opportunity to bring greater openness to the valve in

[45] Ibid., 178-185.
[46] Ibid.

addition to the natural trumpet by virtue of his performance at l'Opéra, and l'Garde, and through his teaching at the Gymnase Musical Militaire.

The careers of Dufrène and Forestier also fuelled the move of the cornet into the orchestral field. This was, in part, a matter of popular exposure of the cornet as a lead brass voice and solo instrument. It was more powerfully born of close personal associations and the influence of working in a variety of fields with orchestral musicians. For example, neither Dufrène nor Forestier appear in the orchestra register for l'Opéra during 1836 and 1837. However, both are identified as cornetists, listed as teachers of "Trompette, Cornet à Piston, etc" in *Agenda Musical* 1836, and appear within the *Concerts Musard* orchestral roster in 1837.[47] Like the bulk of their orchestral wind and brass colleagues, Dufrène and Forestier also appear as band musicians, here in 1837 in the 3rd Legion and 5th Legion of la Garde respectively.[48] Dufrène's military service had strong orchestral connections: Habeneck, still conductor at la Société, was captain of the 3rd legion where Meifred was his chief and Dufrène their second lieutenant.[49] Forestier, from a large family of military and orchestral musicians, was professor of cornet at the Gymnase Musical Militaire working alongside Kresser.[50] He also performed on cornet with Kresser and Schiltz in the 5th Legion of la Garde.[51]

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[47] Planque, *Agenda musical pour 1837 ou indicateur des amateurs, artistes et commerçants en musique de paris, de la province et de l'etranger* (Paris: Librairie Musicale De E. Duverger, 1836), 68; Planque, *Agenda musical pour 1837*, 80.
[48] Planque, *Agenda musical pour 1837*, 83-84.
[49] Ibid., 76, 83.
[50] Ibid., 60, 84.
[51] Ibid.

Given these connections and backgrounds, it is possible to speculate as to how the trumpet and cornet parts for *Benvenuto Cellini* may have been allocated in 1838: Dauverné and Boireaux covered the natural trumpet parts, while Kresser, and Schiltz, performed the cornet à piston parts. Equally, given the closeness of their association with the orchestral field, Dufrène and Forestier, may have originally been employed casually to cover the cornet parts.

Aside from Dauverné's distaste for the valve trumpet, there was not necessarily a single agent or cause in favour of substituting the cornet for the valve trumpet in the orchestra. In practice the high overlap of personnel, the transfer of relevant skills, and the prominent role of the cornet outside the orchestra all formed a structural framework that contributed to its adoption within the orchestra. Musically, the positioning of the cornet above the lower pitched valve and natural trumpet in both the military and the dance orchestra also began to impact on how the cornet was used in the orchestra. The cornet's higher tessitura and chromatic capacity saw that it naturally occupied a more prominent melodic and leadership role above the trumpet. Materially, valve practices in the military and the dance orchestra were carried from these fields into the orchestral field. This occurred primarily through the agency of influential players.

Returning to Berlioz's *Treatise* of 1842 and his correspondence of 1843, his rhetoric indicates that there were a further range of 'players' in Paris who also affected the adoption of the cornet over the valve trumpet. These revolved in considerable measure around the manufactures of Adolphe Sax. They included composers such as Meyerbeer, and military personnel such as Jean-Georges Kastner, who with Berlioz frequently served on review panels of Sax's

instruments. The debates prompted by the entrepreneurial efforts of Sax point to agendas and choices that might also have impacted on the use of the cornet over the valve trumpet in Paris.

Berlioz's correspondence from Germany 1843

While travelling and conducting his work through Germany, Berlioz reflected on what he regarded to be the stark differences between German and French trumpet players. "The Germans are greatly superior to us in their brass in general" he lamented, "and their trumpets in particular. We have no idea of these".[52] He expresses delight that German musicians had already embraced the rotary valve trumpet.[53] In then pointing to the absence of chromatic trumpets in France, Berlioz brings to the fore his belief that the natural trumpet was outmoded, as were the attitudes and aesthetics that maintained it in the French orchestra.[54]

Berlioz was corresponding with Louise Bertin, daughter of Louis-François Bertin the influential founder of the political weekly *Journal des Débats* for whom he had worked as music critic since 1834.[55] Berlioz's views were entirely consistent with those on the trumpet and cornet he published in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* in January 1842.[56] The candour here not only reflects the depth of Berlioz's personal acquaintance with the Bertin family, but the certainty in his opinion. Berlioz was deeply grateful to Louis-François Bertin for his willingness to offer him the "much coveted throne of criticism" at *Journal des*

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[52] Berlioz, *Memoirs*, 310.
[53] Ibid., 307.
[54] Ibid., 308.
[55] Ibid., 216.
[56] Berlioz, "de l'instrumentation," 25-26.

Débats.[57] Over many years, he enjoyed support from the family, and their bourgeois political and social connections, particularly in his differences with Cherubini and Habeneck.[58] While Berlioz's comments were thus familiar if not also familial, they were also opportunistic and strategic. Underpinning the strategic element of the correspondence is the fact that Berlioz's first trip to Germany through 1842-43 was also a fact-finding mission for the government of Louis Philippe.[59]

Setting aside for a moment Berlioz's reflections on the playing standard of France's trumpeters, his letters to Bertin highlight the marginalisation of the valve trumpet in Paris. They confirm what his orchestrations through the later 1830s and early 1840s reveal, and what his *Treatise* articulates: that between 1836 and 1843 the cornet had become the valve trumpet substitute in Paris. Berlioz's generalisation as to the superiority of the Germans when it came to valve trumpets suggests that this was the result of more than the cornet's popularity.[60] It suggests that Berlioz had in mind conservative trumpeters like Dauverné, and Berlioz's own detractors such as Cherubini and colleagues at the Conservatoire, and Habeneck and factions at l'Opéra and la Société.

Berlioz was deeply aware of the historical arguments against the valve trumpet on the basis of its perceived inferior timbre. He was only three years younger than Dauverné and a student at the Conservatoire when the original debates concerning valve trumpets over natural trumpets unfolded after 1826.[61] Berlioz

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[57] Berlioz, *Memoirs*, 216.
[58] Ibid., 218-227.
[59] Peter Bloom, "la Mission de Berlioz en Allemagne: un document inedit," *Revue de Musicologie* 66, no. 1 (1980): 70-71.
[60] Berlioz, *Memoirs*, 310.
[61] Ibid., 33.

was also aware that the dominant arguments around 1843 were identical to those of almost two decades earlier when Dauverné and Buhl first tried valve trumpets. Berlioz also knew that the rejection of the valve trumpet had facilitated the adoption of the cornet in the orchestra. In 1843 Berlioz notes that his position within these debates had changed over time. For example, he regarded the presence of valve horns in the opera orchestra at Berlin a positive development.[62] Yet, he recognised that this was "to the great regret of Meyerbeer, who still retains the same opinion of the new mechanism which I held myself till quite lately".[63] That is, in contrast to himself, Meyerbeer still preferred the natural horn over the valve horn on the basis of the superior timbre of the former.

Berlioz believed that the same prejudice against the valve trumpet had even less basis in fact. Opposition to the valve trumpet, he argued, "has been confined to the argument that the tone of the trumpet loses much of its brilliance with the valve mechanism. This is not true, to my ear at least".[64] Berlioz continues to Louise Bertin that even if an ear more sensitive than his could detect a difference in timbre between the natural and valve trumpet, the latter ought to be preferred. Berlioz's frustration is evident in his plea:

> I trust that it will be admitted that the inconvenience resulting from this difference is not to be compared with the advantage of being able to go up and down a chromatic scale two octaves and a half in compass, without difficulty and without the slightest inequality of tone.[65]

[62] Ibid., 307.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

Importantly, there is no sense that Berlioz was compromising his purest aesthetic. It is true that he was a supporter of the valve instrument manufacturer Adolphe Sax. Berlioz also did what he could to encourage moves toward Sax being awarded a military contract for his instruments. However, this was in no way a compromise of his values. Berlioz genuinely believed that Sax was able to provide a mechanical solution to French orchestral instrumentalists. As a result, Berlioz openly and unequivocally advocated for the acceptance of Sax's instruments in the military and the orchestra in his *Treatise*; "Adolphe Sax" he argued, "is now making little octave trumpets and tenth trumpets (in C and high Eb) of excellent sonority. They should be adopted in all orchestras and military bands".[66] To Bertin he was more expansive:

> At any rate there is no lack of instruments. Adolphe Sax now makes cylinder trumpets in all sizes and in all possible keys, usual and unusual, the perfection [finished workmanship, chromaticism, and timbral quality] and sonority of which are undeniable.[67]

Berlioz was contending that the reluctance to adopt valve trumpets amongst the French orchestral elite at l'Opéra and la Société not only had no aural basis, it had no material basis. It was the result of a backward-looking aesthetic, at least an aesthetic characteristic of the ancien régime, that had already been greatly surpassed by the German orchestras. The arguments that the valve trumpet was timbrally inferior to the natural trumpet or mechanically unworkable were for him no longer true. Adding fervour to his frustration, Berlioz knew that Buhl, Forestier, Kresser and Schiltz, were all performing on cornet à pistons, and for Kresser also chromatic trumpet; he knew that these players and their military

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[66] Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 187.
[67] Berlioz, *Memoirs*, 308.

colleagues had embraced changes to valve instruments in the military field and were using them in community concerts.[68]

Berlioz's opinion was underpinned by his meticulous study of both the cornet and the trumpet for his *Treatise*. On his return to Paris in 1843 Berlioz wrote to Sax seeking further advice on these instruments. While he had already published excerpts of the *Treatise* in the press, the material on valve trumpets and cornets went through a number of early revisions.[69] On this occasion Berlioz requested Sax to bring the highly adept 18-year-old cornet player Jean-Baptist Arban to demonstrate his instruments. He confided that:

> I went to your house recently to ask you to bring Arban to me one of these days with a cornet in B flat and your little trumpet or sax-horn (soprano) in B flat. I want to study the extreme notes of their compass and show you both a table I have just drawn up, a comparative table on the compass of the four instruments, based on the overtones of the tube we were discussing this morning. There must be no uncertainty as to the manner of writing for your little trumpet.[70]

However, the desire for accuracy was not purely to ensure academic and material rigour on assessments of the cornet and the trumpet. Berlioz's insistence that there should be no misunderstanding of how to write for Sax's little trumpet points to a deeper motivation. Berlioz and Sax knew each other well and had already met to discuss the matter. Berlioz's concerns were strategic. If both men were to be successful in ushering in the valve trumpet and removing the natural instrument from the orchestra, every material impediment

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[68] "Les amateurs de musique militaire, et ils sont nombreux, ont remarque et applaudi dans ce concert une fantaisie pour piano à quatre mains, deux cornets à piston et une trompette chromatique, par Buhl, Urbani, Hantain, Forestier et de Lisle" - "Matinées et Soirées Musicales," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 2 April, 1843, 119.

[69] Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 185-208.

[70] Humphrey Searle, *Hector Berlioz: A Selection from His Letters* (New York, NY: Vienna House, 1973), 86.

to that process had to be removed. It was this underlying motivation that lie behind the many revisions of the treatise material on the trumpet and cornet.

Berlioz believed that Sax's instrument had the mechanism, and an evenness of timbre and intonation comparable to that of the German rotary valve trumpet. For it to be widely accepted in Paris, the writing for it had to be accurate so as to allow it to be heard to best effect. It also had to inform performers to enable them to perform on it to its potential. Here Arban's demonstrations were vital for Berlioz. Berlioz's commentary in his *Treatise* not only reflects the correspondence with Bertin, but the specific and strategic correspondence and meetings with Sax. All of which strongly suggests that in 1843 Berlioz and Sax had joined forces to prosecute a counter philosophical and material argument to that of Dauverné and the horn school who had so far dominated the orchestral field. That counter argument was that it was now time to introduce the valve trumpet to the orchestras of Paris.

In keeping with the latter goal, Berlioz participated on juries, along with Meyerbeer and Kastner, for Sax's new instruments. Working this closely with such influential composers and administrators, Berlioz had greater opportunity to structure and frame the debates around the acceptance of the new instruments in terms helpful to Sax. The tensions that attended the process of developing and adopting new instruments were not lost on the enthusiastic publishing sector. In December 1843 for example, Henri Blanchard of the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, noted a "continual dissent" that accompanied demonstrations of Sax's new instruments.[71] To be fair, Blanchard

[71] Henri Blanchard, "les Instruments de M. Sax," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 31 December, 1843, 440.

was searching for a point of agreement between composers, manufacturers, and performers, in the process of development.[72] In what looks to be an attempt to ameliorate the ongoing presence of such tensions, Blanchard argues that they ought not indicate failure, but a shared commitment to the "perfection" of the instruments and the satisfaction that each party seeks.[73] The author goes on to recognise that Sax had his enemies in Paris, implying that these were mainly other manufacturers.[74] However, he notes, this did not take away from the excellent quality of Sax's manufactures nor the beauty with which they were demonstrated by Sax and Arban.[75] To Blanchard's mind, on this occasion the instruments and the artists were afforded "glowing endorsement" by the "elite audience".[76] This he argued "must clear the eyes of Sax, and indeed any impartial judge", of any "dark denials" to the contrary.[77]

Berlioz's strategic support of Sax also extended to programming. A concert early in 1844 featured a sextet by Berlioz which included parts for: Petite trompette dixième à cylindres, en mi bémol aigu; Petit Bugle, en mi bémol; Grand Bugle à cylindres, en si bémol.[78] The brass players on this occasion are reported as Dauverné's younger brother who played both trumpet and cornet,

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[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] "Qui lui ont acquis deja tant d'ennemis Meyerbeer, Spontini, Berlioz, Kastner, le general Rumigny et plusieurs compositeurs et journalistes distingués ont ecouté avec un vif interêt… La trompette à cylindres, le bugle à cylindres, dont M. Arban à fait valoir la brillante sonorite, veritable creation de genie, ont été entendus avec admiration par cet auditoire d'elite. Il n'est plus permis qu'a la malveillance de metre en question les qualities d tous ces instruments, soit nouveaux, soit seulement perfectionnes. L'eclatante approbation qu'A Sax vient d'obtenir dans cette séance doit effacer à ses yeux, comme aux yeux de tout juge impartial, les denegations obscures de l'animosite et de l'envie". Ibid., 445.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] "Petite Chronique," *Le Ménestrel*, 28 January, 1844, 3.

the young maverick cornetist Arban, and the older first generation cornetist Dufrène.[79] The ongoing popularity and success of cornetists such as these three was both a blessing and a curse for Sax. It was good for sales in the military, dance orchestras, and in a growing body of community musicians.

At the same time, the mass exposure and popularity of the cornet across the military, dance orchestra, and emerging community music, fields, may have tended to undermine efforts to have the valve trumpet take its place in the orchestra. If Berlioz was intent on introducing the valve trumpet to the orchestras of Paris through Sax, the cornet had to be removed from the orchestra along with the natural trumpet. This strategic goal underpinned Berlioz's anti-cornet polemic in the *Treatise*.

Berlioz and the cornet in Paris

The foregoing discussion casts the criticism of the cornet in Berlioz's *Treatise* with which this chapter opened, in a very different light. The valve trumpet had been rejected from the elite orchestras on the basis of its inferior timbre and mechanism. The cornet was in current use, but was to Berlioz deficient in providing the nobility and splendour of the instrument it was meant to replace. Berlioz's opinion in his *Treatise* in 1843, was that the cornet was a poor alternative for the role it was occupying when better choices were available. Firstly, Berlioz perceived that there had been very little progress in the valve trumpet debate since 1826, especially amongst Paris's influential orchestral natural trumpet and natural horn advocates. Secondly, he had heard first-hand in Germany, expertly played valve trumpets that to his ear in no way diminished

[79] Ibid.

the nobility and splendour of the trumpet. Thirdly, Berlioz was personally acquainted with Adolphe Sax who, in his opinion, had already manufactured comparable instruments in Paris. Importantly, Berlioz had also heard these instruments beautifully and ably demonstrated up-close by Arban. Fourthly, his appraisal of the cornet was within the structural frame developed in practice by the players in Paris. That is, within terms of the fact that it occupied the role of de facto valve trumpet, as well as its role in widely popular dance orchestras. Fifthly, Berlioz thought this to be a poor choice because the cornet, by definition, lacked the very qualities it was being employed to demonstrate, the nobility and splendour of the trumpet.

Berlioz's distaste for the cornet then was not borne of its inherent characteristics exclusively. Thus his treatment of it in his *Treatise* evinces Berlioz's integrity because he recognised the cornet's expressive potential and its potentially endearing, if judiciously used, qualities. Most importantly, it was also largely a rhetorical device designed to usher the valve trumpet into use in the orchestras of Paris. There is little doubt that during the time he spent preparing *Benvenuto Cellini* for l'Opéra, Berlioz became deeply aware of the extent to which the cornet was already deeply rooted in the orchestral practice of elite Parisian trumpeters. For him, if the valve trumpet were to enter the orchestra as he thought it rightly should, the cornet à piston had to be removed. It was this that underpinned his treatment of the cornet in the first edition of the *Treatise*.

Berlioz did not appeal to the obvious aural and practical arguments that would recommend the trumpet over the cornet on the basis of the surety of its sound and the facility of its mechanism. In a rhetorical flourish Berlioz expressed the view that the French had no conception of such things. By which he meant that

the orchestral elite were either ignorant of developments outside France, indifferent to them, or wilfully adhering to a pre-revolutionary aesthetic that was now irrelevant. Rather, while Berlioz powerfully made a point of highlighting the timbral deficiencies of the cornet, this was couched in terms of the socio-political status of the instrument. In seeking to dislodge it from the orchestra, Berlioz argued it was too low-brow as to be appropriate to replace the trumpet in the elite orchestral field.

Berlioz was right. In 1843 the debate concerning the adoption of the valve trumpet in the orchestras of Paris had made very little progress since the introduction of those instruments to Paris around 1826. A measure of the capital and conservative influence of Dauverné and the horn lobby lies in the fact that trumpeters in the orchestras of Paris maintained a practice which included and prioritised the natural trumpet. On the other hand, the likes of Kresser, of Dufrène and Forestier in the concerts à la Musard, and the numerous military and theatre players across multiple cultural fields, saw the continued use of valve trumpets and especially the cornet. The period from 1826 to 1843 was thus, ultimately, one marked by the dual and parallel hegemony of those that championed the natural trumpet and those that embraced the cornet. Composers and performers worked within these realities. While orchestrations at l'Opéra in the late 1820s and early 1830s called for valve trumpets, this quickly transmuted into a practice of pairing natural trumpets with cornets in the orchestras of Paris. Berlioz is the exemplar composer-orchestrator in this regard.

In this milieu, the 43-year-old Dauverné stood for the purity of the natural trumpet and its nobility and splendour. But his aesthetic and experiential

orientation was one that was located in and referred to the past. The youthful Arban, by virtue of his embrace of the cornet à piston and his alliance with the entrepreneurial Sax, represented a possible future. It was a future that Berlioz had personally experienced while on tour in Germany, in which the valve trumpet would replace the natural trumpet. In this regard in 1843, Berlioz stared resolutely but also pragmatically into the complex Janus face of the French trumpet tradition.

Chapter 4

Dauverné's decline and the Méthode 1857 in context

> The original principle of the Trumpet must never be blotted out by the modern inventions of pistons and cylinders.
>
> François Auguste Dauverné (1857).[1]

Introduction

Chapter two and three revealed that as a principal player at l'Opéra and la Société Dauverné preferred to play natural trumpet whenever possible. This sustained the use of the natural trumpet over the valve trumpet in these elite orchestras. His aesthetic and practice also had an influential outlet through teaching at the Conservatoire. The decade after 1843 saw Dauverné's roles as a trumpeter come into question. As a result, his status and influence within the cultural field began to diminish significantly. The first part of this chapter traces the moves to oust Dauverné from la Société in 1843 through to his forced departure from that orchestra in 1851-52. In the intervening period Dauverné also resigned from the military in 1848, and retired his position at l'Opéra in 1851. The importance of these developments is twofold. Firstly, the departure of one of Paris' leading custodians of the natural trumpet allowed for new influences and assessments regarding the utility of the valve trumpet in the orchestra. Secondly, Dauverné's departure prior to his older orchestral colleagues is at first sight premature. This brings into question both his ability as a player and his cultural capital, or his agency as a musician. These give rise to the possibility that Dauverné's distaste for the valve trumpet was due to

[1] François Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3, no. 1 (1991): 219.

personal rather than purely aesthetic factors. This chapter reveals that Dauverné's aesthetic was shaped materially and primarily by his technical deficiencies as a trumpeter. These impeded his ability to master the required finger mechanism for valves, to perform in the upper register of the instrument, and to clearly articulate rapid passages.

The second half of the chapter is an analysis of Dauverné's *Méthode* that reveals its primary purpose: a defence of the natural trumpet premised on its natural timbral purity and historical continuity and elite status. As the natural trumpet began to fall into disuse in the decade after 1843, the *Méthode* is a lament for what Dauverné saw as a rapidly disappearing past. Dauverné's removal from public performing life gave the *Méthode* a visceral underpinning. That is, Dauverné's need to maintain continuity and status at the Conservatoire after 1852 provided material motivation for him to publish in 1857.

Factions ousting Dauverné, from Kresser to Dubois

At some stage in 1843 there appears to have been a move to oust Dauverné from the principal trumpet position at la Société. This coup saw Joseph Gebhardt Kresser, Dauverné's colleague from the opera, installed as the new principal trumpet. Kresser was admitted as an aspirant to la Société on the 17th of December 1843 and confirmed as a member on the 17th of November 1844 "on condition that he play first trumpet".[2] The origin of this annotation in Kresser's record is unclear. Dauverné had been elected to the committee of la

[2] D. Kern Holoman, "Sociétaires by Alphabetical Order: K," University of California Press, accessed 19 November, 2012. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/default.html.

Société as treasurer on the 30th of October 1843.[3] Given his presence at the committee table, it is possible that Dauverné requested the annotation in Kresser's records, as a way of officially registering that it was la Société's decision and not his own. Alternatively, if Kresser agreed to join only on condition that he play above Dauverné, he may have requested the written confirmation of his agreement. Finally, the orchestra's committee may have appended the record because it believed the agreement was important enough, or perhaps contentious enough, to include clarification for both Dauverné's supporters and detractors in the minutes. Either way, the annotation suggests there was an anti-Dauverné faction in la Société. It is possible, given the high degree of overlap in personnel that such a faction existed at l'Opéra as well. Kresser's appointment signalled not only that Dauverné's career had come into question but also in the preceding years had been on the wane. Dauverné stayed on at la Société as treasurer, and playing second trumpet until Kresser's passing from cholera at the end of 1849.[4]

Kresser's appointment revealed that his career was developing and expanding. This musician also brought more prominently into view a positive experience of and attitude to valve instruments. Kresser belonged to the natural trumpet tradition in Paris and had worked alongside Dauverné at l'Opéra since at least 1836. He was founding professor of trumpet at the Gymnase, and his *Méthode Complète pour la Trompette d'Harmonie, Suivie d'une Notice sur le Cornet*

[3] D. Kern Holoman, "17th Année 1844," University of California Press, accessed 19 November, 2012. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

[4] D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 192-193.

(1836) for training military players was published during his first year.[5] Kresser's method concludes with a section dedicated to hand-stopping techniques as applied to the natural petit cornet, an instrument distinct from the cornet à piston.[6] Like Dauverné, and Dufrène, and horn colleagues at l'Opéra, Kresser was familiar with hand-stopping as a means of achieving non-natural pitches.[7] His *Méthode* ascends to the 13th partial more frequently than does Dauverné's *Méthode*, and contains material up to the 18th partial.[8] This, and the fact that he also played the high pitched petit cornet, suggests that Kresser was a player more comfortable in the upper register of the instrument.

While there are few reports of Dauverné performing publicly on valve instruments, Kresser's career in the 1840s demonstrated an open mind to the use of valve instruments. In 1844 he published music for a quartet of cornet à pistons.[9] Then in 1845 Kresser appeared as a principal performer, with Arban, demonstrating cylinder trumpets and saxhorns in Sax's regular demonstration concerts.[10] La Société's appointment of Kresser was of an individual who belonged to the orchestral natural trumpet tradition but who also embraced and demonstrated capacity on valve trumpets and valve cornets. The position, along with his work at l'Opéra, and teaching at the Gymnase, afforded Kresser both the cultural capital and the opportunity to pass on his natural trumpet background and skills along with his valve trumpet expertise and experience, to

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[5] Bibliothèque municipale, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de la ville de Bordeaux. musique.* (Bordeaux: Durand, 1856), 21.
[6] Friedrich Anzenberger, "Method Books for Trumpet and Cornet Using Stopped Notes in the 19th Century," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 7 (1995): 7-8.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] "Nouvelles Publications," *Le Ménestrel*, 25 November, 1844, 2.
[10] "Nouvelles," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 2 March, 1845, 70.

colleagues and students. Had Kresser a longer tenure, his valve trumpet experience and willingness to work with Sax and Arban, may have facilitated the entrance of the piston trumpet into la Société and possibly l'Opéra much earlier.

Had Kresser not died in June 1849, Dauverné would have ceased playing with la Société at the end of that year.[11] Dauverné's file record at la Société contains the annotation "Sursis" dated the 26th of October 1848.[12] This mark indicated a one-year extension of the expectation to take mandatory retirement. Subsequent to Kresser's appointment there was obviously an understanding that Dauverné would retire from la Société at the end of 1848. There had been arguments at orchestral meetings about the age for mandatory retirement since it was first mooted in the early 1840s.[13] Habeneck favoured 55, but in May 1843 members were asked to vote on a proposal that would see wind instrumentalists retire at 50.[14] When la Société moved to have Dauverné replaced by Kresser, Dauverné was only 43. Then in 1848 he was still two years shy of the yet to be agreed retirement age of 50. Dauverné's sursis followed the appointment of Narcisse Girard as conductor on the 18th of October 1848. The proximity of the dates may have been a matter of coincidental administration processes. However, the orchestra committee through 1847-48 were already formulating a succession plan for the aging and ailing Habeneck.[15] The decision to also retire Dauverné was more likely in

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[11] "Kresser," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 24 June, 1849.
[12] D. Kern Holoman, "Sociétaires by Alphabetical Order: D," University of California Press, accessed 19 November, 2012. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.
[13] D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 180-181.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 184-187.

keeping with the need to strengthen the orchestra and thus ensure its continuance. This meant completing unfinished business from 1843. More pointedly, Kresser and/or those whom had worked to have him replace Dauverné, now sought to capitalise on the change of conductor to have the trumpeter removed entirely.

With Kresser's death only eight months after the decision to retire Dauverné, the extent to which he and la Société had already identified a replacement for Dauverné on second trumpet is unknown. Kresser's replacement at la Société was Jean Jacques Edmond Dubois.[16] Dubois was a former student of Dauverné, and at the age of twenty-four had won first prize at the Conservatoire above Arban and Jules Cerclier in 1844.[17] It is possible that Kresser originally had the recent graduate in mind to take Dauverné's place. The report of his appointment in *Le Ménestrel* in January 1850 notes that Dubois "an excellent trumpet at l'Opéra, took the place of Kresser".[18] While the report could be construed to suggest that Dubois played first trumpet, la Société records place Dubois below Dauverné in the official player manifest.[19] This arrangement reflected the hierarchy of their working relationship at l'Opéra since the 1st of October 1849. Dubois was formally recorded as an aspirant at the end of the following year, and as was customary confirmed as second trumpet the year after on the 9th of December 1851.[20] Meanwhile Kresser's death and Dubois' appointment delayed Dauverné's retirement.

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[16] "1º Concert du Conservatoire," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 January, 1850, np.
[17] Holoman, "Sociétaires by Alphabetical Order: D."
[18] "1º Concert du Conservatoire," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 January, 1850, np.
[19] Holoman, "Sociétaires by Alphabetical Order: D."
[20] D. Kern Holoman, "25th Année 1852," University of California Press, accessed 19 November, 2012. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

At some point shortly after the confirmation of Dubois as second trumpet at the end of 1851, Gabriel Leplus, Habeneck's son-in-law, was commissioned by the committee of la Société to visit Dauverné to advise him of the need to retire in order to "rejuvenate the trumpet section".[21] Leplus had won the premier prix on flute in 1825 and joined la Société as second flute in March of 1835 at the age of twenty-eight. He was thus an experienced orchestra member privy to the efforts to remove Dauverné when Kresser was first appointed in 1843. During the 1851 and 1852 seasons Leplus served as commissaire du personnel, and it was in this role that he approached Dauverné. Dauverné did not take the news well. He had suffered the ignominy of being replaced by Kresser, then been temporarily restored to his former position five years later, and now Leplus called for his resignation. It had been some time coming. Dauverné, faced with its reality, wrote heatedly to cellist Jean Émile Desmarets and principal viola Louis Auguste Seuriot, arguing that Leplus was trying to accept a resignation that had not been tendered.[22] Both men occupied financial roles in la Société and would have worked closely with Dauverné as treasurer. It is possible Dauverné felt particularly aggrieved or betrayed by these members of the committee. There is no evidence that Dauverné wrote in like kind to other members of the committee in: President Daniel Auber, Conductor Narcisse Girard, lead violinist and associate conductor Théophile Tilmant, Eugène Sauzay, François Alphonse Hens, Garaudé, or Dauverné's colleague, respected Secretary and Principal Horn Joseph Meifred.[23] Whether or not

[21] Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 200-201.
[22] Ibid.
[23] D. Kern Holoman, "Personnel," University of California Press, accessed 18 February, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC.

Dauverné wrote to the orchestra's artistic leadership, the committee responded to his correspondence indicating their unanimous support of his resignation.[24]

Dauverné's support within the orchestra had finally dissipated and he does not appear in the records of la Société after 1852.[25] There is no record of him resigning. However, Meifred was able to placate the angry committee to ensure that the standard practice of granting ongoing honorary membership, complete with all its entitlements, was given to Dauverné.[26] Dauverné's long tenure and status as a founding member merited such recognition, and in this case it may have gone some way to placating the departing trumpeter.

The extent to which Leplus or Edmond Dubois were actively involved in a deliberate faction intent on removing Dauverné after Kresser's death remains unknown. It is too speculative to suggest that the subsequent appointment of Dubois' older brother Ferdinand as principal trumpet was evidence of a carefully planned conspiracy.[27] Ferdinand Dubois was admitted as an aspirant in 1856 and confirmed as principal trumpet the following November. This was more likely recognition of his experience and ability as the premier prix winner in 1841, his tenure at l'Opéra since 1850, and his wider experience performing with Concerts Musard and other theatre orchestras.[28] The appointment of the Dubois brothers signalled a generational change at la Société. It also suggests that there may have been a renewed openness to the use of valve trumpets, as

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[24] Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 200-201.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] D. Kern Holoman, "29th Année 1856," University of California Press, accessed 19 November, 2012. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.
[28] Holoman, "Sociétaires by Alphabetical Order: D."; "Nouvelles," *La France Musicale*, 25 July, 1841.

there had been under Kresser. For example, one of the Dubois brothers, probably Arban's classmate Edmond, had been part of Sax's 1844 demonstration band in London.[29] In the end the rejuvenation of the trumpet section that Leplus sought on behalf of the committee, had now been achieved.

While Dauverné and Habeneck were long time colleagues at l'Opéra and la Société, and probably as Berlioz suggests, collegial friends, Habeneck did not quash moves against Dauverné in 1843.[30] However, Habeneck may have been inclined to support Dauverné's retention in the second trumpet position in the following years. With Habeneck's departure in 1848 that personal support had gone. Habeneck's retirement might also have freed son-in-law Leplus to now act on the orchestra's behalf. Early in Girard's tenure the conductor and committee immediately sought to clarify and confirm that Dauverné would retire by 1849.

Generational change

Given the moves to replace Dauverné in 1843, it is difficult to suggest that his final removal from la Société was purely generational. Of Dauverné's founding brass playing colleagues: Dauprat, had retired in May 1839; Jean Auguste Blangy had moved from horn to viola in 1831; second trumpet Legros was dismissed in February 1833 after having not returned from a one year leave of absence (there is every possibility he lost his life as a member of l'Garde); Jules Adolphe Gédéon Barbier, Principal Trombone died in 1840 two years after being discharged, but reinstated a month later, by Habeneck because he was

[29] "Nouvelles," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 8 September, 1844.
[30] Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs* ed. and trans. Ernest Newman (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1960), 240-241.

considered “état inconvenable”; second trombonist René Michel Auguste Bénard and third trombone Devise both retired in January 1835; and, finally, Pavard had resigned the Ophicleide position in 1831.[31] On one hand Dauverné was one of the few founding brass players to remain in the orchestra, and perhaps newer players sought his removal. On the other hand, while his elders Mengal and Meifred would soon retire in 1854, Dauverné was still the youngest of the three remaining founding brass players. Also, six of the eleven committee’s members that sought Dauverné’s removal, were themselves founding members in their early 50s.

Whether protected by colleagues and elders or not, the decade-long process to remove Dauverné from la Société was not so much a question of his age, but more likely a question of his competence.

Dauverné’s ability

Dauverné’s ability as a performer was brought into question as early as 1832. In a letter from Felix Mendelssohn to his teacher, Mendelssohn complained that the trumpeters in la Société “are insecure in the high register and simplify their difficult passages”.[32] In 1843 Berlioz also argued that the German trumpeters were greatly superior to their French counterparts.[33] In particular he pointed to the superiority and security of German trumpeters in the high register in his *Treatise*. “Most German or English players would tackle a passage like this

[31] D. Kern Holoman, “Appendix 2: Personnel,” University of California Press, accessed 19 November, 2012. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.
[32] Rudolf Elvers, ed., *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Briefe* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984), 153. Cited in Tarr, “The Romantic Trumpet, Part 1,” 236.
[33] Berlioz, *Memoirs*, 310.

without hesitation" (see figure 12), he argued, "yet it would seem very risky in France where brass players in general have difficulty playing high".[34]

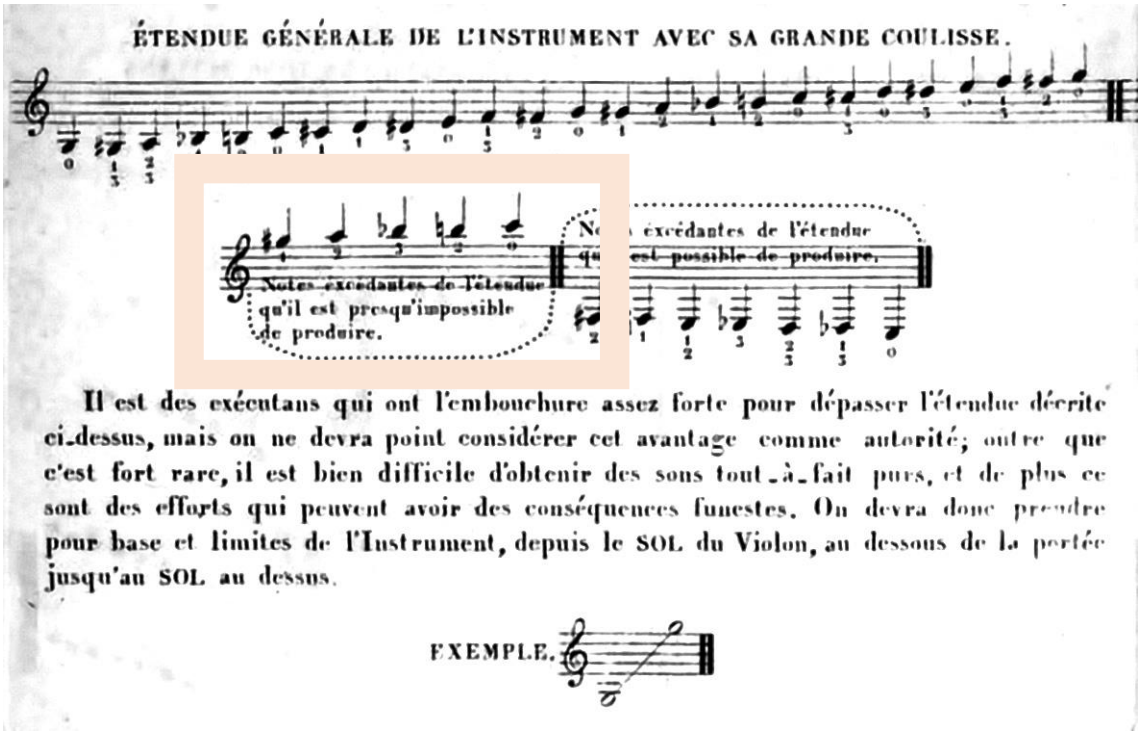
Figure 12. Berlioz on high register trumpets.[35]

While Berlioz's comments on high trumpet playing need not be construed as applying directly to Dauverné, it would appear the trumpeter had difficulty in the upper register. Dauverné's *Méthode* expresses the view that the ability to produce high notes was a rare advantage given by nature to but a few trumpeters.[36] He contends that notes beyond the 12th partial are only possible when the trumpet is crooked in the lowest keys, and that even then the higher partials are difficult to achieve and often uncertain.[37] Dauverné also recalls that in the past, artists engaged to play the high notes "barely obtained them, and when they did it was, with a mediocre tone quality, even though they were used to playing on a single instrument in that upper register".[38] Given the presence of similar material in his *Théorie ou Tablature*, where he also refers to the rare possibility of producing notes above the 12th partial (see figure 13), Dauverné was not skilled in the trumpet's high register.[39] More speculatively, given that Dauverné began his musical life on horn, it is possible that his embouchure was

[34] Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 185.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 218, 225.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] "Notes exceeding this range [of the 12th partial] are impossible to produce". François Dauverné, *Théorie ou Tablature de la Trompette à Pistons* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, ca. 1828), 9.

framed by a high mouthpiece placement. This would have made the higher register on the trumpet difficult to produce and maintain.

Figure 13. Dauverné's understanding of the trumpet's upper register.[40]



Dauverné's *Méthode* indicates that this artist may also have found rapid styles of articulation challenging. He taught tonguing with reference to the short traditional trumpeting patterns articulated by the Viennese Altenburg.[41] Dauverné recommends that students approach tonguing by imagining they are spitting a particle off the tip of the tongue, the tongue being placed in-between the lips as a kind of valve to release the air.[42] The practice of stopping and starting the airstream in this way would more often result in a stilted style of tonguing that was not conducive to articulating long or rapid passages. This is

[40] Ibid.
[41] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 241; Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art*, trans. Edward H Tarr (Nashville, TN: Brass Press, 1974).
[42] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 230.

also reflected in his earlier *Théorie ou Tablature* where Dauverné argues that such writing tended to overly fatigue the lips.[43] There can be little doubt that Dauverné found the demands of rapid tonguing difficult in performance.

Chapter two also revealed that on the limited occasions Dauverné did play valve trumpet he had a preference for two valves over three. His *Théorie ou Tablature* shows that he had difficulty mastering the fingering patterns required.[44] His regular recourse to the slide trumpet in subsequent years would have perpetuated a lack of familiarity with valves and done little for Dauverné's ability to develop the dexterity required. In addition, using a two-valve trumpet meant that the trumpeter needed to remain attentive to crook changes. In this vein, Berlioz's remark following a concert on the 1st of November 1840, that on the occasion Dauverné had not used the incorrect crooks and didn't make any mistakes, does suggest that this may have been at times a problem for the trumpeter.[45]

If Dauverné experienced challenges playing in the upper register, and if he also encountered difficulties articulating more rapid passages, this would have impacted on his earlier experiences of the Spontini valve trumpet. Equally, the added complication when playing on this early instrument was its cumbersome mechanism. Dauverné's preference for two-valve trumpets over those with three, might further indicate that Dauverné was not fully able to master the valve mechanisms, especially in more extended keys or in rapid passage work. With

[43] Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons*, 4.
[44] Ibid., 4-5.
[45] Berlioz, *Memoirs*, 240-241.

this in mind, Dauverné's initial perception and review of the Spontini valve trumpet discussed in chapter two appears in a very different light.

Dauverné recalls that he successfully used the Spontini valve trumpet in Chelard's *Macbeth* in 1827. Yet, his history does not discuss its use again until the premier of *Guillaume Tell* two years later. It is too much to suggest that a lacklustre performance by Dauverné directly contributed to the season of *Macbeth* being cut short for the introduction of Rossini's *Moses*.[46] However, a lack of experience on keyed or valved brass, and a less than successful performance on valve trumpet in 1827, might go some considerable way to explaining why the Gambatis were hired to cover keyed trumpet parts rather than using the resident trumpet section at l'Opéra in the 1828-29 seasons.

It does appear that Dauverné's later removal from la Société may have been more a matter of his technical ability. His resignation from l'Opéra in July 1851, similarly, might not have been of his own volition. The move to replace him with Kresser at la Société in 1843 would have had repercussions at l'Opéra where the two men continued to work alongside each other. In any case, the moves at la Société were most likely motivated by the desire to install a more reliable player, one more comfortable with the upper register and with the demands of articulation. They sought an artist who also demonstrated greater comfort with valve technology and more complex composer demands. It is too speculative to suggest that the moves against Dauverné were prompted by debates emanating from Berlioz's publication of his *Treatise* in the press. However, to the extent that Berlioz's views catalysed conversation and debate in Paris, such

[46] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 230.

discussions in turn may have fuelled those intent on removing Dauverné from la Société and possible l'Opéra as well.

The original ousting of Dauverné formed a pall over his performing career for a decade. His la Société colleagues would have been keenly aware of the moves. It is also unlikely that Dauverné's students through 1843-44, including especially Arban, Dubois, and Cerclier, and still less those in the early 1850s, were entirely unaware of the moves to replace him. By the end of 1852 Dauverné was no longer a performing presence in the elite orchestras of Paris. Whatever influence he was able to exert over players, composers, and administrators, in terms of the instruments they used in the orchestral brass section, was now limited to his teaching at the Conservatoire. Dauverné's marginalisation from the performing arena, this a man not known for his performances outside l'Opéra and la Société, must have challenged his status as the leading natural trumpeter in Paris. If this artist sensed that his capital in the cultural field was diminishing, one thing he could do was to shore up that capital at the Conservatoire. It is against this background that Dauverné published his 1857 *Méthode*.

Dauverné's *Méthode pour la Trompette* in context

The central questions framing the following revolve around Dauverné's motivation in publishing his *Méthode* at this time in his career and at this time in the musical life of Paris. The *Méthode* was announced in the press early in 1856, and by virtue of the correspondence cited within it was close to

completion by March that year.[47] Dauverné had invested considerable time and effort, at least between 1853 and 1855, compiling, researching, and writing, the *Méthode*. The report of his publication in *Le Ménestrel* contends that it was the result of some ten years work by Dauverné.[48] There can be little doubt that Dauverné's prose was both guided and framed by, while it also articulated, his perceptions and concerns during these years. The text of the *Méthode* reveals that Dauverné believed the existence of the natural trumpet was under threat in the 1850s. While this may have been in part a conflation of the instrument's fate with his own, the text is indicative of the declining status and presence of the natural trumpet in the elite orchestras of Paris. Dauverné's *Méthode* then, can be read as an almost defiant apologetic in defence of the natural trumpet, an instrument that had been superseded for some time in Germany and was now disappearing from musical life in Paris. It was almost defiant, because it was marked by the sense of ambivalence that had become characteristic of Dauverné's habitus. That ambivalence was underscored by an air of resignation borne of Dauverné's personal fate.

Personal perspective

In the 1850s Dauverné was no longer known as an expert performer. It was important for him to publish at this time in order to maintain if not regain a sense of status at the Conservatoire. The correspondence which serves to preface Dauverné's *Méthode*, does appear to be the customary or perfunctory ephemera in such publications. However, the ongoing endorsement of the

[47] Dauverné, *Méthode pour la trompette,* 3-6; "la musique et la légion d'honneur," *La France Musicale*, 23 August, 1868, 261.
[48] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 10 May, 1857, 4.

academy was a key motivation for Dauverné. Thus, he included letters: from Auber, who had succeeded Luigi Cherubini as director of the Conservatoire and overseen Dauverné's removal from la Société; from Camille Doucet in the Department of State; and, from du Comité des Études musicales du Conservatoire, all serve to establish Dauverné's pedigree from the outset.[49] The latter report also appeared in full in a cooperative article in *Le Ménestrel* in February 1858.[50] Here Dauverné is seen to appeal to the Conservatoire and the State as the final sources of his status and authority. The enthusiastic editors at *Le Ménestrel* aided and abetted his cause.

In the *Avant-Propos* to the *Méthode,* Dauverné locates himself within the tradition and authority of the Conservatoire in four ways. Firstly, he pays homage to the Conservatoire and its professors, and lauds Cherubini's initial establishment of trumpet and trombone classes, which "rescued the instruments from oblivion".[51] Secondly, Dauverné highlights the fact that his connection to the tradition and authority of the Conservatoire rests on his own election to professorship by examination in 1832, an act overseen by then Director Cherubini.[52] It was important for Dauverné to identify with the tradition of Cherubini. With Dauverné's declining authority outside the Conservatoire, this served to remind Auber and his colleagues of his status and longevity as the institution's trumpet professor.[53] Thirdly, Dauverné makes a claim to status based on being part of the company of professors. He claims to have published

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[49] The Musical Studies Committee comprised Auber, Carafa, F. Halevy, Ambroise Thomas, G. Vogt, L. Leborne, L. Massart, D. Alard, Gallay, and Prumier: François Dauverné, *Méthode pour la trompette* (Paris: International Music Diffusion, 1991), 5.
[50] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 28 February, 1858, 4.
[51] Dauverné, *Méthode pour la trompette*, 6-7.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.

the *Méthode* “in order to pay the required tribute by trying to be deserving of the honor which I have had of being placed among so many men known for their talent and their useful works”.[54] Many of these men were well known to Dauverné. He had performed and taught alongside them since the early 1820s. They too would have known intimately of the moves against Dauverné at la Société through the 1840s. The musical studies committee, for example, included the composers Carafa, Halévy, and Ambroise Thomas. Equally if not more importantly it included members of la Société whom also served as professors at the Conservatoire: oboist Gustave Vogt, like Dauverné a founding member of la Société and a professor at the Conservatoire since 1816; violinist Delphin Alard, a student of Habeneck whom commenced at la Société in 1834, and whom also taught at the Conservatoire since 1843; and the renowned horn soloist and teacher Jacques François Gallay whom replaced Dauprat at the Conservatoire in 1842, a position he retained until his passing in 1864.[55]

Dauverné tied his status and authority to his willingness and ability to now, like these learned gentlemen, make available a “useful work”.[56] Dauverné’s brief 1834 *Méthod*e notwithstanding, it is immediately obvious that he had not felt so compelled to undertake such a project in the previous two decades while still active as an orchestra player. There can be little doubt that Dauverné felt the need to produce a work of considerable substance at this time in order to sustain his authority. This is a major reason why, in comparison with his earlier and predominantly more practical method books, that the *Méthode* was so

[54] Ibid., 7.
[55] Ibid., 6-7; D. Kern Holoman, “Personnel,” University of California Press, accessed 18 February, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC.
[56] Dauverné, *Méthode pour la trompette*, 6-7.

expansive. It was much longer, much more theoretically detailed, and contained a comprehensive history of the trumpet alongside its graded exercises and repertoire.

Finally, Dauverné asserts that his authority rested on having learnt from David Buhl, “the outstanding trumpet player” of the era of Dauverné’s formative years.[57] This compelling personal dimension to the closing paragraph of the *Avant-Propos*, reveals that Dauverné was reflecting on his entire life as a trumpeter in the *Méthode.* It is as if he had felt destined to life as a trumpeter. He writes of waking to the sound of the trumpet from birth, and drawing from “the spring of the best precepts”.[58] Dauverné was grateful to have been nurtured by Buhl and others in choosing and following that path. Equally importantly, the eulogaic tone to the closing sentence is revealing. “I bequeath to my successors” says Dauverné solemnly, “the care of pursuing this work and of bringing it to its perfection”.[59] The *Méthode* was not just an instruction book, not merely a summation of the trumpet’s historical evolution, but evidence of a very personal life’s work and meaning. In this sense, the *Méthode* is Dauverné the trumpeter’s last will and testament. This was his view of history and the trumpet tradition, and it was the summation and culmination of all that he had to say on the matter. It was now up to others to carry on the “perfection” of the trumpet. It was also an obituary for the natural trumpet, and marked in the end by an air of fatigue if not total resignation.

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[57] Ibid., 7.
[58] Ibid.
[59] “Je lègue à mes successeurs le soin de poursuivre cette oeuvre et de la conduire à sa perfection”. Ibid.

The apologetic, Dauverné's primary purpose

Dauverné's primary motivation in publishing the *Méthode* is revealed in the closing paragraphs of what amounts to the second introduction. This follows the lengthy history section but precedes the series of practical exercises and etudes that form the pedagogy proper of the *Méthode*. Indeed, it is through this text that the entire *Méthode* ought to be read. Dauverné's central purpose and goals are expressed succinctly:

> In imposing upon myself the task of writing this method, I have had as a goal to preserve and to propagate, by developing them, the principles of an instrument which it would be unfortunate to let fall into oblivion, and whose traditions could not be lost without harm to the interests of musical art. No! the original principle of the Trumpet must never be blotted out by the modern inventions of pistons and cylinders which have given birth to new instruments which can serve, it is true, to enrich instrumentation, but will never replace, with respect to the purity and clarity of sound, the natural Trumpet, so much appreciated in its simplicity by composers of intelligence and taste, and of which I will generally compare the use in scores, to a brilliant and vivid colour placed on the palette of a painter, who uses it from time to time for obtaining sparkling lights.[60]

The emphatic "No!" is the signal that what follows is Dauverné's central thesis, and in it lies Dauverné's passionate clarion call, "the trumpet must not be blotted out by the valve".[61] It is important to note that in targeting the valve rather than the valve trumpet, Dauverné addressed a dual threat, the valve trumpet, and the cornet. His rhetoric is directed not only or even firstly to

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[60] "En m'imposant la tâche d'écrire cette méthode, j'ai eu pour but de conserver et de propager, en les développant, les principes d'un instrument qu'il serait fâcheux de laisser tomber dans l'oubli, et don't les traditions ne sauraient se perdre sans dommages pour les interest de l'art musical. *Non! Le principe original de la Trompette ne doit point être effacé par les inventions modernes des pistons et cylindres*, qui ont donné naissance à de nouveaux instruments qui peuvent server, il est vrai, à enricher l'instrumentation, mais ne remplaceront jamais, sous le rapport de la pureté et de la clarté de son, la Trompette naturelle, tant appréciée dans sa simplité par les compositeurs d'intelligence et de gout, et don't je comparerai généralment l'emploi dans le partitions, à une couleur vive et éclatante place sur la palette du peintre, qui ne s'en sert que de temps à autre pour obtenir de brillantes lumières". Ibid., 56; [English Translation in Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 219].

[61] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 219.

present and future students. It is directed at those at l'Opéra, la Société and now those at the Conservatoire, whose practice had begun to sustained the removal of the natural trumpet from the orchestra. Dauverné saw few other champions of the natural trumpet active in Paris at the time. Dauverné's purpose, primarily if not entirely, was to write a detailed defence of the natural trumpet. That apologetic is structured by four arguments: the argument from history; the argument from nature; the argument from taste; and the argument from utility.

In defence of the natural trumpet: the argument from history

Dauverné's first defence of the ongoing importance and relevance of the natural trumpet appealed to its place in history. This is made explicit in the three lengthy chapters on the history of the trumpet from antiquity to mid-century France that opens the *Méthode*.[62] There are strong echoes of Johan Ernst Altenburg's *The Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art* in Dauverné's approach. Altenburg's lament that the art of clarino playing on the natural trumpet was in fatal decline was published some six decades earlier in 1795.[63] Dauverné included the German trumpeter's *Concerto for VII Trumpets with Timpani* in his *Méthode*.[64] Also, the form of his historical text closely resembles Altenburg's first two chapters that present an historical taxonomy of the natural trumpet. These elements strongly suggest that Dauverné used Altenburg's text as a source. Dauverné, like Altenburg, points to the long history of the trumpet, and the formerly elevated socio-political and musical status of trumpeters and the

[62] Ibid., 179-217.
[63] Altenburg, *Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art*, 1-31.
[64] Dauverné, *Méthode pour la trompette*, 32-38.

trumpet “at court”, and in service of “the Divine”, especially in Germany but also in courts in France through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[65]

When read through Dauverné’s central thesis that “the valve should not blot out the principle of the trumpet”, the history section is not merely a contextual narrative. It serves to highlight the comparative brevity of material the author gives to the introduction of valve technology and valve trumpets to Paris. It is this rhetorical device that allows him to characterise the arrival of the valve as a kind of “invasion”.[66] This sense of invasion includes the fact that the valve mechanism was enthusiastically adopted and applied by Parisian manufacturers and performers, who subsequently “put themselves into a flutter at the arrival of this new and ingenious invention”.[67] However, Dauverné’s depiction of these events in comparison to the long and noble history of the trumpet presents the arrival of the valve as a still recent even fledgling phenomenon. Dauverné’s point is that indifference to this history would make it too easy to dispense with the natural trumpet for the sake of an unproven populist fad. Dauverné’s fear that this is exactly what was happening in Paris moved him to defend the natural trumpet in this way at this juncture.

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[65] Altenburg, *Trumpeters’ and Kettledrummers' Art*, 31, 46.

[66] “avant que les pistons fissent leur invasion,” Dauverné, *Méthode pour la Trompette*, 21; Dauverné, “Method for Trumpet 1857,” 208.

[67] “C’est alors que toute la factorerie française se mit émoi à l’apparition de cette nouvelle et ingénieuse invention, et qu’elle parvint à faire disparaitre les inconvénients originels”. Dauverné, *Méthode pour la Trompette*, 21. [English translation in Dauverné, “Method for Trumpet 1857,” 208. “It was at this point that the whole of French manufacturing put itself into a flutter at the arrival of this new and ingenious invention, and that it succeeded in eliminating the original inconveniences”]

In defence of the natural trumpet: the argument from nature

Dauverné continually returned to a second basis for the natural trumpet's relevance: the instrument's purity as a natural instrument, and the corrupting influence of technology. There is a theological undertone to his belief that what is natural emanates from the divine. As a result, the natural trumpet is always closely associated with the divine both in terms of its inherent characteristics and in terms of its use.[68] Dauverné contends that he was able to appreciate the advantages of the ingenious invention of the valve.[69] However, his view from 1857 was that the mechanism had a corrupting effect. This resulted in loss, rather than enhancing the natural trumpet, its divine connections, and its historical trajectory. Dauverné writes:

> I maintain this principle, that all instruments which have had any type of mechanical addition, even the most simple, such as the slide trumpet, that all chromatic instruments will never, in the end, equal the virginal sound of the natural trumpet.[70]

Dauverné's defence of this fundamental principle speaks of the natural trumpet's "virginal sound" and "originality".[71] He argues that the trumpet, like all things in nature, has both its good side and its bad side, but whatever is done to augment its bad side, for example the addition of valves, by definition amounts to a loss of the good side, which is the trumpet's original state in nature.[72] It is the appeal to nature that allows Dauverné to describe the sound of the natural

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[68] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 185-189, 207.

[69] Ibid., 208.

[70] "Je maintiens ce principe, que tout instrument qui recoit un secours étranger par l'addition d'un méchanisme quelconque, meme le plus simple, comme celui de la Trompette à Coulisse, que tout instrument chromatique enfin, ne pourra jamais égaler le son virginal de la Trompette naturelle". Dauverné, *Méthode pour la Trompette*, 210; [English Translation in Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 244.]

[71] "le son virginal", "originalité", Dauverné, *Méthode pour la trompette*, 209; Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 244.

[72] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 243-244.

trumpet as “clear and silvery”, and in terms of its “purity and clarity”, these because of “its incisive brilliance which essentially belong to the original and fundamental type of the instrument”.[73] It also permits Dauverné to elsewhere describe the corrupting effect of technology as a form of “abuse” that robs the trumpet of its originality, its strength, and sonority.[74] In Dauverné’s text, at best the valve gave rise to a new species of instrument. The valve did not bring the “perfection” of the natural instrument. It was foreign to the natural trumpet, and it was a threat to the instrument’s ongoing existence. Thus for him, the valve trumpet was not really continuous with the natural trumpet. There was a further musical and aesthetic dimension to this. Dauverné framed it as a matter of taste.

In defence of the natural trumpet: the argument from taste

Dauverné sought to associate the trumpet with composers and persons of taste; the instrument was, he argued, “much appreciated in its simplicity by composers of intelligence and taste”.[75] While he mentions composers specifically, the subtext of his argument is that all persons of taste might appreciate this dimension of the natural trumpet. His polemic is not only for students, but intended for all the ‘players’ in Paris: composers, manufacturers, professors, performers, administrators, and publics. As with the defence from history, and that from nature, the appeal to taste serves to associate the

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[73]Dauverné, *Méthode pour la trompette*, 55. [Original] “clair et argentin”; Dauverné, “Method for Trumpet 1857,” 217; Dauverné, *Méthode pour la Trompette*, 56; [Original] “pureté et clarté”; Dauverné, “Method for Trumpet 1857,” 219; Dauverné, *Méthode pour la trompette*, 55-56; [Original] “l’éclat incisive qui appartiennent essentiellement au type original et fundamental de l’instrument”.

[74] Dauverné, “Method for Trumpet 1857,” 244, 228, 232.

[75] “tant appréciée dans sa simplité par les compositeurs d’intelligence et de gout”. Dauverné, *Méthode pour la Trompette*, 56; [English Translation in Dauverné, “Method for Trumpet 1857,” 219.]

trumpet with elite status art. This is very clear in Dauverné's definition of taste and where it lies. He argues:

> The natural source of good taste is then in naturally elite individuals. One can shape it, extend it, refine it; in a word perfect it, through education; but nothing can substitute for natural good taste, for the fine and delicate sense which gives the exact measure of Truth and Beauty".[76]

For Dauverné, the elite masters are the best models of taste and beauty. At the same time, he argues that students will realise and form their own taste by studying and comparing great masters and by imitating virtuosos whatever their style.[77] This text is also directed at the would-be elites of music to suggest that individuals of status and taste ought to favour the natural trumpet because it is in its essence the elite natural instrument. According to Dauverné the young needed guidance in matters of taste. "But beware young students", he exhorts, "of all ridiculous affectation which, in tending to counterfeit inspiration, would give your performance factitious expression, about which the man of taste, the sensitive man, lastly the connoisseur, will never be mistaken!".[78] For Dauverné the key to elite and natural style is to exercise restraint and avoid all forms of populist excess.[79] This is to avoid slavish imitation. Performers' interpretation ought not be characterised by exaggerating, but rather more through understating those elements that the performer considers constitute style.[80] The argument seems to have a critical edge that is directed at the technically ostentatious air and variations style popularised by cornet players like Arban. Dauverné argues that pieces, phrases, and individual notes need to be

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[76] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 231.
[77] Ibid., 232.
[78] Ibid., 233.
[79] Ibid., 232.
[80] Ibid.

thoroughly thought through and presented so as to express something of the mind or soul. Mere mechanics and technical facility are not enough.[81] To play with style, with elevated taste, is always to strive for the ideals of beauty and truth.

Dauverné continues: to perform with taste and style means to give full attention to the context in which a composition was conceived, whether for church, theatre, or salon.[82] Given the natural trumpet's elevated history at church and at court, Dauverné believed it had a natural affinity with certain types of music. This is revealed in his discussion of the trumpet as a type of "highlight" instrument.[83] He argues that "composers of intelligence and taste", retain its use as a painter might use highlights to enhance a painting.[84] It is also his belief that in this, the trumpet had reached "its apex of manufacture and of musical performances, which for a long time it will not be possible to pass".[85]

Dauverné's habitus and musical conservatism would not countenance an expanding role for the trumpet which the addition of valves might facilitate. For all his appreciation of the ingenious invention of valves, they were the domain of other instruments. Importantly, those other instruments could not fulfil the role of the natural trumpet in the orchestra. Dauverné recognised that music had in its variety of forms changed during his lifetime. He leaves it to composers of taste to develop the role of the natural trumpet as they see fit. Dauverné is both conservative and passive in this regard. He is not of the ilk of Sax, or Berlioz or

[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid., 219, 209.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.

Kastner, an Arban or even Meifred, who sought to develop and perfect natural instruments. Dauverné supported composers developing the direction of music, so long as they retained the natural trumpet and its traditional stylistic niche.

To account for the changing roles of the trumpet and to ensure it held its place in the orchestra, Dauverné pursues a difficultly structured, and not always internally coherent, argument that develops a definition from Jean-Jacques Rousseau.[86] Dauverné's basic premise is that some instruments suit a certain style where as others do not. "There is the distinctive style of the author" he argues, "and that of the performer, which must generally enter, one and the other, into the principal character of the instrument which determines the use of the latter [style]".[87] Dauverné's invocation of Rousseau, the tenuous nature of which indicates that its use as a rhetorical device ought not to be overstated, aligns him with those that looked back to or saw themselves as continuous with the late classicism of Gluck in Paris. This was at odds with those Parisians who sought to embrace emerging musical trends mid-century. Dauverné's intention appears to be to suggest that if composers are to write artfully, naturally, and with good taste, they must work closely with performers to maintain the natural distinctive traits of the instruments they intend to use. In this sense, he is careful not to express a view that is overtly against the use of piston instruments, as these instruments have their own place and style. Importantly however, they ought not to be used to replace the natural trumpet. This leads Dauverné to conclude his argument on the basis of taste by returning to the theme of the elevated natural status of the trumpet. The natural trumpet, he argues, "owes it

[86] Ibid., 220, 232.
[87] Ibid., 232.

to electrify…men and horses on a battlefield, to bear prodigies of merit, and to figure in the first rank in the triumphs and solemn manifestations of Divinity".[88] The argument tends back to idealised traditional roles and themes, and echoes Altenburg, of the trumpet's elevated role in the military field and its former ceremonial associations with Court and Church.

Dauverné's *Méthode* is thus significantly limited if considered in terms of how the author thought the natural trumpet might be adapted to emerging roles that call for greater diatonic and chromatic capabilities. This was not his agenda. Dauverné's purpose in publishing in 1857 was to advocate for and defend an instrument as it had been understood and played by people of taste in the past. Here too, the emphasis is on the trumpet as an orchestral instrument that is used in ways to which he was accustomed. Dauverné is not discussing the use of these trumpets for their soloistic potential, but as part of the orchestral palette. In this Dauverné cleaved to the motivic writing characteristic of the natural instrument in a nostalgic and idealistic aesthetic naturalism. For him, that which was natural, that which was historical, and that which was of elite status, constituted the right and the good. Dauverné's recourse to the arguments from history, from nature, and from taste, all serve to preface and contextualise the discussion in Part III of his *Méthode*, the main pedagogical section written to address the use of chromatic trumpets "with regard to their usefulness", that is, his argument from utility.[89]

[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid., 243.

In defence of the natural trumpet: the argument from utility

Dauverné used the natural trumpet throughout his own career, but also recognised that practical necessity would at times force itself upon the trumpeter. His discussion of utility serves to further explain the basis of his decision to always turn first to the natural trumpet, and signifies the point at which and the basis upon which he would turn to other instruments. In 1857, Dauverné claimed that he made recourse to the slide trumpet as a last resort if compelled by the score. It is highly unlikely that he made any significant use of instruments with valves. This is made clear in his contention that "one should hardly ever use the chromatic trumpets except for the effects that one cannot get from an ordinary trumpet, unless a special solo is written under desirable circumstances for the chromatic instrument".[90]

Dauverné's discussion of chromatic trumpets with regard to their execution and usefulness begins with the slide trumpet. In addition to his early use of the slide trumpet, Dauverné's *Méthode* suggests that he had either sustained that practice into the 1850s, or that he wished to create the impression that he did so. He argues, "of all the inventions which have, to the present, had the goal of increasing the richness of tonality of the trumpet while conserving its original character, without question the most successful is the slide trumpet".[91] In 1857, the importance of the slide trumpet for Dauverné is revealed in his reflection that it was now taught and examined at the Conservatoire as a means of "completing the study of the trumpet".[92] Dauverné makes no mention of when

[90] Ibid., 244.
[91] Ibid., 243.
[92] Ibid.

that practice began and it is not obvious from the Concours repertoire that the slide trumpet had been examined prior to 1857.[93] Dauverné makes no such observation about the valve trumpet, or the cornet. After all, these were the instruments of the valve. To this point in time the valve trumpet had never been examined at the annual Concours, and it is likely that it was only minimally taught during Dauverné's tenure at the Conservatoire.

Dauverné concludes with his characteristic advocatorial tone to argue that improvements to the slide trumpet over time "should assure the supremacy of the slide trumpet over the cylinder or piston trumpet".[94] Immediately, for fear that his recommendation in favour of the slide trumpet be taken the wrong way or taken too far, Dauverné reiterates the fact that no instrument, even the best of them in the slide trumpet, can ever replace the natural trumpet for its purity.[95]

Second, in terms of the utility hierarchy, Dauverné turns to the piston and rotary valve trumpets.[96] Noticeably, the piston trumpet is for him inferior to the slide trumpet in terms of utility. While he does not dismiss the piston instruments outright, noting that they do possess their special qualities, he contends that their only advantage over the slide trumpet is that they might be "easier and faster" in rapid diatonic and chromatic formulations.[97] Dauverné's long held dissatisfaction with the valve is then immediately rearticulated:

> [T]he excessively rapid oscillation of the pistons produces a confusion of sounds. The breaking up of the continuity of the inner wall of the resonant tube weakens the sound and at the same time

[93] See M. Gillian MacKay, "Trumpet and Cornet Concours Music at the Paris Conservatoire, 1835-1925: The Development of Styles and Roles" (DMus diss., Northwestern University, 1996), 16-40, 46-68.
[94] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 243.
[95] Ibid., 244.
[96] Ibid., 251.
[97] Ibid., 243.

> makes the piston trumpet lose that clear and silvery sound which is possessed by all natural and slide trumpets".[98]

This argument is identical to that to which he was party three decades earlier. It ties the slide trumpet very closely to the natural trumpet. More importantly, for all Dauverné's ostensible open-mindedness to the valve, the latter instrument is marginalised and dismissed as inferior in his discussion.

Throughout his evaluation of the valve trumpet, Dauverné reiterates his distaste for valve instruments. Despite their benefits in terms of speed and the execution of trills on some notes, he observes, "the simultaneous pressing down of the pistons or valves damages the purity of sound and results in a heavy and laborious execution, not to say impossible".[99] The rhetoric harks back to his identical reflections after 1826. It reveals that Dauverné was indifferent to, or wilfully disregarded, developments and improvements in valve technology in the intervening years that facilitated more fluent execution. It is hard to imagine that he was also indifferent to the use of the same technology on the cornet. His younger brother was among many colleagues who played the instrument. Similarly, his student Arban was possessed of a prodigious finger and tongue technique, the results of which did not appear constrained by a "laborious-bordering-impossible" mechanism. That said, that Dauverné includes some material in his *Méthode* for the valve trumpet suggests that it was now a partial, albeit highly technically limited, component of his teaching programme at the Conservatoire.

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[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid., 256.

To unify his argument on the basis of utility, Dauverné returns to the natural trumpet. He notes that whatever the emerging trends in trumpet performance, it is not possible to be a skilful player on any such instruments without having first learnt the natural trumpet.[100] This was, perhaps, how he justified hours of his teaching practice being given over to natural trumpet performance. The copious detailed exercises geared to gaining expertise on the natural trumpet in the *Méthode* serve to reinforce this view in practical terms.

Dauverné does not go on to discuss the cornet in his *Méthode*. Given his willingness to discuss the cornet in his previous trumpet methods, and given the cornet's prevalence in orchestral performance, this omission is revealing. His historical discussion makes only a passing reference to the cornet as a kind of derivative trumpet, and for Dauverné its invention resulted causally and directly from the arrival of the Spontini valve trumpet. While this obfuscates its more horn-centric origins, it should be understood as an expression of what the cornet had become by 1857, rather than what it was at its origins thirty years earlier.[101] It can also be seen that for Dauverné the cornet had come to occupy the role of the trumpet in the orchestra, and for this reason he wanted to polarise and minimise his discussion of the instrument. There is an immense irony here. It lies in the fact that Dauverné's single-minded dedication to the natural trumpet manifested as a material indifference to the gradual incorporation of the cornet into the elite orchestras of Paris during his tenure. This resulted in the increasing dominance of valve instruments that prompted Dauverné to write his *Méthode* at this point mid-century. It was the popularity

[100] Ibid., 219.
[101] Ibid., 209.

and widespread use of the cornet, and then more recently the increasing use of the valve trumpet, that presented an immediate threat to the existence of the natural trumpet.

Instruments a category apart

Within Dauverné's discussion of the chromatic instruments with regard to their utility is a revealing delineation that is borne of his habitus, performance history, and ideas. In an argument that harks back to his discussion of instruments that have and are associated with their own particular style, Dauverné argues that the addition of keys and pistons to the trumpet were in a way an imitation of what had occurred with woodwind instruments. For this reason, in discussing the valve trumpet, and also the cornet, for Dauverné the addition of valves "places these instruments in a category apart".[102]

This reveals a central and important philosophy for Dauverné. It also helps to explain why he had continued to play natural trumpet and seemingly benignly allowed the cornet to join alongside the trumpet in the orchestra at l'Opéra and la Société. Dauverné saw the cornet particularly, and to a lesser degree the valve trumpet, as a separate and distinct category of instrument. In practical terms, and in the first instance, Dauverné in 1857 argued in such a way as to deny that valve trumpets were contingent with the trumpet tradition. This was in direct conflict with his view in *Théorie Ou Tablature* in 1828 as outlined in chapter two. His passivity with regard to the cornet on the other hand, might be

[102] Ibid., 244.

understood, initially at least, as the acceptance of a horn-based instrument. This was of no threat to the natural trumpet because it fulfilled a different role.

Dauverné's work is marked by a difficult theoretical ambiguity at this point. He argues that each instrument like all things in nature, has both its good and its bad side. Going on, that while valves are meant to address an instrument's bad side, they detract from its good side. In other words, the valve trumpet is continuous with the natural trumpet. At the same time, Dauverné argues that the mechanisms that are intended to augment that which was missing on the trumpet, are in fact mechanisms that render the instruments that adopt them as a separate species of instrument. These challenges in Dauverné's logic indicate that his highest priority in 1857 was to draw distinctions between the natural trumpet and those instruments that were being substituted for it, the valve trumpet and the cornet. It is also this fact that sees Dauverné recommend that natural trumpet students learn a second instrument. Because of the "simplicity" of the natural trumpet in terms of its melodic and harmonic resources, Dauverné says that it would be preferable to also learn piano, violin or cello.[103] While Dauverné may be assuming that when a student learns the natural trumpet they also learn the valve trumpet and the cornet, it is notable that neither of these instruments are presented as a secondary choice in this discussion.

The absence of other players

Outside of the arguments from history, nature, taste, and utility, there are broader social dimensions to Dauverné's publication at this time. These are revealed most powerfully by the fact that they are absent from Dauverné's

[103] Ibid., 218.

Méthode. Firstly, Dauverné demonstrates little engagement with the published work of Kastner. Kastner was a well-known composer and musicologist in Paris, and as chapter three showed, a friend and supporter of Berlioz and Sax. He was also a regular contributor to periodicals such as *Revue et Gazette Musicale* on matters concerning new wind and brass instruments.[104] Kastner's *Traité Général D'instrumentation* which included reference to the history and utility of the natural trumpet, the trumpet with two valves, and the cornet with two or three valves, had been published in 1848.[105] It is striking, given Dauverné's ostensible motivation in writing about the history and utility of the trumpet that he does not engage more fully with Kastner's work. Dauverné knew of Kastner's *Traité*. He had read it in preparation for his own text as he acknowledges it as "knowledgeable and interesting book".[106] On the use of the valve trumpet in the orchestra, Kastner contends that:

> its effects are the same as that for the ordinary [natural] trumpet; it is only recently that solos of a full effect (which, naturally, cannot be played on the old trumpet) have been written for this trumpet; therefore [it] has already been nearly universally adopted in the orchestras, where it has very beautiful parts in the new operas.[107]

Dauverné disagreed with this view entirely and this may explain why he did not make more obvious use of Kastner's work.

Similarly, both authors shared a distaste for the keyed trumpet. Kastner would have agreed with Dauverné that its timbre was too often found lacking. However, Dauverné must have been unwilling to rely too heavily on Kastner's

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[104] Jean-Georges Kastner, *Manuel général de Musique Militaire* (Paris: Didot Frères, 1848), 52-53.

[105] Patricia Jovanna Woodward, "Jean-Georges Kastner's Traité général d'instrumentation: A Translation and Commentary" (MMus Thesis, University Of North Texas, 2003), 233, 235, 236.

[106] Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," 197, 204.

[107] Woodward, "Jean-Georges Kastner's Traité," 235.

work because Kastner goes on to say that the keyed trumpet was pushed aside by the valve trumpet "which preserved its true trumpet tone, and did not lose any of its force or clearness".[108] Dauverné could not engage with Kastner's work, because he did not agree with Kastner that the valve trumpet retained the clarity and timbre of the natural instrument. This argument was contradictory to Dauverné's agenda.

Secondly, the absence of the cornet from Dauverné's discussion is a very powerful motif. Dauverné makes only passing reference to the arrival of the cornet in Paris. While his *Méthode* of 1834 highlighted the expertise of Dufrène, his 1857 *Méthode* makes no mention of this early cornet champion. Nor does Dauverné mention his influential colleague Forestier. Forestier consistently played first cornet as a casual player at la Société, joined mostly by the younger Guérin on second, for at least the decade prior to 1857.[109] Dauverné also makes no mention of Arban, his former student, apparently the contemporary cornet wunderkind whose career since graduation from Dauverné's trumpet class had helped popularise the cornet across Europe in the burgeoning popular music field.

Thirdly, Dauverné does not engage in any way with Berlioz's views on the trumpet and cornet published in 1843, or the more contemporaneous revision of his *Treatise* published in 1855.[110] Dauverné's publication afforded him opportunity to discuss, refute, or endorse, the views of Berlioz, but he says little

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[108] Ibid., 240.

[109] D. Kern Holoman, "Appendix 2: Personnel," University of California Press, accessed 19 November, 2012. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

[110] Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), xxiii, 185-208.

of the role the cornet continued to occupy in the orchestral life of Paris, or the adoption of Saxhorns in the French military which fuelled the cornet's dominance in the military and popular fields. Nor does Dauverné demonstrate any engagement with the fact that Berlioz had recently been appointed Minister of Agriculture and Trade. In this role, Berlioz served as a juror representing France on the examination panel considering new musical instruments at the international Universal Exhibition in London in April 1851. Here Berlioz would comment favourably on the instruments of Sax.[111] For Dauverné in 1857, these historical developments were absent from his history of the trumpet because they did not accord with the agenda and purpose of his *Méthode*.

Had Dauverné been in search of allies with a view to removing the cornet from the orchestra, Berlioz and Kastner were recent and relevant contributors to the debate. Since 1843, Berlioz's views had been published and were well known. Kastner shared his concerns with the cornet's timbre, and despite its facility, precision, and accuracy, Kastner called for the judicious use of keys when using it because its timbral deficiencies were amplified in some keys.[112]

Dauverné could not engage in the debate regarding the timbre or suitability of the cornet in the orchestra, because its occupation of the middle and soprano chromatic brass role, afforded the natural trumpet opportunity to continue to fulfil Dauverné's preferred "highlight" role. If he spoke against the cornet, something perhaps out of loyalty to his long-time horn playing colleagues he was unlikely to do, it would have to be replaced by the valve trumpet. For

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[111] "Exposition Universelle de Londres," *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 30 November, 1851, 385-388.
[112] Woodward, "Jean-Georges Kastner's Traité," 236.

Dauverné the valve trumpet appears to have represented a greater threat to the natural trumpet. Most importantly the absence of the cornet and saxhorns from Dauverné's *Méthode* gives clearer insight into why Dauverné was motivated to publish in 1857. It was not to engage with the current debate, not to mention the same debate about the utility of new piston instruments that had raged through the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, or the importance of the saxhorns, and their influence in terms of timbre or utility in Paris.

Dauverné's agenda sought only to defend the natural trumpet of the past. His lack of engagement with the broader debate ultimately undermined Dauverné's defence. Dauverné does not appear to be aware that, in regarding valve instruments and especially the cornet as a kind of separate species, and the natural trumpet as a kind of highlight instrument, he is actually complicit in the natural trumpet's demise. Despite Dauverné's best intentions his defence of the natural trumpet sounded its death knell.

Conclusion 1857

This analysis of Dauverné's *Méthode* against the background of his departure from la Société and l'Opéra reveals that he published in 1857 for two complex, interrelated, material and personal reasons. Dauverné's removal from elite orchestral performance gave him pause to consider not only his personal fate, but that of the natural trumpet, the instrument that had formed and shaped his life. This was a conflation of sorts, of the personal with the material, but was also based on the fact that orchestral players were increasingly turning to valve instruments over the natural instrument. At l'Opéra and la Société Dauverné had personally preserved natural trumpet performance. With his departure he

saw that there were few who would influence the continuation of this practice. Hence his central thesis: “No! the original principle of the Trumpet must never be blotted out by the modern inventions of pistons”.[113] In constructing arguments from history, nature, taste, and utility, Dauverné’s thesis revealed the mind and the man. For Dauverné, authority rested with history. In the case of the natural trumpet this was an elevated and noble history associated with the divine and with the affairs and needs of the state. An instrument’s import and utility then extended from its state in nature. Ultimately technology represented a corruption of this state of nature. Far from securing the perfection of the trumpet, the valve represented corruption and loss. It brought variability to the intrinsic traits of the trumpet. Valves robbed the trumpet of its purity and natural state, and its clear and silvery sound.

Dauverné’s rejection of valves on the basis of the arguments from nature and utility is both weak and unpersuasive. This weakness stems from the fact that these arguments are identical to the opinions Dauverné formed when he first tried a valve trumpet at the age of twenty-six. Not only do they show little evidence of having evolved, they reveal that Dauverné had not engaged with valve performance, or developments in instrument design and manufacture over the intervening thirty years. Dauverné’s lack of engagement with the likes of Kastner or Berlioz, and the absence of any reference in 1857 to composers who had begun composing for cornet in the orchestra, bear this out.

This chapter has established that the most likely reason behind this lack of engagement was Dauverné’s inability to produce professionally credible

[113] Dauverné, “Method for Trumpet 1857,” 219.

performance on the valve trumpet. This was in turn a manifestation of his lack of skill on the natural trumpet. Dauverné tried to stay with what he knew. Apart from his military duties, which he resigned in 1848, his removal from l'Opéra and la Société, revealed his lack of engagement and performance outside these two elite institutions. This left Dauverné all the more dependent on his arguments from history and taste. This is borne out in his appeal to the authority of the Conservatoire and the sources of his authority being his appointment by the former head of the Conservatoire in 1832, and the company of its other learned professors. Dauverné wrote in order to preserve his role at the Conservatoire because the other two main sources of his authority and influence had been removed. Authority and taste flowed from the naturally elite individuals there assembled.

The *Méthode* then, was a lament for the demise of the natural trumpet. Its moments of defiant rhetoric were undermined rather than underscored by its lapses into a funereal tone. The latter suggest that Dauverné's lament was for a cause already lost. This was a defence of the natural trumpet premised on its natural timbral purity and historical continuity and elite status. Like Dauprat, Gallay, and to a lesser degree Meifred, in philosophical terms Dauverné looked back to an imagined natural and pure past as the way forward in Paris. It was also an appeal for the personal seal of the Conservatoire. Dauverné needed that authority to justify his ongoing presence and teaching at the Conservatoire. It was now only through the Conservatoire that Dauverné could imbue his preference for the natural trumpet any credibility outside of himself. Beyond these primary elements, Dauverné's *Méthode* reveals that the natural trumpet was falling into disuse in Paris. However, this was not manifest as a simple

move to the valve trumpet. While Kastner had argued in 1848 that the latter had largely overtaken the natural trumpet, the cornet continued to be used at l'Opéra and la Société after Dauverné's departure. In addition, the career of Arban and the efforts of Sax and Berlioz signalled that the cornet still held a strong position in the orchestra. The pro-valve counter-current to Dauverné's preferences had been an element of Paris' musical life since the introduction of the valve. The contrasting practices of a range of players, composers, and manufacturers, had kept it in relief. The practice of cornet players like Arban, had promoted that instrument and the influence of developing valve technology on trumpets, and it is to that end that the next chapter is directed.

Chapter 5

Arban's early success in Paris and London

Introduction

Alongside the developments at la Société resulting in Dauverné's removal from concert-giving life in Paris, the cornet career of his student Arban points to the simultaneously influential role the cornet had on the trumpet tradition through the 1840s and 1850s. Arban enjoyed early success on the cornet, and travelled regularly to London while studying at the Conservatoire. He enjoyed a mutually beneficial professional relationship with manufacturer Adolphe Sax. This saw Arban develop peripheral connections with orchestral players in Forrestier and Kresser, and the composer Berlioz. Arban's choice to travel as a soloist rather than join the orchestral tradition, contributed to the popularity of the cornet, and the public's enthusiasm for popular concerts and dance genres, as well as Arban's own profile (see figure 14).

This chapter explores Arban's habitual career choices and the primary content of his musical work through to the early 1850s. In observing his habitus in this way, it reveals his rapid transition from young soloist, to conductor and dance band leader, in which he followed the popular models of Musard and Jullien who had preceded him in London. It further reveals an equally rapid crystallisation of the pubic that consumed these genres of music. While Arban enjoyed ongoing popularity, it was with an increasingly distinct public that attended the outdoor promenades, indoor concerts of light music, and dance halls. This served to tie the cornet closely to the popular music field as distinct from the orchestral art music field in France.

Figure 14. Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban.[1]

[1] Unsigned, *Portrait de Jean Baptiste Arban, Chef D'orchestre Xixe*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 7 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b103353438.

Arban both student and traveller

Born in Lyon 470 kilometres south-east of Paris, Arban joined the military at an early age, probably following his two older brothers Louis a balloonist, and Charles a Casino operator and businessman.[2] Here he received his formative musical training and developed considerable talent on either the Cornopean or Cornet. Jules Rivière recalls that in 1840, Arban had been selected as a musician to accompany François-Ferdinand-Philippe-Louis-Marie d'Orléans, prince de Joinville, then the 21-year-old navy captain of the *Belle Poule* charged with securing the remains of Napoléon from Sainte-Hélène and returning them to France.[3] Perhaps this voyage seeded an idea in Arban, that he could make a life as a travelling virtuoso. In September of the following year, when Arban was sixteen and a half, he entered the Conservatoire under Dauverné.

During his first years at the Conservatoire, in addition to study of the trumpet, Arban developed his profile as a cornetist. On the 4th of June 1842, less than a year after admission, Arban successfully applied for leave from the Conservatoire to serve his d'Orléans sponsor once more.[4] In the following year, Arban was granted leave to travel and perform from 22nd of June to the 1st of October.[5] If Dauverné had planned for his student to attend the Concours of 1843, on the scheduled performance day the 16th of November, Arban was marked absent due to illness.[6]

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[2] Jules Riviere, *My Musical Life and Recollections* (London, UK: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1893), 60-62.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Jean-Pierre Mathez, “J.B. Arban Biography 1 - His First Twenty Years,” *Brass Bulletin* 9 (1974): 13.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., 14.

As chapter three revealed, Arban met the instrument manufacturer Adolphe Sax at this time. Sax, nine years older than Arban, regularly employed the able cornetist to demonstrate his new saxhorns to the likes of Meyerbeer, Kastner, and Berlioz.[7] Those who witnessed his performance in December 1843 noted that Arban was heard to particularly good effect.[8] In the following January, *La France Musicale* specifically reported that one of the key elements of Arban's remarkable talent was his round sonorous timbre on Sax's new instrument. It was reported that:

> Mr. Arban plays Sax's bugle in Bb, with remarkable talent, a sound full of roundness, and a moving charm and voice. These qualities place it well above the cornet à piston whose voice is always lean and nasal.[9]

Arban was granted leave during his third year at the Conservatoire, from the 20th of April to the 1st of July 1844, in order to go to London.[10] Dauverné wrote to Auber in support of Arban's request, noting that his student was making good progress and could be admitted to the Concours later that year.[11] Arban subsequently performed at the Hanover-square Rooms in London in May, in a concert featuring Sivori, a violinist, and Salvi, a tenor.[12] If Arban played a solo piece on this occasion, it passed with little comment from the reviewer in the *Morning Post*.[13] The observation that "Arban, a new cornet à piston, we shall

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[7] Blanchard, "les instruments de M. Sax," 445.
[8] Ibid., 440.
[9] "Les nouveaux instruments, d'Ad Sax," *La France Musicale*, 7 January, 1844, 431-432.
[10] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 1 - His First Twenty Years," 14.
[11] Ibid.
[12] "Concert of Sivori and Salvi," *Morning Post*, 8 May, 1844, 5.
[13] Ibid.

meet, no doubt, at the promenade concerts" suggests that Arban was yet to be featured as a soloist, but would appear as so over the summer.[14]

Arban's tour to London may have been at his own initiative. Initially, it could also have been at the invitation of Philippe Musard or Louis-Antoine Jullien. Musard, for instance, had moved his popular Concerts de Musard aux Champs-Élysées model to London for short seasons.[15] Jullien, following his example, based his "promenade concerts" at the Theatre Royal Lyceum.[16] While Musard tended to engage in short intense residencies, Jullien's concerts were to become a standard institution in London's concert life until he took his orchestra to America in 1853. Most likely, Arban was invited to London by the French cornet player turned conductor, Laurent junior. A concert programme has Laurent playing cornet in Jullien's band at the Lyceum in 1839, and a reviewer from the *Morning Post* places the then young soloist, who appeared to be struggling during the performance, also with Musard that year.[17] Laurent subsequently appeared as conductor at the Royal Adelaide Gallery in a series of promenade concerts in the style of Jullien, in December 1844.[18] Following the lead of Musard and Jullien, Laurent had established his own orchestra, secured a venue, and employed Arban as his star cornet player and soloist. While Laurent

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[14] Ibid.

[15] William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 127-131.

[16] Ibid.

[17] "English Opera-House Promenade Concerts à la Musard," *Morning Post*, 3 January, 1839; For concert programme see: William Weber, "Concert Programmes 1790-1914: Case Studies by William Weber," accessed 29 October 2012. http://www.cph.rcm.ac.uk/Programmes1/Pages/PtoMH3.htm

[18] "Concerts à la Jullien Royal Adelaide Gallery," *Morning Chronicle*, 17 December, 1844, 2.

sought to reap the rewards of being band leader, Arban had the opportunity to profit as a cornetist in the burgeoning concert life and dance craze in London.

Whether or not Arban made any further applications to absent himself from the Conservatoire in 1844, he was in London in the October to perform at the Royal Adelaide Gallery.[19] The promotional tour, in which Arban was joined by one of the Dubois brothers, probably his Conservatoire classmate Edmond, with Laurent conducting, showcased a "saxhorn band" in London for the first time.[20] Arban had in the meantime returned to Paris and competed in the annual Concours in which he achieved the second prize.[21] This was the first time Arban contested the Concours, and while it may have been unusual to place first on the first attempt, perhaps it is also true that on this occasion Arban's priorities lay elsewhere. He had spent considerable time playing cornet over the summer in London, and then preparing his contribution for the saxhorn tour with Sax, and perhaps less on learning the trumpet test piece for that year.

In his final year, Arban took leave from the Conservatoire once more, from the 27th of March to the 1st of July 1845, to perform in London.[22] On this occasion Arban was billed as "the celebrated cornet à piston player from the Académie Royale", so had begun making a name for himself playing the popular opera melodies such as, on this occasion with Laurent, Bellini's *Deh Con te* from *Norma*.[23] Less than a month later Arban was billed as "the celebrated cornet-a-

[19] "Royal Adelaide Gallery," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 8 September, 1844, 305.
[20] Ibid.
[21] "Nouvelles," *La France Musicale*, 11 August, 1844, 245.
[22] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 1 - His First Twenty Years," 14.
[23] "Notices," *Morning Chronicle*, 19 May, 1845, np.

piston performer" at the Queen's Grand Ball in June.[24] However, his status was still emerging. On this occasion Arban performed in Collinet's band which played in the ball room.[25] Musard's more experienced and well-known orchestra, on the other hand, was stationed in the throne room, and played especially for the Queen.[26] Indeed, Musard had composed Quadrilles and Polonaises, including the *Quadrille de 1845 de la Cour d'Angleterre, ou Souvenir de 1740 et 50* for the occasion.[27]

Later that same year Arban travelled with Sax, this time to Germany. Sax was involved in a heated public argument with Wilhelm Wieprecht who had complained that Sax had copied his brass instrument and valve designs.[28] As was the case in earlier demonstrations, reports from both the German and French audience members for the Sax demonstration, which on this occasion included Franz Liszt, were impressed with Arban's demonstration and his outstanding musical ability.[29] Amongst the travel, Arban was at the Conservatoire in July 1845 to resume the customary sequence of three, two-hour lessons a week with Dauverné. He was subsequently awarded first place in the Concours ahead of Jules Cerclier, two years his senior in age, and César Luigini, playing the competition piece *Solo* by Dauverné.[30]

Throughout Arban's tenure at the Conservatoire he was motivated beyond any single-minded devotion to a course in orchestral trumpet. Whether by financial

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[24] "The Queens Grand Ball," *Chester Chronicle*, 13 June, 1845, 4.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] "Adolphe Sax," *La France Musicale*, 23 January, 1859, 37-43.
[29] Ibid.
[30] "Concours," *La France Musicale*, 10 August, 1845, 251.

necessity or blithesome endeavour, from the Duc d'Orléans' personal entertainment band, to the heady gas lights of the London promenades, Arban's practice followed popular music and dance forms over orchestral trumpet performance at l'Opéra and la Société. If anything characterised Arban's habitus, it was his aspirational disposition. Arban's move to France's capital gave expression to his sense of purpose. Following graduation, the 20-year-old cornetist continued to be shaped by his habitus and those priorities and experiences he accumulated during the Conservatoire years. Arban's choices thus offer considerable illumination of that which he valued personally and musically.

Sponsorship Arban and Sax

Following the saxhorn tours to London in 1844 and 1845, Arban continued to work with Sax demonstrating and representing his new instruments in Paris. It was a business relationship that benefited both men. In Arban, Sax had an able and increasingly popular soloist to demonstrate the designs. In their performances both men had the opportunity to appeal to the emerging mass public market. In the following years, primarily within Sax's patronage through his band, Arban maintained an active concert life in Paris. He was widely known, and equally widely acclaimed by the public for his performance of virtuosic solos and popular dance music.[31]

[31] "entre antres Arban avec son saxhorn, exécute les quadrilles, les valses et les polkas les plus fougueux et les plus brillans". "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 June, 1846, 3; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 April, 1848, 3; "Nouvelles," *La France Musicale*, 15 February, 1846, 54; "Arban et le Cornet Compensateur," *La France Musicale*, 9 April, 1848, 109.

Arban's association with Sax had its drawbacks. Belgian by birth, Sax had moved to Paris in 1841, much to the consternation of local manufacturers. In November 1843 Berlioz reflected that Sax was struggling to maintain a career and life in Paris, due to persecution from other French manufacturers who he alleged lured away Sax's employees, stole his designs, and brought litigation concerning patents against him.[32] Talk of animosity and envy with regard to Sax was widespread through 1843.[33] Fuelling this, news of a military contract for musical instruments had been floated in Paris and the competition to win such a lucrative contract was fierce. The subsequent award of the contract to Sax in August 1845 did little to diminish litigation against him.[34] For all the potential benefits of Arban's association with Sax, there was also the danger that he had aligned himself too closely with one manufacturer and risked polarising or missing opportunities with other makers.

In contrast, outside performance, one important gain resulting from Arban's dedication to Sax was his appointment as Professor of Contralto Saxhorn at the Gymnase de Musique Militaire in November 1846.[35] The associated appointment of Baneaux, Lecomte, and Dautonel, was to meet the immediate need to train musicians on Sax's instruments.

It was through Sax that Arban performed for the first and only time at l'Opéra. Arban was part of the onstage *banda* in performances of Giuseppe Verdi's *Jerusalem* in December 1847. The report in *Le Ménestrel* singled Arban out,

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[32] Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs* ed. and trans. Ernest Newman (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1960), 308.
[33] Blanchard, "les instruments de M. Sax," 445.
[34] Leon Kreutzer, "Musical Performing," *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 14 December, 1845, 409-410.
[35] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 November, 1846, 3.

praising his solo work in the procession in Act II.[36] The cheers and enthusiastic applause from the audience were simultaneously a measure of Arban's ability, an appreciation of the roundness and beauty of the saxhorn timbre, as much as it was a reaction to the grand visual and aural spectacle.[37] If Arban had designs on an orchestral career at l'Opéra *Jerusalem* might have provided the overture. He was already performing in community concerts with orchestral players in Forestier and Kresser who would have been well acquainted with his abilities.[38] However, Arban did not pursue these opportunities to build relationships in the orchestral field, or if he did, was not successful.

Through 1847 and 1848 Arban's public performing profile in Paris continued to soar. His solo playing "always elicited special applause".[39] This was propelled in large part not only by his singing and sensitive style, but also by his introduction of multiple tonguing techniques for the first time on the cornet. Arban appears to have sought guidance from Tulou, Principal Flute at l'Opéra, and founding member at la Société, in the application of the technique.[40] First reports of Arban's new skill followed a performance of his *Fantaisie brillante sur Zampa* based on themes from the opera by Louis Joseph Ferdinand Hérold, in June 1847. The reviewer noted that his double-tonguing amazed audiences and was proof that he was a virtuoso of the first order.[41] Arban's use of flute tonguing was a clear departure from Dauverné who adhered to the motivic models of

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[36] "Académie Royale de Musique," *Le Ménestrel*, 28 November, 1847, 2.
[37] "Bulletin Dramatique," *Le Ménestrel*, 12 December, 1847, 2.
[38] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*. 19 March, 1848, 3.
[39] "Nouvelles," *La France Musicale*, 2 January, 1848, 6.
[40] D. Kern Holoman, "Personnel," University of California Press, accessed 18 February, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC.
[41] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 13 June, 1847, 3.

Altenburg.[42] It also departed from Dauverné's practice of spitting a particle off the tip of the tongue, with the tongue being placed in-between the lips as a kind of valve to release the air.[43] Arban's approach was radical on the trumpet and cornet, and would have elicited considerable discussion amongst trumpeters and musicians more broadly. His method of articulating the syllables "t" and "k" revolutionised cornet technique, taking it to new levels expertise and dexterity. It is likely that this also began to impact on natural and valve trumpet technique.[44]

On the 1st of February 1848 the committee at la Société met to discuss programming for the upcoming concert on the 20th of February.[45] One soloist considered was Arban who was not a member of la Société but a graduate of the Conservatoire who wished to perform on a new chromatic instrument. Arban was passed over on this occasion, but in the first week of April Arban was featured in a solo demonstrating Sax's new "Compensator Cornet" to great acclaim. The review in *La France Musicale*, observed that:

> At the last Conservatoire concert we heard Mr Arban execute on a compensator cornet an Air Varie for flute by [Boehm]. Phrasing the Andante more beautifully is impossible; also his double and triple tonguing could not have been done with more brilliancy, which was fully appreciated by the enthusiastic audience. It was a complete triumph for the artist. As to the instrument: it was the first time that one could hear Sax's Compensator Cornet in public. It has not only a beautiful tone, but also the great advantage of absolute accuracy in the changed intervals and of holding the tone like a violin or the human voice. We need not add, that the great artist Arban was the right man to demonstrate Sax's new instrument to the public.[46]

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[42] François Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3, no. 1 (1991): 241.

[43] Ibid., 230.

[44] Ibid., 241.

[45] D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 103-104.

[46] "Arban et le cornet compensateur," *La France Musicale*, 9 April, 1848, 109; Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 2 - the Beginning of His Career." *Brass Bulletin,* 10 (1975): 13.

The concert was significant in two important ways. Firstly, the choice of the venue and occasion appears to have been at the request of Arban. It sought to capitalise on Arban's connection to the institution. Secondly, the purpose of the event seems to have been twofold: to display Arban's technical and musical prowess, and to demonstrate the capacity and facility of Sax's new instrument. It is likely that Arban and Sax had worked together on the project.

The choice of repertoire also appears highly strategic. Arban was seeking to establish new ground in terms of cornet technique and style and sought a work that would afford him the opportunity to present himself as a virtuosic artist. That the reviewer refers to the soloist as "the great artist Arban" suggests an already high degree of public familiarity with his person and work.[47] For Arban the decision to perform his arrangement of *Air Varié sur un air suisse Op.20*, which closely mirrored the original for flute by Theobald Boehm, endeavoured to co-opt the credibility of the flute as a solo orchestral instrument, and to place himself and the cornet directly alongside and equal to virtuoso flute playing. The flute model thus served to mute potential criticism of the new cornet, the performance, or the artist, on the basis of the quality of the music chosen. The reviewer in *Le Ménestrel* does not miss this point, and asks rhetorically, "who would not offer this artist the highest praise".[48]

The reviewer's mention of double and triple tonguing, along with the beauty of the instrument's sound, suggests Arban had been successful in demonstrating both his musicality and technical proficiency. He had already made a name for

[47] "Arban et le cornet compensateur," *La France Musicale*, 9 April, 1848, 109.

[48] "Dire qu'Arban n'est pas resté au-dessous de son devancier, n'est-ce pas en faire le plus bel éloge?" "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 April, 1848, 3.

himself with regard to his sensitivity and the beauty of his mellifluous tone quality. He had also already demonstrated successful double-tonguing technique in the *Fantaisie brillante sur Zampa* performance in June the previous year. Strategically the presentation of double and triple articulation in the Conservatoire performance, demonstrated a degree of complexity and level of execution thus far not heard on the cornet. For the reviewer in *Le Ménestrel*, Arban had achieved his goals; the performance was declared a complete triumph.[49]

For Arban the concert established his artistic and technical credibility. For Sax, the performance at the Conservatoire added further fuel to the debate concerning the use of cornets and valve trumpets in the orchestra. As chapter three revealed, Berlioz had argued in 1843 that he could not understand the reticence of those French trumpeters who chose not to adopt a valve instrument in the orchestra when well manufactured options were available in France. In light of his recent and successful military contract, Sax was vexed by the same question. Arban's performance at the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, rather than in performance on the Champs Elysées, or in Sax's workshop where his demonstrations were usually held, was an orchestrated attempt to persuade members of the elite orchestral field of the utility of Sax's instruments.

Arban takes *Air Suisse* to London

1848 marked the end of Louis Philippe I's rule and the end of Orléanist rule in Paris. The February Revolution in France also saw the Orléans family relocate to Britain which had avoided the revolutionary wave affecting much of

[49] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 April, 1848, 3.

continental Europe. In the four years after 1848 Arban would prove adept at following the lead of his former Orléans patron's family, taking the melodies and styles he had mastered in Paris and capitalising on the trend that saw Parisian artists performing popular music in London. At the same time, Arban also followed the ever-popular quadrille in London.

Buoyed by success with the *Air Varie sur un Air Suisse*, Arban travelled immediately to London in April 1848 and straight away was heard to perform the "Variations on Little Swiss Boy" at the Adelaide Gallery.[50] The Gallery was initially a curious mix of scientific displays and family entertainments, but due largely to competition from elsewhere, remained viable with the addition of music concerts.[51] At Arban's first performance, in between the concert and the ball that followed it, a formula becoming popular elsewhere such as in Jullien's concerts, was a demonstration of an "Oxyhydrogen Microscope";[52] as it happens, on this evening Arban's performance also had an element of scientific discovery and display to it. The public were provided a close-up experience of Arban's unique and revolutionary cornet technique and artistry. A review from the concert observed that:

> We must particularly notice the performance of M. Arban on the cornet à piston. He is a perfect master of the instrument, on which he executes the soft difficult chromatic passages with the greatest ease, whilst his playing displays the taste and delicacy of a finished musician. This is particularly evidenced in his execution of the air, "Swiss" with brilliant variations, which was composed as a flute solo; the vast difference in the two instruments only increases the wonder at the apparent ease with which M. Arban executes the intricate

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[50] "Adelaide Gallery - the Casino," *The Era*, 30 April, 1848, 12.

[51] Edmund Yates, *Edmund Yates: His Recollections and Experiences* (London, UK: Richard Bentley, 1885), 92; Albert Smith, "Royal Adelaide Gallery of Practical Science, Adelaide Street, Strand, Victorian London," accessed 29 October, 2012. http://www.victorianlondon.org/entertainment/adelaidegallery.htm.

[52] "Adelaide Gallery - the Casino," 12.

> variations that are introduced; his tone is also peculiarly soft and melliflous.[53]

The London review noted the same remarkable characteristics as the Paris review of only a few weeks earlier: the beauty of Arban's tone and his technical finesse in meeting the intricacies of the multiple tonguing variations.[54] In London, as in Paris, Arban was "the perfect master of the instrument".[55]

Within four years of his 1844 visit, Arban's displays of virtuosity alone had significantly elevated his London profile and established a sizeable bank of cultural capital in the London music scene. Arban was the star attraction at Laurent's Casino, Royal Adelaide Gallery, at the Strand.[56] He was regularly billed as "the eminent performer on the Cornet-à-Pistons" in the newspapers.[57] His name appeared first in the list of performers, and readers were assured that Arban would "execute a grand Aria from Adam's Opera' every evening".[58] These evening concerts, which commenced at 7:30pm, were customarily followed by a ball at 9:00pm, and according to the advertisements, the entertainment concluded at 11:30pm (see figure 15).[59] Arban's duties extended beyond the rendering of a single aria or virtuosic solo each evening. He featured in the quadrilles, waltzes, and polkas, that framed the later part of the evening's entertainment.

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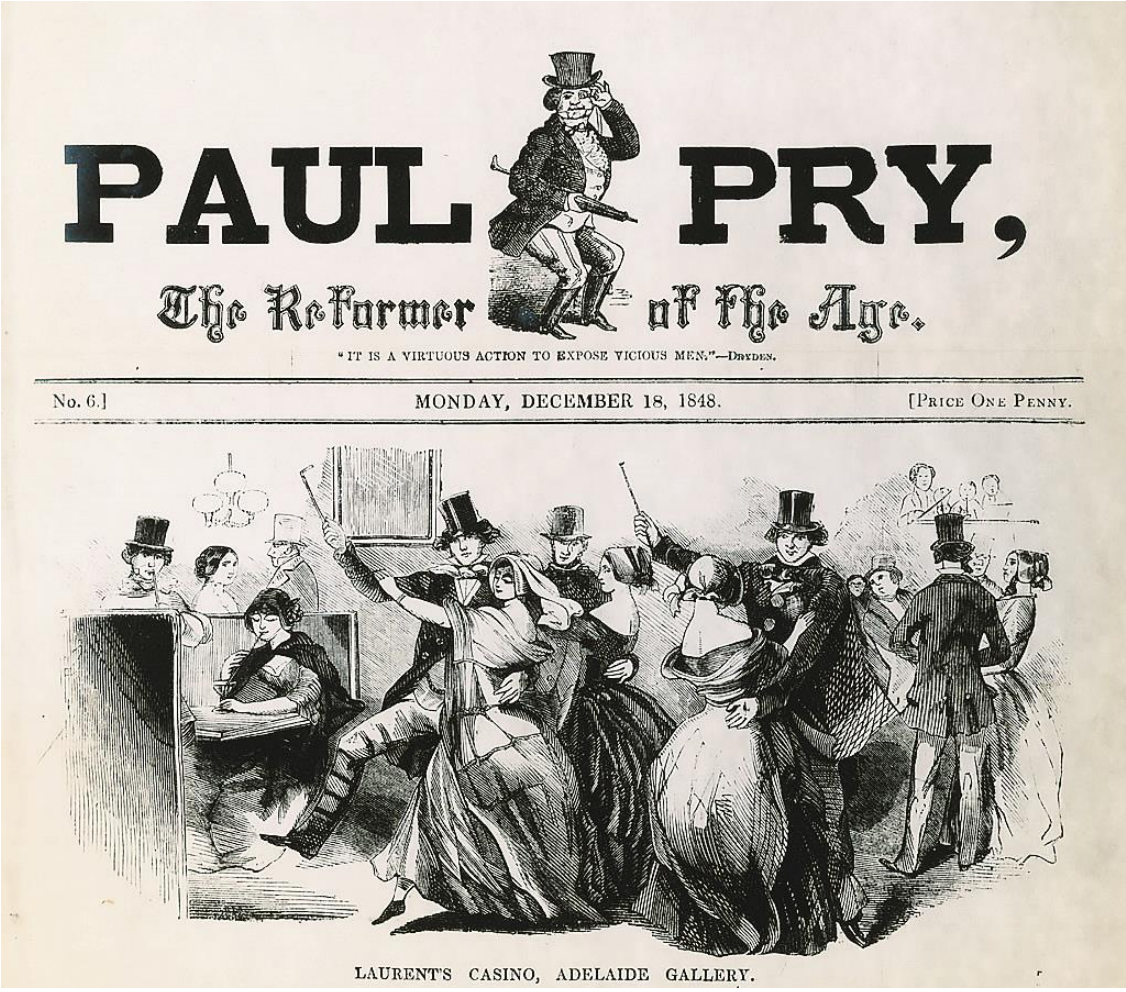
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] "Laurent's Casino," *Morning Chronicle*, 16 April, 1848, np; "Laurent's Casino," *Morning Chronicle*, 2 May, 1848, np.
[57] "Laurent's Casino: Royal Adelaide Gallery, Strand," *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 14 May, 1848, 6.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.



PAUL PRY,

The Reformer of the Age.

"IT IS A VIRTUOUS ACTION TO EXPOSE VICIOUS MEN."—DRYDEN.

No. 6.] MONDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1848. [PRICE ONE PENNY.

LAURENT'S CASINO, ADELAIDE GALLERY.

Figure 15. Laurent's Casino, Adelaide Gallery, in popular gossip paper Paul Pry.[60]

The concerts and balls followed the Musard-Jullien model, and both the Adelaide Gallery management and Arban enjoyed the results of this profitable formula. While advertising in the press began to focus on the Laurent's Casino aspect at the Royal Adelaide Gallery, Arban's reviews, whether as "Mons Arban" or perhaps a more familiar "Mr Arban", were expansive and ebullient: "The brilliant execution on the Cornet-a-Pistons of Mons. ARBAN, from the Conservatoire de Musique à Paris, is nightly hailed with the most enthusiastic

[60] "Laurent's Casino, Adelaide Gallery," *Paul Pry*, 18 December, 1848, 1.

applause from enraptured audiences".[61] Arban the virtuoso soloist was the toast of the concert going public, and also the dancing set. His name was associated with "higher class instrumental music", "improved musical taste", "exquisite performance" and "artistic power".[62] At the same time, the subtext of a favourable puff piece on Laurent's Casino in *The Era* at the end of 1848 suggests that Arban's performing life strongly adhered to a mass market less interested in something akin to upper-class art music. The author observes that:

> "Vive la Danse" used to be considered a peculiarly French cry, but the march of music had rendered it as appropriate a phrase among the phlegmatic English as our lighter-hearted Parisian brethren. Laurent's Casino was the first established for the double enjoyment of the higher class of instrumental music, combined with the heart-enlivening dance, at such a moderate charge as would place it within the reach of all classes, and yet still ensure respectability. Opposition (the result of success) has sprung up in many quarters; still, the proprietors of Laurent's Casino have kept such good faith with their patrons, so excellent has been the entertainment afforded, that the popularity of this place of healthful recreation and amusement has increased, instead of diminishing – and deservedly so; for the class of compositions, and the style in which they are interpreted, by the splendid band of fifty performers, speaks volumes in favour of the improved musical taste of the country, and the liberality of the proprietor (Mr. Ellis) in providing such *recherché* amusements for their visitors. Laurent's Casino is well deserving of a visit, if only for the purpose of hearing M. Arban's exquisite performance on the cornet à piston. He is without a doubt, the most extraordinary player on that popular instrument we ever heard. The varied operatic selections that are given nightly elicit the capabilities of the excellent orchestra, under M. Laurent, Junior's, direction, and particularly the artistic powers of M. Arban.[63]

Arban was still at Laurent's Casino in January 1849.[64] The winter turn would see the Adelaide Gallery establishment marketing itself more in terms of an "admirably-conducted *Salle de Danse*" rather than a concert venue, and still

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[61] "Laurent's Casino, Royal Adelaide Gallery, Strand," *The Era*, 15 October, 1848, 1.
[62] "Laurent's Casino, Adelaide Gallery," *The Era*, 10 December, 1848, 12.
[63] Ibid.
[64] "Notices," *Morning Post*, 29 January, 1849, 3.

less any semblance of an institute or scientific society.[65] Then in February, while evening dances were still attracting a crowd, *The Era* pointed to the declining patronage at the vocal and instrumental concert that preceded the nightly ball.[66] Regular patrons of the Casino were voting with their feet.[67] The journalist in *The Era* lauded "the band" as opposed to the orchestra or the musicians, which, readers are assured, can be heard to better effect in the concert.[68]

Arban, and his new cornet partner at the Adelaide Gallery Denault, who had recently arrived in similar fashion to Arban four years earlier, were still singled out for their solo and duet playing which surpassed "everything we have hitherto heard. The tone and precision with which the most brilliant embellishments and difficult chromatic passages are executed is beyond all praise".[69] The journalist for *The Era* was, perhaps a cornet player, enamoured of Arban's technique. However, the concert at Laurent's Casino was of declining importance and patronage, as the former Adelaide Gallery was now more a dance hall than a diverse scientific, musical and cultural experience. The usual advertising is placed in the daily papers, and Arban is still at the Casino in March 1849.[70]

Arban, from diminishing success in concerts to dance music

For much of Arban's time through 1848 and 1849, he lived the heady life of a continental European soloist in London. As time went on he also began to spend more time performing in the nightly balls that occupied the hours after

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[65] "Laurent's Casino, Adelaide Gallery," *The Era*, 28 January, 1849, 12.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] "Notices," *The Era*, 4 March, 1849, 12.

dusk. That there was change in the air had already been revealed by the declining custom at the concerts at Laurent's Casino. For the audience at this venue, there was less interest in the early evening concert and a great deal more in the late night dancing. It is not possible to know if Arban welcomed the movement away from a vocal and instrumental concert and towards the ball to follow. However, the trend saw his soloist role in London diminishing. This would be borne out in clearer terms in the following year.

In May 1850 Arban was engaged to work in Laurent's band which was now housed at the controversial Argyll Rooms. A court notice from May that year, over the issue of disputed rent payments and the confiscation of Arban's goods in lieu, described Arban in blunt legal terms as the cornet à piston player, who "carried on the business of a musicseller", performing at the Argyll Rooms.[71] At the time, the Argyll Rooms were embroiled in court proceedings, initially for trading without a licence.[72] The Rooms' reputation for providing prostitutes to the middle and upper class gentleman of London was well known, and they were closed in 1852, only to be reopened in 1853.[73] Edmund Yates would later identify something of the transition to which Laurent's band and Arban had been party. He recalls:

> Such an entertainment as that afforded by Laurent's Casino had never been seen before in London. The hall was fairly large, and handsomely decorated; the band, led by young Laurent, and with a wonderful performer on the cornet, named Arban, played the liveliest tunes and kept superb time; and amongst the light refreshments was to be found the then recently imported sherry-cobbler - in itself a source of delight to thirsty dancers, who, as ball beverages, had hitherto found nothing between nasty negus and fiery champagne.

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[71] "Sessions," *Morning Post*, 25 May, 1850, 7.

[72] "Court of Queens Bench," *London Standard*, 15 January, 1850, 1; Also "Middlesex Sessions," *Morning Post*, 21 February, 1850, 7.

[73] "Article," *The Saturday Review*, 16 October, 1853, accessed 29 October, 2012, http://www.digitaldickens.com/content.php?id=75.

> Laurent's Casino, no doubt for its novelty's sake, was visited by all kinds and conditions of men; it was altogether a quieter and more respectable place than the flaring flaunting Argyll Rooms into which it afterwards developed.[74]

Importantly, issues of social morality and control aside, Arban's move from the Adelaide Gallery to the Argyll Rooms was not only an indication of the changing tastes of the London public. It was indicative of the changing ways in which the London public began to consume music, and the forms and contexts within which they did so mid-century. For example, in the *London Standard*'s commentary on the National Concerts at Her Majesty's Theatre, there is a glimpse of the growing divide between the dance hall and its formerly associated vocal and instrumental concerts.[75] There is also a sense of the growing divide between the art of the concert hall and that of the dance hall.

This was borne out in a review of a concert featuring Arban at Her Majesty's Theatre. The reviewer wrote approvingly of the music in the first half of the concert, which featured Beethoven's Piano Concerto in Eb, Rossini's *William Tell* Overture, a Rossini Cavatina, a Ballad, Valse, a Fantasia for solo violin, and a new quadrille. [76] The second half of the concert opened with a "Grand Selection" from Donizetti's opera, *La Figlia del Reggimento*, with solos for violin, bassoon, and cornet, arranged by Negri. These works were followed by arias by Mozart and Meyerbeer, interspersed with polkas, gallops and air and variations, of composer performers including Arban, Drouet and Labizky.[77] Of this part of

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[74] Edmund Yates, *Edmund Yates: His Recollections and Experiences* (London, UK: Richard Bentley, 1885), 92.
[75] "Her Majesty's Theatre," *London Standard*, 16 October, 1850, 1.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.

the programme the "grievously disappointed" reviewer was somewhat less enamoured. He noted:

> We have here, despite the glowing promises of the prospectus, an assemblage of miscellanies directed wholly to the commonest ear, the interposition of the "classical" extending to but a single instance – the Beethoven concerto – this, too, being deprived in performance of two thirds of its substance. The rest of the concert obviously consists of matters of the lightest kind, and as the eye runs over the programme it is at once apparent that no very exalted standard of taste has been aimed at. There is a pretty mixture of song and quadrille, waltz and fantasia, but scarcely anything of weight, character, or moment.[78]

In the sixth concert of the Grand National series in October, Arban performed "The Swiss Boy".[79] If this latest shorthand for the *Air Varie sur un Air Suisse* of 1848 was a measure of its familiarity, it carried with it a sense of the fatigue that was beginning to greet Arban's performances. A review of a later concert in December 1850 would articulate this fatigue more clearly. Of a ballade performed by Miss Poole, the *Morning Post* reviewer observed that:

> it was accompanied by a remarkably long solo for the cornet-à-pistons, which was judiciously played by M. Arban. This also, is familiar to us, and has, we believe, been introduced at several of the metropolitan concerts. The tune is catching, but there is a tone of commonplace about it which is not observable in any of the other pieces.[80]

There is an air that the public, after having heard Arban perform for six years, were beginning to tire of the twenty-five-year-old cornetist, and of hearing the same repertoire over again. Equally, the nature of concert life in London was also rapidly changing. In this social flux, Arban decided to follow the well-

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[78] Ibid.

[79] "Her Majesty's Theatre - the Grand National Concerts," *Morning Post*, 21 October, 1850, 4.

[80] "Concerts," *Morning Post*, 10 December, 1850, 5; Also "Causeries Musicales," *Le Ménestrel*, 13 October, 1850, 2.

trodden path of Musard, Jullien, and Laurent, to take the stage as a musical director.

As a performer, Arban returned to the Adelaide Gallery for a season of concerts in 1851. Noticeably, his presence was not accompanied by the enthusiastic promotion that characterised his Laurent Casino appearances only a few years earlier. Under the direction of 'Signor Montelli' Arban is listed along with a range of other vocal and instrumental artists who would be featured in the series.[81] As a musical director and conductor for promenade concerts and balls at Vauxhall Gardens, Arban was hired for the 1851 and 1852 seasons.[82] For the Grand Bal Masque, Vauxhall, on Ascot Cup Day in 1851, Arban was variously billed as the leader of "Arban's Inimitable Orchestra", and as the musical director. [83] If there is reference to him as the cornet player, it is a subsidiary reference to him being the artist from the Paris Conservatoire.[84] On the one hand, Arban was trading on his name as a soloist. This characterisation of Arban took his elite status as a performer for granted, and promoters were perhaps hoping that by virtue of his presence the public were assured of an excellent musical offering. On the other hand, his ability as a soloist was secondary to his new role as musical director.

The company behind the Vauxhall Gardens had gone bankrupt in the 1840s. After later revival seasons, Vauxhall survived until it eventually permanently

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[81] "Adelaide Gallery," *Morning Post*, 11 February, 1851, 5.

[82] Rachel Cowgill, "Performance Alfresco: Music-Making in London's Pleasure Gardens," in *The pleasure garden from Vauxhall to Coney Island*, ed. Jonathan Conlin (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). Accessed 30 March, 2016, Project MUSE.

[83] "Grand bal masque," *The Era*, 1 June, 1851, 1; Also "Royal Gardens Vauxhall," *Leeds Times*, 21 June, 1851, 7.

[84] "Grand bal masque," *The Era*, 1 June, 1851, 1; Also "Royal Gardens Vauxhall," *Leeds Times*, 21 June, 1851, 7.

closed in 1859. In the early 1850s, the years of Arban's tenure as musical director, Vauxhall was on the wane culturally and musically. That wane was manifest in lower receipts. Arban was associated with an enterprise of declining favour, and patronage. The cultural capital, that the attending public formerly imbued in Vauxhall, was being re-evaluated and in some cases re-directed. It is possible that in early 1850s London, those seeking a higher status, or somehow more elite artistic experience, were to be found elsewhere.

A measure of the fact that perhaps Arban too had run his course in London was his programme for a benefit concert in the Prince's Concert Rooms. Arban's announcement in the *Morning Post* shows him persisting with the now fading Laurent's Casino - Royal Adelaide Gallery concert model, still an imitation of the Musard and Jullien model, in which he conducted an augmented "Band of Vauxhall Gardens" in a concert and ball between 8:00pm and 11:45pm.[85] The same trait that saw Arban present numerous repeated performances of "The Swiss Boy", was reflected in Arban's concert programmes in the style of Musard. In London these programmes paled in comparison to the music and showmanship of Jullien. Equally, Arban had tethered himself to the popular music field in London. That fashion was proving to be fickle and fast, and those that had initially embraced "Mons Arban" from the Conservatoire, appeared to have changed quickly and moved on. Of this period Mr Timbs' *Curiosities of London* observes:

> Though Vauxhall Gardens retained their place to the very last, the lamps had long fallen off in their golden fires; the punch got weaker, the admission money less; and the company fell off in a like ratio of respectability, and grew dingy, not to say 'raffish'—a sorry falling off

[85] "Prince's Concert Rooms," *Morning Post*, 24 August, 1852, 1; Also "La Musique Angleterre," *Le Ménestrel*, 14 September, 1851, 2.

> from the Vauxhall crowd of a century before, when it numbered princes and ambassadors…The semblance of Vauxhall was still preserved in the representation of the orchestra printed upon the plates and mugs, and the old firework bell tinkled away as gaily as ever. But matters grew more and more seedy; the place seemed literally worn out; the very trees grew scrubby and shabby, and looked as if they were singed; and it was high time to say, as well to see in letters of lamps, 'Farewell'.[86]

At the same time, if there was a sense that Londoners were jaded and had moved on from the amazing Mr Arban, this view was not always reported as such back in Paris. A view from Paris suggests that Arban's Vauxhall musicians were amongst "the best of these rural orchestras" and they continued to be successfully directed "by our compatriot Arban, the unparalleled piston player".[87] However, this view of Arban was not entirely indifferent to strengthening differences between discrete fields of music in London and Paris. For example, this Paris based commentator differentiates between serious forms of music, such as a presentation of Felix Mendelssohn's oratorio *Elijah* by the Société d'harmonie Sacrée, and countryside entertainments such as Arban's at Vauxhall, along with the noisy saxhorn bands that could awaken "the most remote grove".[88] In London, Arban is very definitely associated with the latter popular and the outdoor orchestra.

One of the last performances of Arban's intensive London period after 1848 was as part of the ensemble for Louis Jullien's Theatre Royal concerts prior to Jullien's departure for America.[89] Beyond accompaniment roles, Arban's contribution to the concert was as a duo partner to the German cornetist

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[86] "British History Online, Chapter Xxxiii, 'Vauxhall'," accessed 29 October, 2012. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45291.
[87] "La Musique Angleterre," *Le Ménestrel*, 14 September, 1851, 3.
[88] Ibid., 2.
[89] "Jullien's Last Series of Concerts," *Morning Post*, 23 November, 1852, 4.

Herman Koenig. Riviere recalls that Arban was at his zenith in London at the time, and while he was unequalled in the performance of multiple tonguing, it was Koenig who excelled in slow movement lyrical playing.[90] Koenig had been resident in London since he joined the Drury Lane Orchestra in the early 1840s and alongside performing with Jullien he maintained an instrument import business.[91] For Jullien's farewell concert, Koenig had the lion's share of the spectacular cornet solos. It was a sign of the fact that among Jullien's hand-picked artists to tour America, Herr Koenig, not Mons Arban was the chosen cornet soloist. For Arban in London, the king was dead, long live the king.

Returning to Paris

Arban's successes in London served his aspirational adventurism and desire to promote himself as a travelling cornet virtuoso beyond the pivotal performance at la Société in 1848. His performances in the societies, gardens, dance halls, and casinos, of London had catered to a mass popular market. It was a rapidly shifting market and Arban was generally associated with its light popular and dance orientated genres. Arban chose not to pursue the elite orchestral path, or music that tended somehow to be more serious. Arban chose mass popularity, and that popularity tended to tie the cornet ever more strongly to his preferred popular and light-music genres. In so doing, his London period reveals his habitus: in his quest to live the life of a virtuoso soloist or further progress the perfection of the cornet, Arban was content to adhere to formulas that had

[90] Jules Riviere, *My Musical Life and Recollections* (London, UK: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1893), 61-62.

[91] Richard Schwartz, "The Cornet Compendium: The History and Development of the Nineteenth-Century Cornet," *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 12 (2000): 269-271, accessed 22 October 2007, http://www.angelfire.com/music2/thecornetcompendium/.

served him, and indeed others, in the past. This aesthetic, and this practical albeit limited way of working in the world, underpinned Arban's choices when he returned with renewed focus to Paris.

Chapter 6

Manoeuvring in and beyond Arban's Grande Méthode

> These things constitute the elevated style, the grande école, which it is my ambition to institute for the cornet, even as they already exist for singing and the various kinds of instruments.
>
> Jean-Baptiste Arban (1864).[1]

Introduction

While Arban had never quit Paris, there is a sense that in the years immediately after 1848 he enjoyed greater success in London. However, as the London payoff decreased, through declining personal status and fewer opportunities to perform, Arban directed more of his energy toward strengthening his solo performance and conducting profile in Paris. Initially this would see him implement his London model in Paris. This kind of circular return to what had achieved success before emerges as characteristic of Arban's career. His Paris concerts in the 1850s traded on his London successes, which in turn were originally based on the model of Musard and Jullien: Paris, London, and Paris return.[2] The first half of this chapter is chronologically continuous with the last, and further identifies Arban's habitual career choices and the primary content of his musical work through the 1850s and 1860s. The early material here parallels the developments at la Société resulting in Dauverné's removal from concert giving life in Paris, so adds broader context to Dauverné's lament

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[1] Jean-Baptiste Arban, *Arban's Complete Method: Trumpet, Platinum Edition (Annotated by Claude Gordon)*, eds. Edwin Franko Goldman and Walter M. Smith (New York, NY: Carl Fischer Music, 2005), 284.

[2] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 12 October, 1851, 3; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 December, 1851, 4.

concerning the fate of the natural trumpet and the popular dominance of the cornet.

The second half of the chapter explores Arban's publication of *La Grande Méthode Complète de Cornet à Piston et de Saxhorn par Arban* in 1864. Given that alongside Arban's travel he had been teaching saxhorn at the Conservatoire since 1846, it is striking that he now chose to write a seemingly comprehensive text for the Saxhorn family of instruments. This analysis identifies the three central themes in Arban's text: the perfection of the cornet, the incompleteness of old-school performers and teachers, and Arban's own career as a performer. It reveals his *Grande Méthode* to be a document strategically designed to bolster the author's push to replace Dauverné as professor of trumpet at the Paris Conservatoire. It was at once a defence of the cornet à piston as the rightful successor to the natural trumpet, and a tactical enunciation of Arban's belief that he was the founder and leader of the cornet school (see figure 16). In this way, Arban claimed to be the most eminently qualified above any other for the professorial position. It was, considerably after the fact, a method for cornet and saxhorns. Arban's fate was emblematic of the position of the cornet in the orchestral art music field. While the instrument was very popular with a mass audience, the Conservatoire continued to exhibit reservations about it replacing the trumpet.

Figure 16. Arban in 1865.[3]

[3] Frank, *Joseph-Jean-Baptiste-Laurent Arban*, 1865, Photograph, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415380z.

Paris-London-Paris

Arban's career through the late 1850s and early 1860s travelled along three now familiar tracks. Firstly, he appeared regularly as a cornet soloist, secondly as a conductor, and thirdly, he played with and led popular dance bands. Some reporting of his performances, such as that of the opening of La Salle Barthélémy, would refer to Arban's solo playing in the same breath as the attractiveness of the clientele and the quality of the dancing.[4] It was merely one contributing element in an evening's frivolity. Other commentary continued to highlight Arban's musical sensitivity, the beauty of his timbre, and the facility of his technique. For example, he was complemented for his sensitivity and sound on one occasion, because, it was noted, the high saxhorn could too often sound piercing.[5]

In Arban's solo performances on the Champs Elysées or in concerts styled after Musard, in particular, it did not seem to matter that he continued to repeat repertoire he had performed over the previous decade. His *Cavatine et Variations sur Béatrice di Tenda*, for example, continued to elicit positive reviews.[6] That his performances had more than a little of the nostalgic about them was not lost on Musard senior in 1856.[7] Nonetheless, Arban enjoyed popular success, and these outdoor concerts both strengthened his connection to his audience, and tied the cornet strongly to the light style of music he

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[4] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 9 November, 1851, 4.

[5] Ibid.

[6] "Concert des Champs-Elysées," *Le Ménestrel*, 6 October, 1861, 359; "d'arban, le premier corniste du monde," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 October, 1861, 375; "Les concert des Champs-Elysées," *La France Musicale*, 28 September, 1862, 310; "Nouvelles et Annonces," *Le Ménestrel*, 26 October, 1862, 383.

[7] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 23 March, 1856, 4.

presented: arrangements of popular operatic themes, air and variations on well-known melodies, and polkas and waltzes.[8] In many ways, Arban's performing and conducting career at this time mirrored that of the first generation cornetist Dufrène. It married Arban and the cornet to a mass popular field well beyond his early career connections with Sax.

Arban's popularity at the time was widely and well regarded. Berlioz's impression of Arban, recorded in *La France Musicale*, was that he was rightfully the celebrated exceptional cornet virtuoso.[9] Berlioz noted Arban's technical virtuosity comparing it to that of the finest violin soloists.[10] He also praised Arban's sense of style, and expressive singing playing.[11] However, Berlioz's commentary on Arban also noted that "this talent is, in its kind, a star of the finest magnitude".[12] The reference to "in its kind" points universally to Arban as a cornetist, but also to the fact that he was a prodigious talent within the field of popular music. In turn, this served to reinforce Arban's connection to the popular field, and his distance from the elite orchestral field in Paris.

Arban traded on his reputation as "the inimitable cornet player" and the "best cornetist in the world", to expand his conducting and musical direction.[13] After 1857 Arban's concerts at Hôtel d'Osmond, which when the business behind them was closed went on under his leadership as Concerts de Paris, were

[8] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 September, 1857, 4.
[9] "Nouvelles," *La France Musicale*, 23 November, 1856, 378.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] "d'arban, le premier corniste du monde," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 October, 1861, 375.

regularly lauded by *Le Ménestrel*.[14] Arban was praised for his choice of varied popular repertoire and his musical direction.[15] An example of the esteem in which he was held in some quarters lies in the invitation for him to conduct a season at L'Ambigu-comique.[16] However, Arban more often produced and presented his own concerts. One of the more frequently observed aspects of his life through these years was his running between baton and cornet (see figures 17-19). There is little doubt that there was more than a dash of Arban the showman, still only a young man in his early 30s, on these occasions.[17]

Arban maintained a three night a week residency at Cadet Casino into the 1860s.[18] Reports in *Le Ménestrel* continued to be favourable to Arban, remarking on the high standard of his orchestra and the strength of the patronage at his performances.[19] He also regularly visited other venues as conductor and soloist: the flourishing summer celebrity spa town of Baden, Ranelagh Gardens in London, Salle Pleyel, and the Caen Philharmonique where his performance was lauded as “marvellous” and “electrifying” by

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[14] “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 18 October, 1857, 4; “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 23 August, 1857, 4. “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 31 May, 1857, 4. “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 7 June, 1857, 4.

[15] “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 18 October, 1857, 4; “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 23 August, 1857, 4. “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 31 May, 1857, 4. “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 7 June, 1857, 4.

[16] “Semaine Theatrale,” *Le Ménestrel*, 13 September, 1857, 3.

[17] “Concerts de Paris,” *Le Ménestrel*, 20 September, 1857, 4.

[18] “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 18 December, 1859, 23; “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 30 October, 1859, 383; “Concerts et Soirées,” *Le Ménestrel*, 27 March, 1859, 136; “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 25 September, 1859, 343; “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 16 October, 1859, 367; “Casino,” *La France Musicale*, 19 January, 1862, 23; “Soirées et Concerts,” *Le Ménestrel*, 30 March, 1862, 144.

[19] “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 18 December, 1859, 23; “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 30 October, 1859, 383; *Le Ménestrel*, 27 March, 1859, 63; “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 25 September, 1859, 343; “Nouvelles Diverses,” *Le Ménestrel*, 16 October, 1859, 367; “Casino,” *La France Musicale,* 19 January, 1862, 23; *Le Ménestrel,* 30 March, 1862, 144.

reviewers.[20] His performances of solos on Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and Bellini's *Beatrice di Tenda*, continued to elicit standing ovations and enthusiastic applause.[21]

The press was generally positive toward Arban's conducting and playing, and his events, especially in the summer season, were a weekly feature in periodicals like *Le Ménestrel*. At the same time, Arban's visible presence in the notices pages began to diminish in the late 1850s. For example, Concerts de Paris were regularly mentioned in *Le Ménestrel*, but rarely carried a headline. Usually they occupied the final four lines of the notices page, following a range of other new concert societies and venues.[22] This magnified their comparatively lesser import as against the headline events at l'Opéra and la Société that preceded them. As had happened in London, these trends reflected a developing understanding that Arban's concerts were not as musically 'serious' as those at l'Opéra and la Société. In fact their variety and 'light' nature came to be the celebrated identifier; part of their appeal was that they could quickly switch mood and affect "from serious to light, deeply dramatic to pleasant".[23] The genres in which Arban worked were increasingly regarded as forms of popular light entertainment distinct from that at l'Opéra and la Société. A review

[20] [Baden] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 23 September, 1853, 4; "Caen," *La France Musicale*, 1860, 23 March, 153; "Caen," *Le Ménestrel*, 25 March, 1860, 134; "Nouvelles," *La France Musicale*, 23 November, 1856, 378; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 31 May, 1857; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 5 July, 1857, 4; [Ranelagh] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 May, 1858, 4; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 22 January, 1860, 60.

[21] "Nouvelle Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 23 June, 1861, 238; "Nouvelle Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 6 October, 1861, 359; "Nouvelles et Announces," *Le Ménestrel*, 3 November, 1861, 391; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 16 February, 1862, 94.

[22] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 September, 1857, 4.

[23] "du grave au léger, du pathétique au plaisant". "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 12 October, 1851, 3.

in *Le Ménestrel* highlighted this distinction in 1857 when praising Arban's orchestra for its discipline, noting that it was "the best of its kind in Paris".[24]

A further factor reinforcing the perception that Arban was trading in a mass popular but somehow lighter musical environment was that in Paris, as in London, he was never far from the ballroom. Arban's ball performances were advertised weekly, as was the sale of his compositions for dance orchestras.[25] At Concerts de Paris, popular quadrilles and polkas were regularly part of the programme.[26] Arban was regarded as the "polka king" and the "leader of the quadrille", and advertising promoted his ballroom performances with promises that his polkas, quadrilles, boleros, and waltzes, would "shake the house" (see figures 17-18).[27]

Arban's profile and popularity in the ballroom tied Arban and the cornet ever closer to dance music, as opposed to orchestral music at l'Opéra and la Société. Running alongside Arban's performing and conducting routines, the debate in Paris concerning the desirability of using cornets and trumpets in the orchestra continued. Through the 1860s this in turn began to fuel interest and questions concerning the merit of teaching these instruments at the Conservatoire.

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[24] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 29 November, 1857, 4; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 13 December, 1857, 4.

[25] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 25 September, 1853, 4; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 3 June, 1855, 4.

[26] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 27 September, 1857, 4; "Concerts et Soirees," *Le Ménestrel*, 10 April, 1859, 151; "Cadet Casino," *Le Ménestrel,* 30 September, 1860, 352; "Nouvelle Diverses," *Le Ménestrel,* 13 April, 1862, 160; "Nouvelle Diverses," *Le Ménestrel,* 20 April, 1862, 161.

[27] ['polka king'] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 June, 1857, 4; ['leader of quadrille', 'shake the house'], "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 27 September, 1857, 4.

Figure 17. Arban in 1859.[28]

[28] Paul Hadol, *Joseph-Jean-Baptiste-Laurent Arban*, 1859, Lithograph Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84153851.

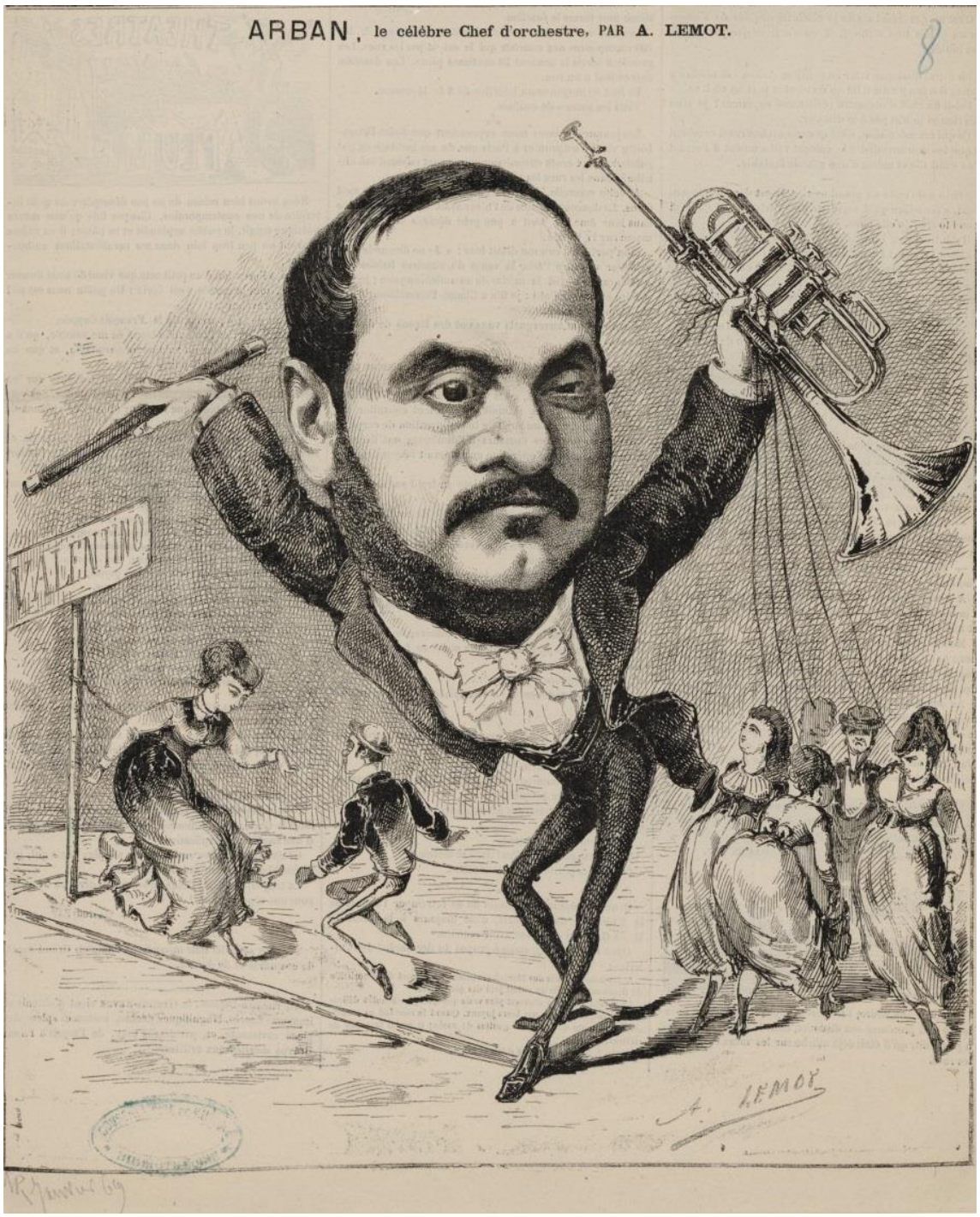

Figure 18. Arban with dancers on a string.[29]

[29] Valentin Achille Lemot, *Joseph-Jean-Baptiste-Laurent Arban*, 1869, Engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415384m.

Figure 19. Arban the celebrated maestro.[30]

[30] Henri Meyer, *Joseph-Jean-Baptiste-Laurent Arban*, 1872 Engraving Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84153836.

Guilbaut's overture to Auber

In 1861, Professor E. Guilbaut, who taught music in France's south-eastern town of Gap Hautes-Alpes wrote directly to the Minister of Arts within the French government to recommend the establishment of a civilian class for cornet at the Paris Conservatoire.[31] His letter was subsequently forwarded to Auber, who responded to Guilbaut in May, writing:

> It is true that the valve cornet becomes a very useful instrument in the orchestra nowadays and that many composers dedicate an important part to it. However, so far, there seems to have been no need to create a special class for the valve cornet at the Conservatoire, since most pupils that follow and graduate from the horn, trombone, and trumpet classes, are able to play the cornet in our theatre orchestras and public concerts. Some of them have even become quite famous.[32]

Guilbaut was a performer on the cornet. He is later listed as playing cornet alongside Jacques Maury in la Société's 1876 season, and a cornet solo arrangement by him of *Les Roses by Olivier Métra* identifies Guilbaut as an "Artiste de l'Orchestra de l'Opéra".[33] Guilbaut favoured the use of the cornet in France's orchestras and on the face of it this may have prompted his call for the establishment of a cornet class at the Conservatoire. Auber's response suggests that Guilbaut had used at least two arguments to justify his recommendation: that the cornet was widely used in France's orchestras; and,

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[31] Jean-Pierre Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889: Portrait D'un Musicien Français Du Xixe Siècle* (Switzerland: Editions Bim, 1977), 12; [English translation] Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 2 - the Beginning of His Career," *Brass Bulletin* 10 (1975): 14.

[32] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 12; [English translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 2 - the Beginning of His Career," 14.

[33] D. Kern Holoman, "50th Année 1876-1877," University of California Press, accessed 8 January, 2014. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/; E. Guilbaut, *Les Roses Valse de Olivier Métra* (Paris: Gerard, ca. 1861).

that contemporary composers frequently dedicated important parts to the instrument.

It is intriguing, whatever Guilbaut's motivation, that he elected to write to the Minister in this manner, rather than directly approaching Auber. It is difficult to imagine that he was unaware that Forestier had taught the military cornet class since its inception. In fact, it seems that Guilbaut was known to Forestier, or at the very least an admirer of him, as his name is later associated with Forestier's through having edited revised and augmented Forestier's cornet method.[34] It is also unlikely that Guilbaut was not aware of Arban's international fame as a virtuoso cornetist and his renewed presence in Paris through the late 1850s. Perhaps Guilbaut thought a cornet class was a good and necessary idea, and was merely articulating a commonplace view. Alternatively, in somewhat more aspirational terms, Guilbaut may have hoped to recommend himself for a professorial position without wishing to alert Forestier or Arban, and potential rival applicants. Conversely, Guilbaut's approach to the Minister may have been a form of fact-finding mission on behalf of another aspirant, maybe Forestier or Arban, in the hope of ascertaining how such an overture might be received by the Conservatoire. This would allow the aspiring artist to propose the idea to Auber with confidence. In isolation, Guilbaut's correspondence ends at Auber's reply that there appeared to be little need to establish a cornet class at this time. However, the publication of Arban's *Grande Méthode* in 1864, and the same author's correspondence with Auber in 1868, suggest that Arban and Forestier

[34] Joseph Forestier, *Grande Méthode de Cornet à Pistons*, ed. revised by E. Guilbaut (1932) (Paris: International Music Diffusion, 2004).

were aware of Guilbaut's overture, and that the latter was working with Forestier to a common end. I will return to this latter issue in the next chapter.

Arban and Auber, talks in 1868

In the closing months of 1868 Dauverné approached retirement. Correspondence between Arban and Auber reveals that the prospect of what might happen at Dauverné's retirement was in Arban's mind in 1868.[35] In a letter to Auber, Arban neither addresses Dauverné's pending retirement, nor Arban's suitability as his replacement, but a rather more expansive theme, "the truth of the decline of the trumpet" in France.[36] The two had met to discuss the issue in person at least once, and Auber had requested Arban to summarise his position and views in a formal letter.[37]

Arban's argument is brief and reveals a pragmatic disposition. Firstly, and in tones that echo those of Guilbaut's overture seven years earlier, Arban held that it was a fact that hardly anyone played the trumpet anymore.[38] "It is well known", he states, "that you can play the trumpet and starve, while everybody can live comfortably playing the cornet".[39] Arban contends that in the theatres of the provinces especially, but he notes parenthetically also those in Paris, artists

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[35] Correspondence cited in Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 18-19; [English Translation] Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," *Brass Bulletin* 11 (1975): 22.

[36] "Voici, cher Maître, la Vérité sur la Question de la décadence de la trompette". Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

[37] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

[38] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

[39] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

played the cornet rather than the trumpet.[40] Arban also pointed out that Auber was one among those composers who afforded the cornet important parts in French Opera.[41] Secondly, and for these reasons, the trumpet class at the Conservatoire was shrinking.[42] It was Arban's view that enrolment was waning because the trumpet class did not lead to viable employment; artists were choosing to play the cornet over the trumpet for its utility.[43] Beyond these arguments, Arban states that the cornet was the younger brother of the trumpet, and he makes a brief passing reference to the difference in timbre of the two instruments.[44] The latter two points suggest that he and Auber had discussed the cornet's introduction to musical life in France, and recognised its subsequent connection to the trumpet tradition more broadly. This discussion included aesthetic questions as to the suitability of the timbre of both instruments in orchestral contexts.

A little under four weeks later Auber wrote to the Minister of State proposing, exactly as Arban had suggested, that following Dauverné's retirement the Conservatoire create a single combined class for trumpet and cornet with students contesting the annual Concours compulsorily on both instruments.[45]

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[40] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

[41] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

[42] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889: Portrait D'un Musicien Français Du Xixe Siècle*, 19; Translation: Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

[43] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

[44] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

[45] I Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

Auber then went further to propose Arban as the professor of the new class.[46] He put the view that as a former first prize-winner for trumpet and a most skilful soloist, Arban possessed the required qualities to satisfactorily meet the double demands of the post.[47] Auber's proposal followed Arban's arguments and his practical recommendations. However, a comparison of their correspondence shows that Auber had also expanded and modified those arguments. This offers some insight into Auber's position on the matters at hand. Firstly, Auber feared that the trumpet might soon be completely abandoned, and he wished to prevent its extinction.[48] While Arban had made only a brief reference to the trumpet, Auber strongly argued that the trumpet remained indispensable and useful; he also expressed concern that enrolment in the trumpet class at the Conservatoire was considerably down, and it was difficult for orchestras to find capable trumpeters.[49] Auber's letter thus reveals that on the eve of Dauverné's retirement from the Conservatoire, the institution retained a commitment to the natural trumpet. It also reveals that in 1868 the cornet trumpet debate continued to occupy the elite orchestral field.

The continuing debate concerning the trumpet tradition and the role of the cornet in the orchestral field was one in which Arban had previously acted strategically. The clearest example of this strategic behaviour lies in Arban's publication of the *Grande Méthode* four years earlier. In it, Arban recommended

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[46] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.
[47] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.
[48] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.
[49] Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889*, 19; [English Translation] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 22.

himself and the cornet to the Conservatoire, and in so doing sought to promote the cornet over the trumpet in France's musical life. The document was designed to bolster Arban's push to eventually replace Dauverné as professor of trumpet at the Conservatoire. It was at once a defence of the cornet as the rightful successor to the natural trumpet, and a tactical enunciation of Arban's belief that he was the founder and leader of the cornet school, and in this way, the most eminently qualified for the professorial position. It was, after the fact, a method for cornet à piston and saxhorns. In light of Auber's subsequent recommendation of Arban, the strategy almost worked. First, however, it is in order to contextualise Arban's *Grande Méthode* more thoroughly.

The defence of the cornet

The preface to Arban's *Grande Méthode* offers considerable insight into Arban's character and motivation in the years leading up to 1868. In it, he addresses three broad themes: the perfection of the cornet, the incompleteness of 'old school' performers and teachers, and his own career as a performer.

Arban states from the outset of his *Avant-Propos* that he is undertaking a defence of the cornet.[50] The opening paragraph puts his view that: the cornet was used in orchestras and in solo performance; that it was indispensable to the modern composer; it was well-liked by the public, placing it alongside the flute, clarinet and violin; and, that its elevated position stemmed from the beauty of its tone, the perfection of its mechanism, and the immensity of its resources.[51] If this characterisation of the cornet as an esteemed instrument in

[50] Arban, *Arban's Complete Method*, iv.
[51] Ibid.

French music was accurate or widely accepted, then the subsequent four paragraphs that are given over to developing and expanding that defence do, as Arban pre-emptively observes, appear strange and superfluous.[52] The ensuing paragraphs of the preface-as-defence expose Arban's opening statement as a form of rhetorical device. They also reveal something of Arban's motivation, and the key themes to which he will continually return in the *Grande Méthode*.

Arban structures the narrative historically, but his first concern is what he regards as the lack of acceptance of the cornet into French musical life. Given the pervasive presence of the cornet in the popular field and the military field for the previous thirty years, Arban can only mean its acceptance in the elite orchestral field. This he attributes to three causes: firstly, the traditionalists or conservatives who resisted the adoption of the cornet into France's musical life because they cleaved to old instruments and old practices; secondly, the diverse backgrounds and varying ability and taste of the first-generation cornetists and those who followed their teaching; and, thirdly, the lack of virtuoso or fully developed artists along with a comprehensive guiding pedagogy for the instrument.[53]

Arban's delicately worded and ostensibly anonymous lament that tradition and conservative opinion had initially retarded the success of the cornet is on the face of it a curious claim. It is hard to imagine that he was unaware of the first three decades of the cornet in France. Not only had the cornet exploded into

[52] "paraitre etrange ou superflu." Ibid.
[53] Arban, *Arban's Complete Method*, iv.

Paris, but also its use at l'Opéra and la Société after 1835 saw it quickly occupy a place, albeit highly contested, alongside if not within the elite French trumpet tradition. Dauverné identified its influential spread as early as 1845.[54] By the time Arban graduated from the Conservatoire that same year, the cornet was already deeply ensconced in the orchestral field and the popular musical life of Paris. The cornet had not replaced the natural trumpet, but was commonly used alongside it.

Arban's seeming indifference to the rapid spread of the cornet is clarified in the second argument of his preface. He is less careful to be fully anonymous, and his concerns are not so much historical but directed at present performers and teachers. Bluntly he contends:

> This, then, is the point upon which I wish to insist, and to which I wish to call particular attention. At the present time, the incompleteness of the old school of performers is unanimously acknowledged, as is also the insufficiency of their instruction.[55]

Arban argues that, because the earliest performers on the cornet came from diverse backgrounds, initially horn players but later others, the performance and teaching of this old school was incomplete.[56] While this situation had improved in the intervening years he argued, the adherents of this school were ultimately not able to move beyond their faulty roots.[57] For Arban, the resulting lack of overall coherence in instruction and performance continued to do little to serve the development and acceptance of the cornet.

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[54] Edward Tarr, "The Romantic Trumpet, Part 1," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 258.
[55] Arban, *Arban's Complete Method*, iv.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.

Generalisations in Arban's Méthode text

Arban develops the first two themes of the preface, the beauty and perfection of the cornet and the incompleteness of old school performers and teachers, to varying degrees throughout the *Grande Méthode*. However, after a wide-ranging introductory section, he develops them most completely in two key sections of text: "On Style, Faults to be avoided" and "Explanation of the Studies on the Slur".[58]

Arban only ever speaks negatively of the old school, by which he means the current performers and teachers of the cornet. For the most part, he is content to identify the common defects of "artists": who are unable to articulate correctly; or who play with poor rhythm; or the few artists who can execute a scale correctly; and the many artists who display poor taste in an "unfortunate tendency to over exaggerate".[59] On a few occasions, it seems that Arban has specific identities in mind as he addresses "some performers", or "certain horn players", "adepts of this old school", and "these gentlemen".[60] Otherwise, when it comes to specific groups of musicians he mentions "horn players", makes some passing observations on "trumpet players", and always in a highly negative fashion, "military band musicians".[61] His reference to trumpeters refers to their capacity to perform tonguing on the trumpet, only to encounter difficulty with the double and triple tonguing styles for which he had become famous.[62]

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[58] "du style, défauts à éviter", and "Explication dos etudes sur le coule." Ibid., 6, 37-38.
[59] "fâcheuse tendance aux exagérations." Ibid., 6 [style], 7 [rhythm], 58 [scales], 58 [phrasing/vibrato].
[60] Ibid., 37-38.
[61] Ibid., 6, 8, 38.
[62] Ibid., 154.

In the introductory section on mouthpiece placement, Arban makes specific reference to horn players, and the difference between their teaching and his own. “Horn players” he observes, “generally place the mouthpiece two thirds on the upper lip, and one third on the lower, which is precisely the reverse of what I have just recommended for the cornet”.[63] This simple statement is directed at those who recommended the use of a traditional horn embouchure on the cornet. It is followed by a lengthy explanation as to why such a placement is not a suitable basis for the cornet. Arban points out that, “that which may admirably suit the horn, is attended with very bad results when applied to the cornet”.[64] For him it leads to the instrument being placed against the lips and teeth in a downward facing position that is contrary to the instrument’s design, and in practice is a faulty habit that is virtually impossible to rectify.[65] Furthermore, by then moving to discuss the production of the upper register in this context, Arban implies that such faulty embouchures tend to impede the production of higher notes. To the first generation cornetists with a background in horn, like Dufrène and Forestier, this would have seemed strange.

On style and faults to be avoided

Arban’s criticism of the old school is more pointed when he moves to discuss what constitutes good style and the faults to be avoided by performers. In this section in particular, he identifies what he regards as the radical defects of military musicians. Arban links them to a list of eight habitual and widespread examples of poor articulation and the manner in which these lead to incorrect

[63] “Les cornistes posent généralement l’embouchure deux tiers sur la lèvre inferieure, ce qui est justement le contraire de ce que je viens d’indiquer pour le cornet”. Ibid., 3.
[64] “et ce qui peut très-bien convenir au cor est d’un mauvais effet avec le cornet”. Ibid.
[65] Ibid., 3-4.

rhythm and poor style.[66] He insists on clarity and control of the articulation, and a rhythmic accuracy that precisely reflects what is notated, what he terms “the strict observance of the value of each note”, because for him it is the foundation of good style.[67] Arban concludes this section of the text by pointing out that there are many other defects, which invariably stem from poor taste. Examples of such exaggerated emoting include the ill-directed use of devices like the messa di voce, which results in a spasmodic bulging on some notes, and the overuse of an often crudely produced vibrato, or the “deplorable practice” of unnecessarily introducing portamenti and over-embellishing phrases.[68]

For Arban, it is impossible to become a good artist unless one heeds these basic principles. While such bad habits were widespread among military players, he believed that brass musicians in general were too often subject to such faults and excesses. Arban concludes, that for these reasons he would return to these themes repeatedly throughout the *Grande Méthode*. Arban believed this to be necessary because “wrong habits are in general too deeply rooted in performers on brass instruments to yield a single warning; they therefore require vigorous and perpetual correction”.[69]

Explanation of studies on the slur

Arban’s polemic is at its most direct and forceful in the comparatively lengthy section entitled “Explanation of the Studies on the Slur”.[70] The intensity of this

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[66] Ibid., 6.
[67] “rigoureusement la loi d’observer les valeurs.” Ibid., 6.
[68] Ibid., 8-9.
[69] “Les mauvaises habitudes sont generalement trop enracinees chez les musiciens qui jouent des instruments de cuivre, pour ceder à un seul avertissment et on ne saurait leur faire une assez rude guerre.” Ibid., 9.
[70] “Explication dos etudes sur le coule.” Ibid., 37-38.

section reflects the fact that for Arban, “this portion of my method is undeniably one of the most important”.[71] Moreover, here the themes of the cornet’s perfection and the incompleteness of the old school are closely interwoven and to the fore. Arban’s criticism of the old school has specific persons or groups in mind when he repeatedly addresses his remarks to “certain horn players”, “adepts of this school” and “these gentlemen”.[72] He means to attack those who approached the cornet in a way that betrayed its perfection because they applied baseless and specious techniques in its performance. This is important because in it Arban reveals the aesthetic and material agenda that underpins the entire *Grande Méthode*.

After briefly explaining the appropriate use of pistons and the lips in producing a slur on the cornet, Arban gives considerable attention to the manner in which slurring by way of the lips alone should be executed. For him, this was one of the fundamental skills required for good cornet playing, and “the foundation of an easy and brilliant execution” which also “leads to great suppleness [flexibility] of the lips”.[73] Having established its importance, Arban moves immediately to say that the exercises that followed were for technical development only, and the skill ought not be used in performance unless specifically called for in the score. He admonishes his readers:

> I only give these exercises as studies, and I in no way advise pupils to adopt them in general practice, as is the case with certain horn players who wish to apply to the cornet à pistons a system which has no solid foundation, the cornet being one of the most complete and perfect instruments, repudiating rather than requiring all factitious

[71] “cette partie de la methode est sans contredit une des plus importantes.” Ibid.
[72] “certains cornistes”, “les adeptes de cette école” and “ces Messieurs.” Ibid.
[73] “la source d'une execution facile et brillante; on obtient par lui une grande souplesse de lèvres.” Ibid., 37.

> practices, the effect of which will always appear detestable to people of taste.[74]

Arban's criticism of the old school and its followers is explicit in the ensuing text, in which he gives two examples of their propensity to misapply the lip slur skill he has just outlined. The first is in the performance of the gruppetto in which performers substitute the interval of a third in place of a second at its commencement so as to execute with the lips alone without the aid of valves (see figures 20 and 21).

Figure 20. Gruppetto written.[75]

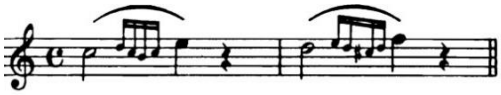
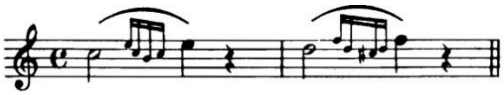


Figure 21. Gruppetto played.[76]



The second example, an extract from an étude by the natural horn player and teacher Jacques François Gallay, illustrates the same practice in the performance of triplet passages (see figures 22 and 23).

[74] "Je ne donne donc ces exercises que comme études, et je n'engage aucunement les élèves à s'en server dans la pratique, ainsi que le font certains cornistes qui veulent appliquer au cornet à piston un système qui n'a aucune raison d'être, puisque c'est un instrument des plus parfaits et des plus complets qui répudie plutôt qu'il n'exige des procédés factices dont l'effet paraitra toujours détestable aux gens de gout." Ibid.

[75] Ibid., 38.

[76] Ibid.

Figure 22. Triplets written.[77]

Figure 23. Triplets played.[78]

In each case, Arban asserts that the written phrase could be played quite easily with the aid of pistons.[79] For him, relying unduly on the lips produces the latter unsatisfactory and incorrect results.

Arban is frustrated with the exponents of the old school who for him do not respect the completeness of the cornet. His argument is at first technological in that he was convinced the cornet had the mechanical means to produce the desired results. Arban flagged the perfection of the cornet's mechanism as an important theme in the opening sentence of his *Grande Méthode*.[80] He returns to it here when he contends, "all that is required is the regular movement of the fingers and each note will be emitted with irreproachable precision and purity".[81] For Arban, using the valve to execute such phrases was natural, simple, and self-evident. His argument is at the same time musical. Given that the correct notes could be played with ease, he questions the motivation and artistry of those who pursue a faulty technique that produces incorrect notes. Arban's increasingly heated criticism of those who perpetuate this "intolerable vice" is also personal, and brings into question both the musical authority and taste of

[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid. 37.
[80] Ibid., iv.
[81] Ibid., 37.

its advocates.[82] He implies that adepts of the old school were impertinent when he asks, “by what right do certain artists substitute an upper third for the appoggiatura”.[83] His rhetorical response was that they found it “more convenient” to play according to the confines of their technique rather than play the written material correctly.[84] In other words, cornetists who play this way were both unmusical and lazy.

As always, Arban’s argument is framed and articulated in practical terms. However, it reveals his deeper musical aesthetic and philosophical orientation, and it casts some light on the possible identities of the old school he opposes. Beyond the criticism that the above practices were borne of artistic compromise and convenience, Arban bristles, “as though it were not more natural to emit the true notes by employing the pistons”.[85] This passing reference to what was more natural indicates that Arban was attacking the conservative horn and trumpet players who cleaved to valveless instruments and playing because it was “natural” and therefore superior to using valves. These were the musicians who had dominated brass performance practice in the elite orchestral field since the beginning of the century.

Arban against Gallay

A valuable optic through which to consider this is Arban’s selection of the excerpt from Gallay (see figures 21 and 22). Given the wealth of individual

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[82] Ibid.

[83] “De quel droit alors certains artistes remplacent ils par une tierce superieure l’appoggiatura” and “plus commode.” Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] “comme s'il n'était pas plus naturel de faire sortir les vraies notes en employment les pistons.” Ibid., 38.

material in the *Grande Méthode,* it is possible to question why Arban elected not to illustrate his point, as he had done throughout the text, by writing an original triplet excerpt. That he chose on this single occasion to use material from another author as an illustrative example, strongly suggests that Arban's use of Gallay was a tactical manoeuvre.

At the time Arban was preparing his *Grande Méthode* it is unlikely that he knew Gallay would pass away in 1864. However, he would have been well aware that at the age of 69 Gallay's retirement from the Conservatoire was imminent. The *Grande Méthode* directly targeted the elder statesman of the natural hand-horn tradition. In attacking Dauverné's contemporary at the Conservatoire, Arban meant to malign not just the figure head but all those in the Dauprat-Gallay hand horn lineage: the entire school of cornetists who had learnt from either Dauprat, Gallay, Meifred, or Forestier. He also meant to attack those like Dauverné who cleaved to the natural instruments rather than embrace valve technology. A clever double entendre in the text shows there is little doubt that this school and this aesthetic was Arban's target. He rages against these gentlemen who were pursuing "escamotage", a word that evokes a sense of deception by way of sleight-of-hand.[86]

Arban's reference to Gallay criticises those at the Conservatoire, la Société, and l'Opéra, for whom the valve mechanism represented threat and loss. For Gallay and Meifred who had taught at the Conservatoire throughout Arban's lifetime, the valve brought a timbral uniformity that would rob the instrument of its intrinsic and defining qualities, the very traits bestowed on it by nature, and

[86] "pareils escamotages n'ont aucune raison d'etre sur le cornet á piston" [such deceptions by sleight of hand have no place on the cornet]. Arban, *Arban's Complete Method*, 38.

those that made it a unique, superior, and artistic instrument. Dauverné identified with and was led by his horn-playing contemporaries. However, for Dauverné the valve represented threat and loss because it introduced a variability that undermined the natural trumpet's intrinsic purity and clarity of sound, the very characteristics that made it an instrument of taste. For all these artists, valve technology corrupted that which was natural. Arban directly opposed this collective view. For him the valve represented progress, promise, and the completion and perfection of the cornet. In an aesthetic that perhaps ironically, contained echoes of his teacher's quest for purity and clarity of sound, Arban embraced the valve because it afforded the cornet uniformity and consistency. It was entirely natural, for him, that the valve removed timbral variability and the need for artificial techniques to achieve the complete chromatic compass.

Arban's reference to Gallay also targeted the leadership at the Conservatoire. Despite the cornet's public popularity and use in the orchestra, training on it had otherwise not been a priority for Auber and the Conservatoire. Auber had made this view explicit in his correspondence to Guilbaut in 1861.

Arban against Forestier

This Gallay-lens also casts Arban's continued criticism of faults perpetuated by military band musicians in a different light. It is more pointed than it at first appears. It is difficult to fully reconcile Arban's criticism of military players. As professor of contralto saxhorn he had been at least partially responsible for their

practical training since 1846.[87] On the one hand, Arban's experience with these players would have given him a keen awareness of their shortcomings. To the extent that his *Grande Méthode* addressed cornet and saxhorn players, and intended no sleight on his military teaching colleagues, he sought to rectify their common faults. On the other hand, his criticism of military cornet players reflected directly and poorly on Forestier. This appears to be part of an ongoing debate between 1860 and 1864.

Technically and materially, Forestier was the first professor of cornet at the Conservatoire. He was appointed to the Gymnase de Musique Militaire at its commencement in 1836, and retained his cornet professorship when the Gymnase was absorbed into the Conservatoire proper in 1857. Outside the classes of old school teachers Gallay, Meifred, and Dauverné, with whom Forestier also performed regularly, Forestier's military cornet class was the next major institutional source of cornet players in Paris.

If Arban was not part of a concerted campaign against Forestier after 1860, then he was active in debates about cornet teaching in general, and Forestier's ability in particular. In this period the standard of student cornet players, the quality of their sound, and their ability to perform with an elevated style, frequently framed reporting in the press. In a review of the Conservatoire's annual brass Concours in 1861, three months after Guilbaut and Auber had exchanged correspondence, Colin from *La France Musicale* dismissed the graduates of Forestier's cornet class for generally playing with a weak and poor

[87] Baneaux (saxotromba), Arban (contralto saxhorn), Lecomte (four-valve bass saxhorn), Dautonel (contrabass). "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 November, 1846, 3; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 14 June, 1857, 3.

sound quality; he regarded the insipid nature of the performances to be uncharacteristic of the instrument.[88] Two years later Oscar Comettant's review of the Concours in *Le Ménestrel* was circumspect about the cornet graduates in Forestier's class. He noted that the trumpet class sounded good, but while the musicians in the cornet class were satisfactory, none of the latter had really achieved the distinction of an elevated style in their performance.[89] If Arban was not personally a catalyst for the focus on these themes between 1860 and 1864, he was quick to capitalise on them in his *Grande Méthode*.

Meanwhile, in May 1862 Arban is not only recognised as a fine cornetist and conductor, but also referred to as the "clever Professor of the Conservatoire" for the first time in the press.[90] The fact that this quickly followed Colin's review of the poor standard of Forrestier's cornet class, served to promote Arban as a leading teacher. Following the publication of his *Grande Méthode* in 1864, Arban is described as "the excellent Professor of the Conservatoire" in a concert review.[91] These emerging associations with Arban's teaching were brief and circumstantial, and a measure of the growing familiarity with his person and work. However, they also point to the possibility that emerging reports in *La France Musical* and *Le Ménestrel* either resulted directly from prompting by Arban, or they reflected broader discussions in favour of his teaching.

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[88] "Les éleves de cette classe ont généralement ete faibles; ils ont une mauvaise qualité de son, jouent d'une manière molle, sans vigeur; l'instrument, dans leurs mains, n'a pas le caractère qui lui est proper". Colin, "Concours," *La France Musicale*, 4 August, 1861, 243.

[89] Comettant, "Concours de cornet à pistons," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 August, 1863, 278.

[90] "Concerts des Champs-Élysées," *Le Ménestrel*, 4 May, 1862, 183. Notes that Arban was "le célèbre et populaire cornet à pistons, l'habile professeur au Conservatoire impérial de musique".

[91] A de Gasperini, "Revue des Concerts," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 December, 1865, 20.

While neither *La France Musical* nor *Le Ménestrel* explicitly favoured a particular teacher or performer, the commentary served to juxtapose the teaching and performance of Forestier with that of Arban. However, in June 1862, Durand's review of the updated and expanded edition of Forestier's *Méthode de Cornet à Piston*, does exhibit a partisan edge. Durand put the view that, "due to the lack of proper methods and experienced teachers, we have had to endure for a long time orchestras lacking in brass instruments, particularly in the provinces".[92] He welcomed Forestier's publication, and in the detailed one-page review, Durand praised Forestier as a clever teacher, who had followed closely the progressive development of valve brass instruments.[93] He contended that the new edition of Forestier's *Méthode* was accessible for beginners, but also allowed for the very highest development.[94] In the latter regard, Durand recognised that Forestier had long experience as a teacher, and the high quality of his teaching had produced many students in the military.[95] Durand also lauded Forestier for the fact that he had proven his worth through his own performance career. This showed that the cornet need not be relegated exclusively to the quadrille and dance band, as Durand held it had been for some time, but that it could take an important part in the orchestra.[96] If Colin's review of the cornet Concours in 1861 had undermined Forestier's reputation as a teacher and orchestral performer, Durand's review of his *Méthode* in 1862

[92] "C'est a cause de l'insuffisance des bonnes méthodes et des maîtres expérimentés, que l'on a dû subir pendant longtemps dans les orchestres, et notamment dans ceux de province, le vide des instruments de cuivre." Durand, "Methode de cornet à piston par M J Forrestier," *La France Musicale*, 22 June, 1862, 196-197.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

provided a comprehensive argument in support of Forestier's pedigree and the positive impact of his teaching.

In contrast to Arban, Forestier's cornet teaching pedigree was grounded in his long association with the Conservatoire. He also had a cornet performance history that was located in the orchestral tradition through his association with la Société alongside and beyond the tenure of Dauverné. Arban on the other hand, had appeared at l'Opéra once, fourteen years earlier, as a soloist onstage with the Sax-organised Banda in Verdi's *Jerusalem* in December 1847. Arban's only association with la Société post-graduation was his demonstration of Sax's cornet in April the following year. Apart from that Arban had only ever performed as a soloist, or played in dance bands and popular orchestras. Arban had also not published a major method for cornet or saxhorn. If Arban had designs on teaching the cornet at the Conservatoire, Forestier was his most immediate, and his biggest, threat. Arban's strong critique of the old school, and criticisms of military players, then, was meant to differentiate Arban and the cornet from the manner in which the cornet had been taught by the horn school, Dauverné, and by Forestier. Arban does not identify with Forestier's and this broader teaching tradition. He presents himself and his *Grande Méthode* as the solution to its retrograde outcomes.

The résumé of Arban's long experience

In addition to the perfection of the cornet, and the incompleteness of old school performers and teachers, the final theme addressed in the *Grande Méthode* was Arban's career as a performer. Arban bases his credibility and experience as a teacher and therefore the quality of his *Grande Méthode* firmly and solely

on his success as a soloist. There is no mention of successful students, whether within or from without his military alto saxhorn class, nor of work in the orchestral field. As if in direct response to Durand's review of Forestier's *Méthode*, neither is there reference to Arban's many years of experience playing quadrilles in dance bands.

For Arban, his career formed the frame in which the current need for the *Grande Méthode* should be understood. On the basis of his "brilliant successes", he could now convey "the result of thorough study and assiduous practice".[97] Due to his success it was a matter of necessity that the cornet should have a comprehensive method comparable to that of the flute, clarinet, violin, and voice.[98] He also wrote that the production of such a method had been a goal throughout his long career as both a performer and a professor. Arban is dismissive of the old school in his implication that no prior method was able to prepare student for the success that he was able to achieve. Arban is able to make these claims, because his *Grande Méthode* reflected a single, fundamental, and philosophical and material conflation: Arban's success as a soloist was proof of the perfection of the cornet.

Arban does not refer to his own career outside the preface, but the volume of text that he dedicates to this theme is more than it at first appears because it includes a one-hundred-word biographical footnote. The basis of his belief in himself and in the cornet's perfection was his own career. He claims:

> The results which I have obtained, in France, Germany and England victoriously plead the cause of the cornet, and prove that the latter can compete with the most popular of instruments. In a concert given

[97] Arban, *Arban's Complete Method*, v.
[98] Ibid.

> by the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire in 1848, I played the famous air for the flute composed by Boehm on a Swiss theme, comprising, as is well known, an intentional combination of enormous difficulties. From that day forth I may say the cornet took its place among classical instruments.[99]

Whether the parenthetical nature of this remark was at Arban's initiative, or that of a shrewd publisher for whatever reason, it is clear that for Arban, the perfection of the cornet and his success as a performer were deeply interwoven. While he makes a brief passing reference to a worthy few who genuinely merited the title "artist", it was the results that he had obtained as a soloist that pled victoriously the cause of the cornet.[100] For Arban, the cornet rightfully took its place alongside other classical instruments with his solo performance of *Air Suisse* at the Conservatoire in April 1848. Its success rested especially on his ability to perform a range of innovative technical challenges, in particular the double and triple tonguing technique that he was first to apply to the cornet. In the decade and a half following the 1848 Conservatoire performance, Arban's frequent touring and popular acclaim served, for him, to confirm the primacy of the cornet over the trumpet.

Arban's reference to his performing career thus appears to be a claim to elite status. He believed he had secured the equality of the cornet with the other orchestral instruments. As such, his *Grande Méthode* was not only a comprehensive resume of Arban's experience, it likewise possessed an elite

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[99] "Les résultats que j'ai obtenus en France, en Allemagne et en Angleterre, plaident victorieusement la cause d'un cornet à pistons et demontrent que celui-ci peut le disputer aux instruments les plus aimés. En 1848, je me fis entendre a une séance de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, ou je jouai le fameux air de flute composé par Boehm sur un thème Suisse, et dans lequel sont, comme on sait, entassées à plaisir les plus inextriccables difficulties; à partir de ce jour, je puis dire que le cornet à pistons prit place à côté des instruments classiques." Ibid.

[100] Ibid., iv.

value that differentiated it from the incomplete and insufficient instruction of the old school. Arban's claim to elite status, and the sense of distance that he sought to create from his role as a military band instrument teacher, magnified his criticism of Forestier and military musicians. It also created a sense of difference between Arban and Forestier.

Arban's reference to his career in this way intends to differentiate both the method and the man. It was a strategic response to events such as Guilbaut's overture and the debates concerning good quality cornet teaching in the early 1860s. It sought to capitalise on what Arban sensed as his popularity in Paris. The *Grande Méthode* had an equally strategic eye on events at the Conservatoire around 1868. In the context of the generational shift among the professors at the Conservatoire, Gallay's imminent and Dauverné's pending retirement, the publication of Arban's *Grande Méthode* served to highlight its author's pedigree and expertise to the Conservatoire. Arban's claim to elite status was also a gentle reminder to Auber and the Conservatoire's leadership that if there had been a decline in the quality and number of trumpet players, and adequately trained cornet players in France's orchestras, it was a direct result of their recent policy at the Conservatoire.

The elite style and the great study

Arban presents himself as the epitome of modern cornet playing, and puts the view that in and through his success, the cornet had reached its equal status with other orchestral instruments. Arban's conflation of his own popular success with the cornet's popularity and utility, goes some way to revealing his view of himself in history. Arban's history was ahistorical. He was personally, and

aesthetically, disconnected from the origins of the valve and the place of the cornet prior to 1848. At best, this was evidence of his age. By the time he entered the Conservatoire as a student in 1843, the cornet had already been in use for a decade. However, Arban is effectively making the claim that while the cornet was less successful at its origins, and so often dismissed as an instrument that ought not be taken seriously, after his concert of 1848 the cornet rightfully took its place alongside the best orchestral instruments.

Arban was critical of those who played and taught the cornet poorly because he believed that in himself and his own career he had proven the cornet's perfection. This goes some way to explaining the seemingly personal nature of his pejorative portrayal of the old school and the military musician. Arban's criticism of the old school was not that they did not support the cornet, but that they did so without due reference to its completeness and perfection. To approach the cornet in such a way as to minimise the use of valves, much as one might approach a valveless horn or trumpet, or even to play it haphazardly, was to approach it with a faulty technique. More importantly, such inaccurate and undisciplined practices presented the cornet as an instrument lacking in the taste and elevated style for which it should be known. Ultimately, Arban was critical of the scurrilous sleight-of-hand of the old school and sloppy military playing because this incorrect performance practice militated against the acceptance of the cornet in the elite orchestral field and undermined the acceptance of the cornet into the art music.

At the same time, Arban's *Grande Méthode*, confirmed what his biography had demonstrated materially. He was and always had been, disconnected from the orchestral tradition in Paris. As this developed through the Conservatoire, la

Société, and l'Opéra, Arban's career was deeply enmeshed in the now rather more distinct realm of light popular music and dance music, over against instrumental orchestral music. As a result, while Arban believed the cornet to be the complete successor of the trumpet, which could and should, naturally and rightfully take its place alongside instruments such as the flute, violin and pianoforte, this was not a view shared unanimously by elders at the Conservatoire not to mention still influential orchestral players in Paris. Ultimately, Arban's connection to the military and popular music fields, undermined his ability to persuade influential players and administrators of his view. While Arban's *Grande Méthode* may have delineated distinctions between its author, the old horn school, and in particular, Forestier, his demonstrated lack of connection to the orchestral tradition and its still persuasive core tenets and actors, meant that he was only partially successful in converting the cultural capital in his success to a position at the Conservatoire (see figure 24).

Figure 24. Arban, cornetist, conductor, and composer.[101]

[101] Atelier Nadar, *Arban Compositeur*, 1900, Photograph Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531007540.

Chapter 7

Turning to the valve trumpet

Introduction

Late in January 1869 Auber proposed a range of brass appointments at the Conservatoire: Jules-Henry-Louis Cerclier, as Assistant Professor, would occupy Dauverné's former position as professor of the joint civilian and military trumpet class; Forestier would retain the military class for the cornet à piston; Jacques-Hippolyte Maury would take Arban's position as professor in the military alto-saxhorn class; and, Arban was to be appointed Professor of cornet in the newly created civilian class.[1] The appointments were material expression of Auber's, indeed the Conservatoire's, conservatism with regard to the natural trumpet, along with his pragmatism concerning the cornet.

The presence of Cerclier and Maury points to the fact that for all the machinations involving Arban and Forestier discussed in chapter six, they were but one constituent element of the micro-politics shaping the art music field. In 1861 within the Conservatoire, France's patriarch of the natural trumpet Dauverné made a move that suggests the natural trumpet bordered on obsolescence. He turned slightly to valve technology, by composing for and examining the valve trumpet at the Conservatoire for the first time. A brief exploration of Dauverné's decision opens this chapter. It then moves to the tenure of Arban and Cerclier in the first years after Dauverné's retirement. Following the social and political dislocations of the Siege of Paris, Cerclier's

[1] "Actualities," *La France Musicale*, 31 January, 1869, 34; "Concours d'instruments," *La Comédie*, 3 January, 1869, np.

conservatism, both voluntarily and by virtue of his appointment by Auber and the Conservatoire's leadership, perpetuated Dauverné's staid approach to the natural trumpet. The trumpet class attracted few students and these gained ever lower results at the Concours. Arban in contrast, after only a few thriving years, was unable to resist the siren call of touring to Russia, so resigned. This allowed his replacement Jacques Maury to bring an orchestral focus, rather than Arban's solo-virtuoso predilection, to the cornet class. Outside the Conservatoire, the appointment of the cornet player turned high-valve-trumpet expert, Xavier Napoléon Aimé Teste, at l'Opéra and la Société, signalled the shifting nature of the French trumpet tradition at this time. Teste's influential recourse to valve trumpet spelt the beginning of the end for both the natural trumpet and the cornet in the orchestra. Meanwhile, Arban's career reinforced its now familiar markers: strong identifications with light music and dance in the mass popular music field, and, his and the cornet's overall disconnect from the art music field. The culmination of these various developments on the back of five decades of debate over the natural trumpet, the valve trumpet, and the cornet, was a sense that the French trumpet tradition was undergoing significant change. In 1874, the year of Dauverné's death, the trumpet tradition turned to the valve trumpet.

Dauverné turns toward the valve trumpet

Following Dauverné's passionate defence of the natural trumpet in 1857, early evidence of an emerging turn toward the valve trumpet lies in his publication of *Six Solos pour la Trompette Chromatique* in 1860.[2] Escudier, in *La France*

[2] "Six solos pour la trompette chromatique," *La France Musicale*, 12 August, 1860, 331.

Musicale, observes that the use of the valve trumpet was becoming general practice in Paris, and that Dauverné's *Six Solos* was written to accommodate the examination of the same at the Conservatoire.[3] Dauverné must have intended them for use beginning with the Concours of 1861. That same year Dauverné worked alongside Meifred and Forestier on the committee established by Minister of War, General Mellinet, to examine the models, price, and shelf life of brass instruments used in the military.[4] In these ways, Dauverné began to engage with valve brass practice more closely than he had at any time since 1833.

Dauverné's turn was gentle and perhaps still to a degree reluctant. His works for valve trumpet retained the traditional declamatory style and arpeggiated figures that characterised his earlier natural trumpet compositions. In comparison to Arban's air and variations compositions for cornet, the use of valves is simpler, multiple tonguing appears in only short motivic bursts, and slurring is often kept to small groupings of notes.[5] On the one hand, Dauverné found it difficult to move beyond the motifs and melodic language of the natural trumpet writing that sustained his career. On the other hand, his valve trumpet compositions demonstrated only minimal interest or capacity in exploiting the full chromatic facility of the instrument. Escudier's review of Dauverné's chromatic trumpet solos returned to and lauded Dauverné for "his remarkable trumpet method".[6] The review noted some of the *Méthode's* key themes: that

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[3] "Ces solos, écrits à diverses époques pour les concours du Conservatoire." Ibid.
[4] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 January, 1861, 62.
[5] François Dauverné, *VI solos pour la trompette chromatique* (New York, NY: Carl Fischer, 2012).
[6] "Six solos pour la trompette chromatique," *La France Musicale*, 12 August, 1860, 331.

regrettably, the beautiful sound of the natural trumpet was disappearing, but it remains valuable, especially if performing the works of Handel, Gluck, Haydn, and Mozart; and the valve trumpet offered resources the natural trumpet did not possess.[7] Escudier appears to have been well briefed by Dauverné. Pontes later reiterated Escudier's view, again in *La France Musicale*, in his review of the Concours in 1862.[8] Pontes believed that the omission of the natural trumpet was a regrettable change because it would in turn deprive orchestras of the beautiful sound of that instrument.[9] "We deeply regret" he observed, "that the piston trumpet has been substituted for the natural trumpet in this class. This deprives orchestras of a beautifully sounding instrument that cannot be replaced".[10]

Dauverné's decision to examine the valve trumpet at the Concours was both an expression of and contributor to the still constant debates concerning the use of the valve trumpet and or the cornet in the orchestra. While valve trumpet use was becoming more widespread, this was far from a unified practice with a standardised instrument. Chromatic trumpets in Paris, for instance, still variously included different models of cylinder and piston trumpets.[11] At the same time, in addition to Escudier's and Pontes' commentary on the loss of the timbre of the natural trumpet, there was continued concern for and discussion

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[7] "Cet instrument, qui porto aussi le nom de trompette à cylindres et de trompette à pistons, offer des resources que la trompette simple n'a pas; et cependant, il faut le dire, la belle sonorité de l'ancien instrument pourra être regrettée, quand il s'agira de l'exécution de certains ouvrages de Handel, de Gluck, de Haydn et de Mozart." Ibid.

[8] Pontes. "Concours Review," *La France Musicale*, 3 August, 1862, 243.

[9] Ibid.

[10] "La première journée du concours s'est terminée par le concours de trompette. Nous regrettons vivement que dans cette classe on ait substitué la trompette à pistons a la trompette ordinaire. On prive ainsi les orchestres d'un Instrument dont la belle sonorité ne peut être remplacée." Pontes, "Concours Review," *La France Musicale*, 3 August, 1862, 243.

[11] "Six solos pour la trompette chromatique," *La France Musicale*, 12 August, 1860, 331.

about the timbre and use of the cornet. As the last chapter discussed, Colin criticised the weak and insipid cornet sounds at the 1861 Concours, because he found them contrary to the characteristic timbre of the instrument;[12] and Durand promoted the orchestral use of the cornet in his profile of Forestier's *Méthode*.[13] If there was a theme emerging from the journalists at *La France Musicale*, it was progressive with regard to the adoption of the cornet but conservative with regard to the loss of the natural trumpet in the orchestra. This preference for what had been the status quo in the orchestra since 1836 effectively continued to marginalise the valve trumpet, just as Dauverné had done throughout his career. However, the place and status of the cornet remained an open question through the 1860s. Durand differentiated its use in the hands of Forestier in the orchestra from its close association with the dance hall.[14] Comettant's review of the military cornet Concours in 1863 found that none of the performers had achieved the "elevated style" required.[15] These concerns with the cornet's social associations, its timbre, and the extent to which it was perceived to be stylistically-lacking, continued to echo Berlioz's critique of it in 1843. Twenty years on, the more widespread use of the valve trumpet suggests that the cornet's status and associations outside the orchestra were beginning to undermine its place inside the orchestra.

Dauverné's turn to the valve trumpet at the Conservatoire was designed to both attract more students and address their need to accumulate valve performance

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[12] Colin, "Concours," *La France Musicale*, 4 August, 1861, 243.
[13] Durand, "Méthode de cornet à piston par M J Forrestier," *La France Musicale*, 22 June, 1862, 196-197.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Comettant, "Concours de cornet à pistons," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 August, 1863, 278.

skills. Dauverné's decision to give the valve trumpet greater importance reflected his worst fear; that was, the natural trumpet was being used less and less in Paris. While his decision would allow Dauverné to sustain his teaching career, this was not his only motivation. Dauverné's 1857 *Méthode* revealed his commitment to producing well-trained trumpeters schooled in the "elevated style" to sustain the orchestras of France.[16] Perhaps Dauverné also had a growing awareness that the cornet, the instrument that for so long he had treated with a benign ambivalence, was threatening the livelihood of all forms of trumpet in the orchestra. Following this reasoning, valve trumpets were superior to no trumpets in the orchestra. Forestier's publication of a second edition of his *Méthode* in 1862, and Durand's praise for the 47-year-old author's orchestral cornet playing would have done little to assuage any such fears in Dauverné. Forestier may have published with only his military students in mind. In light of the Guilbaut overture and the subsequent debates around Arban outlined in chapter six, it is also very likely that Forestier thought the natural trumpet and Dauverné would soon be gone, and that the cornet was the way of the future in the orchestra. If so, Dauverné's turn to the valve trumpet was a response to the threat of the cornet, if not also his long time orchestral colleague. After all, orchestras with specially trained valve trumpet players, especially those who could also play natural trumpet, would have less need for cornet players like Forestier.

[16] François Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3, no. 1 (1991): 233.

The Conservatoire turns

As the last chapter showed, in November 1868 Auber's conservatism with regard to the natural trumpet, along with his pragmatism concerning the cornet meant that he was amenable to Arban's proposal for a single combined cornet-trumpet class with Arban in the role of Professor. However, through December 1868 and January 1869, Auber's position changed. The appointments outlined at the beginning of this chapter indicate that Arban had succeeded in securing a cornet class, but he had failed to persuade the Conservatoire that he was a suitable choice for professor of trumpet. Arban had also failed to convince the Conservatoire that the cornet could and should replace the trumpet altogether. Moreover, Arban had not entirely trumped Forestier who retained the military cornet class. While Arban's new class reflected a partial turn to the cornet in the Conservatoire, as the 1870s unfolded individual actors began to turn l'Opéra, la Société, and the Conservatoire, toward the valve trumpet.

Arban was not awarded the joint cornet-trumpet class he had proposed to Auber. That Arban was successful in securing a full professorship of the first civilian cornet class he desired, was a measure of a successful campaign on his part. It is unlikely that Arban was concerned to any great degree that he had not gained control of both classes. The proposition of a joint class was a negotiating position for Arban that played to the orchestral conservatism of the Conservatoire leadership. Running parallel to Arban's personal endeavour, other players had designs on the trumpet professorship, and the Conservatoire had its own view of what was required following Dauverné's retirement (see figure 25).

Figure 25. Dauverné in retirement 1870.[17]

[17] Pierre Petit, *François Georges Auguste Dauverné*, 1870, Photograph, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84169892.

The appointment of Jules-Henry-Louis Cerclier, as Assistant Professor, of the joint civilian and military trumpet class, signified that the Conservatoire elected to maintain the customary combined natural and valve trumpet class established under Dauverné. Cerclier, two years Arban's senior, had graduated with the Premier Prix in 1846, and had run second to Arban in both the 1844 and 1845 Concours on trumpet at the Conservatoire. His name later appears in the cornet section of la Société in 1856.[18] Cerclier also pursued Dauverné's advice to trumpeters to study a second instrument, as he reportedly played viola in the Opéra Comique and Concerts Pasdeloup.[19] Cerclier's appointment reflected that of Mohr to replace Gallay as professor of natural horn at the Conservatorium in 1868.[20] Born in 1823 Mohr was two years Arban's senior but graduated two years after Arban with first prize in Gallay's class in 1847.[21] The appointment of Mohr reasserted the dominance of the Dauprat-Gallay hand-horn lineage, just as had happened following Meifred's retirement from the Conservatoire in 1864, when the latter's thirty-one-year valve-horn class was discontinued.[22]

There is no record confirming that Cerclier, like Guilbaut and Arban, made a direct appeal to Auber regarding the future of the trumpet class. The most likely scenario is that Dauverné and colleagues including the younger Mohr, worked in concert with Forestier, to lobby the Conservatoire on Cerclier's behalf. If there

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[18] D. Kern Holoman, "29th Année 1856," University of California Press, accessed 1 December, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

[19] M. Gillian MacKay, "Trumpet and Cornet Concours Music at the Paris Conservatoire, 1835-1925: The Development of Styles and Roles" (DMus diss., Northwestern University, 1996), 25.

[20] Susan Rekward, "The Horn at the Paris Conservatoire and its Morceaux de Concours for Horn" (MA Thesis, University of North Texas, 1997), 53.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., 31-35.

was talk of a cornet class at the Conservatoire in the early 1860s, Forestier, armed with information from Guilbaut, must have regarded himself as a strong candidate for the position of professor. Amplifying Forestier's interest a few years later, was the prospect of his retirement from the principal cornet position at l'Opéra in 1868.[23] If Forestier wished to extend his cornet teaching into a civilian class, but not take on responsibility for the trumpet class, the legacy that Dauverné sought to preserve, Arban's proposition to Auber to teach both classes was a threat to both Forestier's and Dauverné's designs. It was in both their interests to recommend a natural trumpet specialist for Dauverné's position so as to counter Arban's proposition.

The best understanding of this scenario, and despite Auber's original acquiescence to Arban, is that any suggestion of a cornet class, or a shift from trumpet to cornet at the Conservatoire through the 1860s, was not institutional policy. Dauverné's partial move to valve trumpet threatened the orchestral role of the cornet. The decision to discontinue Meifred's valve-horn class removed any obvious support for cornet playing beyond Forestier and his colleagues in the military classes. It is entirely possible that a major part of Arban's motivation in 1864 and 1868, and the reason for his heated and thinly veiled polemic in the *Grande Méthode*, was a genuine desire to perpetuate cornet teaching in France. More broadly, however, the suspension of Meifred's class, and the appointment of Mohr, and then Cerclier, shows that Auber remained heavily influenced by the natural horn school. It also shows the strength and depth of his view, expressed to Guilbaut in 1861, that cornet players continued to come

[23] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 3 May, 1868, 182; "Actualities," *La France Musicale*, 5 January, 1868, 147.

from the horn and trumpet classes at the Conservatoire. Auber had been persuaded, that is after he had initially written to the Minister of State proposing Arban's dual appointment, that Arban had little in common with the elite orchestral field, and had demonstrated no interest in the trumpet since his graduation in 1848. More, that appointing the cornet virtuoso to a civilian cornet class would do no harm, so long as Mohr and Cerclier maintained the century-long institutional dedication to natural brass instruments.

Arban turns back, what is new is old again

At the same time, that Arban was awarded a full professorship and Cerclier an assistant professorship is a reflection of the popularity of the cornet and the roles the cornet and trumpet had come to play in the orchestras of Paris. Arban's cornet class at the Conservatoire began well. He quickly oriented the class to solo performance. By 1873 he was able to programme his own *Air Suisse* as the test piece, complete with its extended virtuosic demands for multiple tonguing. In Arban's first Concours there were four prize-winners.[24] This was followed by three in 1870, and four from five entrants in 1872.[25] Arban's eleven prize-winners compared favourably to Cerclier's trumpet class which had nine entrants and a single first prize-winner over the same period.[26]

Arban's career outside the Conservatoire saw him experiment with instrumental concerts at Salle Valentino. He organised a Meyerbeer festival for October

[24] "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1869, 285.
[25] "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 August, 1870, 287; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 11 August, 1872, 303.
[26] "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1869, 285; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 August, 1870, 287; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 11 August, 1872, 303.

1868, and a Rossini festival later that year.[27] Arban continued to programme works by Weber, Haydn, Mendelssohn and Beethoven in the early years after his appointment to the Conservatoire.[28] Arban may have been strategic in the programming of these concerts. Greater attention given to the music of the classical and contemporary "masters" might have bolstered his pitch for a position at the Conservatoire, or later reassured his professorial colleagues of the elite bona fide he claimed. In these concerts Arban was regularly praised for his "clever programming" which had "done wonders" for Salle Valentino, and for the manner in which he conducted them "with panache" (see figure 26).[29]

In the main, however, Arban's programming remained on the lighter side, and the enthusiasm for his concerts was perhaps more for the nostalgia than the novelty. On the one hand, Arban's choice of the Valentino rooms reflected his motivation to revive a concert form that was popular in the 1830s. Musard had used the rooms in the early 30s, but the name originated with Henri Valentino's La Salle des Concerts Saint-Honoré established in October 1837; violinist Valentino had worked with Habeneck at l'Opéra and then conducted at the Opéra-Comique in the early 1830s.[30] His early concerts seemed to have a little in common with Habeneck's at la Société and a little in common with Musard's promenades.

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[27] "Concerts Valentino," *La France Musicale*, 18 October, 1868, 328; "Paris et départments," *Le Ménestrel*, 13 December, 1868, 15.
[28] "Paris et départments," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 October, 1870, 359.
[29] "Concerts Valentino," 328; "Paris et départments," 15; "Paris et départments," 359.
[30] "Chronique," *Le Ménestrel*, 15 October, 1837, np.; "Chronique," *Le Ménestrel*, 23 October, 1837, np.

Figure 26. Arban the conductor, 1870.[31]

[31] Unsigned, *Joseph-Jean-Baptiste-Laurent Arban*, 1870, Lithograph, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415382s.

For example, Lovy reported in *Le Ménestrel* that Valentino conducted the "elite" musical repertoire, such as Beethoven's Symphony in C minor, while Charles-Alexandre Fessy conducted the "light music for the amusement of the masses", here arranged by cornetist Dufrène and this "equally satisfied" the breadth of taste in the attending public.[32] Valentino's concerts included the usual popular waltzes and dances alongside new works by a young Jacques Offenbach.[33] Lovy does also recognise that Valentino and the popular cornet soloist, Dufrène, represented a threat to the then Musard and Forestier combination, which suggests that these groups were more alike in their choice of repertoire and audience appeal.[34] Both tended to play music of a light nature, and both ordinarily incorporated popular dance styles, quadrilles, waltzes, and polkas, throughout or in the second halves of their programmes. Arban's material and presentation at the Valentino rooms replicated these early models.

On the other hand, Arban faced increasing competition in a diversifying market. Jules Pasdeloup's well attended Concerts Populaires, had offered cheaply priced classical music concerts at Cirque Napoleon, later renamed Cirque d'Hiver, since 1861. Amédée Méreaux's review of Pasdeloup's premier concert on the 27th of October that year, praised him for using the works of "masters" in a form that made them "all-inclusive" and accessible to "the masses", and noted that the audience of 6000 sat attentively in silence.[35] In 1869 Pasdeloup started to become known for his support of "modern music", featuring premiers of

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[32] "Chronique," *Le Ménestrel*, 15 October, 1837, np.; "Chronique," *Le Ménestrel*, 23 October, 1837, np.

[33] "Chronique," *Le Ménestrel*, 23 October, 1837, np.

[34] "Chronique," *Le Ménestrel*, 15 October, 1837, np.; "Chronique," *Le Ménestrel*, 23 October, 1837, np.

[35] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 27 October, 1861, 383; "Premier concert populaire de musique classique," *Le Ménestrel*, 3 November, 1861, 386.

young composers including Camille Saint-Saens and Georges Bizet.[36] Pasdeloup continued to programme these alongside works by Berlioz, and Weber, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Beethoven, the latter of which would also not have been unusual at la Société.[37]

In 1868 Durand in *La France Musicale* contends that Arban was a "serious artist" and a "virtuoso of the elite" who knew how to market programmes that presented the "works of the masters" and featured young artists in popular ways.[38] He goes on to observe that Arban's revival of the Valentino rooms therefore represented a threat to Pasdeloup's Concerts Populaires.[39] However, Arban was reinventing the Valentino-Dufrène model of three decades earlier (see figure 27) and the public interested in this style of music had shifted considerably during the intervening years.

[36] Albert Lhote, "Concerts Populaire," *La France Musicale*, 7 March, 1869, 70-71.
[37] "Concerts Annonces," *Le Ménestrel*, 28 February, 1869, 104; "Soirees et Concerts," *Le Ménestrel*, 14 February, 1869, 86-87.
[38] "Concerts Valentino," *La France Musicale*, 18 October, 1868, 328.
[39] Ibid.

Figure 27. Arban at Salle Valentino.[40]

[40] Jules Chéret, *Salle Valentino*, 1867, Lithograph, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), http://silos.ville-chaumont.fr/floraoai/jsp/index_view_direct_anonymous.jsp?record=default:UNIMARC:77358.

Arban's "works of the masters" was represented by paired down arrangements for his orchestra, and children's chorus, invariably la Société des Enfants de Lutèce, and soloists in recent graduates from the Conservatoire.[41] For all the initial enthusiasm revolving around the serious Valentino concerts, and despite Arban's attempts to associate his name more closely with the serious music of the orchestral and operatic elite, his music was light and his popularity rested on its variety and mass accessibility. More, as had happened in London, it was the ball, Arban's new quadrilles and polkas, and Strauss' waltzes, that "were all the rage" and "reigned all night long", for which the "brilliant" Arban remained best known.[42]

The prospect of touring was never far from Arban's mind. He continued to honour lingering contracts in London, such as the Cremorne Gardens which at the time were attracting complaints, and later litigation over licensing, based on allegations of noise, drunkenness and prostitution.[43] While these gardens were coming to their end, Arban briefly explored a new market in Spain. A measure of his popularity and esteem in this venture followed a series of four concerts at Théâtre de la Zarzuela in Madrid in 1868, where he was awarded L'Ordre de Charles III d'Espagne in recognition of his performance and conducting.[44] Then, in much the same way that he had frequently applied for leave during his

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[41] "Concerts Valentino," *La France Musicale*, 18 October, 1868, 328.

[42] "Actualities," *La France Musicale*, 26 December, 1869, 412; "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 29 December, 1872, 39; "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 October, 1872, 384.

[43] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 1 May, 1870, 179; "Cremorne Gardens," *Chelsea News and General Advertiser*, 7 May, 1870, np; John Cromwell, "Cremorne Gardens," *London Evening Standard*, 20 October, 1871, 5; "Cremorne and the Middlesex Magistrates," *The Era*, 22 October, 1871, 9.

[44] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 10 May, 1868, 192; "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 14 June, 1868, 231.

student years, Arban applied for up to three months of leave from the Conservatoire each year over three consecutive years.

Arban was first granted leave in April 1872 with a note from the minister responsible to the effect that it was regrettable that a professor would seek to take leave in the middle of the term.[45] In May 1873 Arban applied for leave a second time to take an orchestra to St Petersburg for a summer series of eleven concerts.[46] Upon this application, he was warned that it would be the last time such leave was granted.[47] Nonetheless, whether by design or coincidence the writer in *Le Ménestrel* seems to capture the sense in which Arban's tour to Russia was both a new and perhaps rejuvenating endeavour for him, an "Eden" of acclaim if not also material reward.[48] It signalled that Arban was not yet willing or able to tie himself closely and permanently to the Conservatoire.

Arban accepted a further invitation to tour St Petersburg in the summer of 1874.[49] His orchestra of 74 members including 16 "major French artists" was announced with considerable bonhomie in *Le Ménestrel* on the 3rd of May.[50] However, the Conservatoire had had its fill of the absent professor. A somewhat shorter media report two weeks later, noted that the Conservatoire welcomed the appointment of Jacques Maury to the professorship of the cornet class, "due to the success of the virtuoso and conductor Mr Arban who could no longer be

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[45] Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," *Brass Bulletin* 11 (1975): 24.
[46] "Concerts et Soirées," *Le Ménestrel*, 4 May, 1873, 184.
[47] Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 3 - the Success," 24.
[48] "Le chef d'orchestre Arban est allé chercher la fraîcheur à St-Pétersbourg où il est accueilli avec une telle chaleur, qu'il se voit appelé jusqu'à dix fois par soir, ni plus ni moins qu'une diva de premier ordre. Ses dernières valses, Souvenir de Lisbonne, Monte Carlo, Fiamma d'amore sont acclamées tout comme leur auteur; si bien que la Russie devient un véritable Eden pour notre heureux compatriot." "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 6 July, 1873, 255.
[49] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 3 May, 1874, 175.
[50] Ibid.

granted holidays to tour abroad".[51] While Arban had pleaded his case to Director Thomas on the basis that he was taking French music across nations, he was forced to resign his position.[52]

Arban's willingness to resign offers some insight to his position in the 1870s. In his late 40s, Arban did not feel constrained to retain the steady employ of a teaching post. His published sheet music provided a measure of ongoing income, as it remained popular. His solo arrangements, and old and new orchestral and piano reductions of quadrilles, waltzes, and opera favourites, continued to be advertised weekly.[53] Arban's performance income also afforded him and his wife Rosalie sufficient funds to purchase a villa, reportedly "one of the most beautiful in the area", in the Grimaldi tax-free Monaco.[54] In this regard, his life-long friend Jules Riviere recalls that:

> Arban, who had never been an extravagant man, amassed a comfortable fortune, which on his death went to his only daughter. Many were the projects he formed as we used to sit chatting together, of ending his days on the shores of the Mediterranean we both loved so well. And with this object in view he bought land enough to build two villas upon in Monte Carlo, occupying his leisure in superintending the construction of the houses.[55]

Arban was perhaps drawn there after having conducted or played at the Gardens of Monaco or balls at Monte Carlo Casino. His Monte Carlo Waltz which appeared around 1868, was dedicated to a well-known resident, Madame

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[51] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 May, 1874, 191.

[52] Jean-Pierre Mathez, "J.B. Arban Biography 4 - the Conflict," *Brass Bulletin* 12 (1975): 15-17.

[53] "Musique de Danse," *Le Ménestrel*, 15 May, 1870, 192; "Waltzes 'Piano'," *Le Ménestrel*, 12 November, 1870, 400; "Mignon & Hamlet," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 September, 1870, 336.

[54] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 25 August, 1872, 319; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 22 September, 1872, 351.

[55] Jules Riviere, *My Musical Life and Recollections* (London, UK: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1893), 62.

la Comtesse Cornélie de Vedel, who died tragically from burns after sitting too close to the fire during a game of cards and was accidentally set alight.[56]

Arban was either headstrong, or sufficiently financially comfortable and confident in his abilities to continue to earn into the future, that he decided to take the 1874 St Petersburg tour. A further element of this decision was characteristic of Arban's habitus throughout his life, the desire to be a travelling virtuoso. His tours to Spain and St Petersburg manifest the potency of Arban's quest to conquer new markets and build new popular audiences. These were the same drivers that saw him regularly travel to London during his student years at the Conservatoire. While Arban still performed as a soloist in the mid-1870s, notices of his performances and indeed his touring, described him as "the conductor and composer of dance music" rather than the esteemed cornet soloist, or the clever professor of the decade earlier.[57] He had inherited the title of "our Paris Strauss" in 1872, a clear and certain measure of the regard in which he was held by the dancing public.[58] The term retained its popular currency two years later. Reports from Russia revelled that Arban was celebrated "no less than the most celebrated prima donnas" by audiences.[59] His conducting was "a triumph", such that he was greeted "as enthusiastically as we welcomed Johann Strauss".[60]

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[56] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 October, 1872, 384; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Gaulois: litteraire et politique*, 19 May, 1880, 3.
[57] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 5 October, 1873, 359.
[58] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 27 September, 1874, 342.
[59] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 27 September, 1874, 342.
[60] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 31 May, 1874, 207.

If Arban craved the life of the virtuoso, it was no longer defined in terms of technical and artistic prowess on the cornet, but as a conductor of popular light entertainment and dance music. Outside his tours to Russia, this was reinforced within Paris as Arban was hired, along with Henry Litolff, to be a conductor of concerts and balls at Salle Frascati, which reopened on the 1st of October 1874.[61] It is Litolff who is contracted to conduct the "classical concerts"; Arban on the other hand was contracted to provide light concerts and conduct all the balls (see figures 28 and 29).[62]

In addition to the financial reward and the quest for virtuoso status, a third component in Arban's decision to tour was that touring had been a central element of his habitus since before he entered the Conservatoire. Touring and concert giving were what Arban knew well. However, as had happened in London, his approach to concert giving retained an air of the formulaic. Arban's new idea of a composer festival with guest children's choir and soloists first implemented in 1868, was repeated at Frascati in 1874.[63] His concerts through the late 1870s continued the Musard, Valentino, and Arban's own London models. Arban's light presentation style marked by frequent changes of mood and contrast, his arrangements of operatic and dance favourites, and his use of Conservatoire graduates as soloists, all became the markers of Arban's concert model.[64]

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[61] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 September, 1874, 336; "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 27 September, 1874, 336.

[62] Ibid.

[63] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 15 November, 1874, 399.

[64] "Concerts Annonces," *Le Ménestrel,* 4 February, 1877, 80; "Concerts et Soirees," *Le Ménestrel,* 18 March, 1877, 128; "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 19 August, 1877, 301; "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 11 November, 1877, 400; "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 3 November, 1878, 398.

Figure 28. Litolff and Arban at Frascati.[65]

[65] Van Geleyn, *Frascati 49 Rue Vivienne. Tous Les Soirs À 8 Heures Litolf Concerts, Arban Concerts, Bals*, 1874, Engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et

Figure 29. Arban and the Bal Masqué.[66]

photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9004795f.

[66] Jules Chéret, *Frascati Bal Masqué Arban et L'orchestre de L'opéra*, 1874, Engraving Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9015182b.

They also tended to mark Arban's model and repertoire as low-brow and distinct from both established and emerging art music concerts such as Concerts Populaires and Concerts Lamoureux.

Arban returned to St Petersburg to perform at Pavlovsk Vauxhall in 1876, but apart from a handful of visits to his home-town of Lyon, toured little thereafter.[67] Following Maury's untimely departure from the Conservatoire due to ill health, Arban, once again the "celebrated professor" and "author of the acclaimed cornet method", resumed the position of professor of cornet with otherwise little fanfare in 1880.[68] Had Arban's project to install and musically direct a troupe of Italian ballet dancers at Palace Théâtre de la rue Blanche moved more quickly and successfully, it is an open question as to whether Arban would have returned or remained at the Conservatoire until 1889.[69]

Le Ménestrel cheered Arban's return to the Conservatoire. Consistent with its coverage of his career, Arban could do little wrong whether as a cornet virtuoso, a conducting virtuoso, or a composing virtuoso, and the publication regarded him as an asset to French music.[70] However, there were contrasting views. As had happened in London this was mostly due to his association with venues that were increasingly subject to criticism from either a cultural, class, or moral perspective. For example, writing of the "Pleasure Resorts in Paris" one English

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[67] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 16 April, 1876, 160; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 30 April, 1876, 175; "Concerts et Soirees," *Le Ménestrel,* 3 June, 1877, 216; "Concerts et Soirees," *Le Ménestrel,* 4 January, 1880, 40.

[68] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 May, 1880, 174; "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 October, 1880, 366.

[69] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 11 September, 1881, 327; "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 18 September, 1881, 335; "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 30 July, 1882, 279.

[70] "Concerts Annonces," *Le Ménestrel,* 4 February, 1877, 80; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel,* 24 June, 1877, 239.

author, potentially jaundiced national loyalties and the determinedly honest social commentary of *The Graphic* aside, captures retrospectively the kinds of crowds and reception that marked the Cadet Casino and later the Valentino Rooms where Arban performed. The author declared:

> I have nothing favourable to say of the dull and generally deserted Chateau Rouge, of the pretentious and garish Casino Cadet, where the clever Arban gave concerts to which no one listened…one relic of the past, however, the Bal Valentino in the Rue St Honoré, may fairly claim a word of mention. Mr Charles Greville, who visited it in 1837, describes the scene in his memoirs as follows: "Two large rooms almost thrown into one, a numerous and excellent orchestra (conducted by the famous Musard), and a prodigious crowd of people…It was well regulated uproar and orderly confusion." Five and twenty years later, it had degenerated into a sort of "high life below stairs" Saturnalia".[71]

Despite Arban's association with venues that attracted some cultural and moral criticism, Arban's failing, with regard to his position at the Conservatoire and in terms of his desire to see the cornet supersede the trumpet, was his success. In France particularly, but also London, Madrid, St Petersburg, and many of the summer resort cities such as Monaco and Baden, Arban was immensely popular for much of his career. As the popular field of music grew more distinct from elite forms of art music, and as Arban tended to maintain a tried and true formula, he was effectively removed from the world of l'Opéra and la Société and developments in instrumental orchestral music in the concert hall and recital hall. His success served to tie the cornet ever closer to the dance orchestra and to light entertainment. In turn, this tended to fuel the cultural arguments against the instrument. In the 1870s it also meant that even when Arban was in Paris, he was outside the significant events that turned France's orchestral elite toward high valve trumpets over cornets. This significant

[71] "Pleasure Resorts in Paris," *The Graphic*, 15 March, 1890, 311.

development can be seen through the impact of two key individuals: Jacques Maury and Xavier Teste.

Jacques Maury returns the cornet to the orchestra and old school

Jacques Maury, of Arban's generation, graduated from Meifred's valve horn class with the first prize in 1849.[72] His professional career on cornet began to blossom in the 1860s. He appeared as cornet soloist and assistant conductor of Musique de la Garde de Paris under Paulus in October 1861.[73] Around the same time, Maury's name appears under Forestier in the cornet section at la Société.[74] By 1864 this section mirrored that at l'Opéra: there the trumpets were Jean Ferdinand Dubois, and Joseph Ernest Lallement, the thirty two year old Conservatoire prize-winning replacement for Edmond Dubois who had died in November 1863; and, the cornet section comprised Forestier on Principal, Maury Assistant Principal, and Guilbaut from Gap on second.[75] Maury knew his contemporary Lallement well; he had graduated with a second prize from the trumpet class a year after Maury departed.[76] Maury also worked closely with Forestier in both orchestral and military contexts, and similarly with Guilbaut at l'Opéra. Maury also acted as an orchestral representative in a pay dispute in September 1865, and was well known by orchestral players more broadly.[77]

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[72] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 5 August, 1849, np.
[73] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 13 October, 1861, 367.
[74] D. Kern Holoman, "1861-1863," University of California Press, accessed 1 November, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.
[75] D. Kern Holoman, "38th Année: 1864-1865," University of California Press, accessed 31 October, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.
[76] Ibid.
[77] "Semaine Theatrale," *Le Ménestrel*, 24 September, 1865, 339.

Following Forestier's retirement from l'Opéra in 1868, Maury was appointed to Forestier's position as Principal Cornet. Guilbaut moved up to the position of Assistant Principal, and a newcomer unknown to the extent that he was not a Conservatoire graduate, Xavier Napoléon Aimé Teste, was appointed as second cornet following what was unanimously agreed to be a "brilliant audition".[78] Maury continued to appear as soloist and conductor with l'Garde, with his outdoor performances as a cornet soloist and conductor in the military context garnering "considerable applause".[79] With the appointment of Arban to the new civilian cornet class, Maury entered the field of Conservatoire teaching for the first time as Arban's replacement in the alto-saxhorn class.[80] His teaching role developed as he covered for Arban at the Conservatoire while the latter was on leave to tour in 1873.[81] Then, with Arban's final removal from the Conservatoire in 1874, Maury held the position of professor of cornet for seven years until his retirement due to ill health early in 1880.[82]

Maury's strong orchestral background and experience brought a change of focus to the cornet class and this was reflected in the annual Concours. Maury's test pieces were far less ornate than Arban's; they contained little multiple tonguing, used more slurring in rapid passages, and musically revolved around scale and arpeggio patterns.[83] Maury's solos through the 1870s were closer in

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[78] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 3 May, 1868, 182; "Actualities," *La France Musicale*, 5 January, 1868, 147.
[79] "Actualities," *La France Musicale*, 5 January, 1868, 140; "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 9 August, 1872, np.
[80] "Composition Musicale," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1869, 286.
[81] "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 10 August, 1873, 292.
[82] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 May, 1874, 191; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1880, 284.
[83] Mackay, "Trumpet and Cornet Concours," 122-125.

standard and style to those of Dauverné being used by Cerclier.[84] This was not the case under Arban's professorship in 1873 when there was a significant difference in standard and requirements between Dauverné's *2e Solo en re*, and Arban's *Air Suisse* which required considerable use of extended tonguing and valve technique.

Maury maintained consistent numbers in the cornet class throughout his tenure and he regularly presented five candidates for examination at the Concours.[85] These numbers were comparable to those presented in the horn and bassoon Concours and consistent with those in the oboe, flute, clarinet, and trombone sections.[86] Maury produced a first and second prize-winner every year, except 1878 and 1880 when the highest award was second prize.[87] This compared very favourably with Cerclier's class in the 1870s. The low numbers and low standards of the trumpet class though that decade brought into question the appointment of Cerclier.[88] Low standards reflected directly on the quality of Cerclier's teaching and his repeated choice of Dauverné's old test pieces for the

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[84] "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 10 August, 1873, 292.

[85] "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 9 August, 1874, 287; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1875, 284; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 6 August, 1876, 283; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 5 August, 1877, 283; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 11 August, 1878, 293; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 10 August, 1879, 294; "Instruments à Vent." *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1880, 284.

[86] "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 9 August, 1874, 287; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1875, 284; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 6 August, 1876, 283; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 5 August, 1877, 283; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 11 August, 1878, 293; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 10 August, 1879, 294; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1880, 284.

[87] "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 9 August, 1874, 287; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1875, 284; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 6 August, 1876, 283; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 5 August, 1877, 283; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 11 August, 1878, 293; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 10 August, 1879, 294; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1880, 284.

[88] "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 9 August, 1874, 287; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1875, 284; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 6 August, 1876, 283; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 5 August, 1877, 283; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 11 August, 1878, 293; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 10 August, 1879, 294; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1880, 284.

annual Concours. A low student intake in the trumpet class though, is partly a reflection of Cerclier's teaching, and partly a reflection of player demand in the elite orchestral field.

One explanation for Cerclier's low numbers and the comparative health of Maury's cornet class, is that emerging valve trumpet players were electing to take Maury's cornet class to develop valve technique rather than enrol in Cerclier's outmoded trumpet class. For example, Merri Franquin born in 1848, and who went on to an orchestral career on the modern high valve trumpet, was a lauréate of Maury's cornet class every year from 1874 to 1877.[89] Following an outstanding career as principal trumpet in many of France's leading orchestras, Franquin went on to become professor of valve trumpet at the Conservatoire in 1894.[90] The pattern of enrolments does not necessarily indicate that the cornet was more popular than the trumpet at this time. Indeed, for all of Maury's graduate output, this was not reflected in the cornet audition for a position at l'Opéra in 1880. A report in *Le Ménestrel* notes that while it was a brilliant audition, there were few Parisian candidates on cornet.[91] The winner was Jean-Joseph Mellet, a first-prize graduate of Jean-Baptiste-Victor Mohr's horn class in 1868, and Arban's inaugural first prize-winner from 1869.[92] Arban no doubt would have been happy for the win. However, Mellet's pedigree as a student of

[89] Mackay, "Trumpet and Cornet Concours," 260.
[90] Geoffrey Shamu, "Merri Franquin and His Contribution to the Art of Trumpet Playing" (DMA diss., Boston University, 2009), 3; D. Kern Holoman, "Franquin," University of California Press, accessed 1 November, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.
[91] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 1 August, 1880, 279; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 9 August, 1868, 293; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1869, 285.
[92] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 1 August, 1880, 279; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 9 August, 1868, 293; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1869, 285.

Gallay and Mohr, who subsequently spent a year at Arban's finishing-school for cornet, undermined the new cornet professor's mandate.

Maury's seven-year tenure as professor of cornet was underpinned by his traditional orchestral career. This made a significant impact on the use of the cornet and valve trumpet in the orchestra. His career and teaching returned the focus on the cornet to the elite orchestral context more closely than did Arban. This tradition, the old school of which Arban was critical, maintained the historical integrity of the horn and the trumpet. Under the collective influence of Forestier, Maury and Guilbaut, orchestral cornet playing, as opposed to cornet performance in the popular music field, was both part of and derivative of the elite orchestral tradition. In addition, Maury belonged to Arban's generation. These players were more willing than Dauverné to explore the use of valve trumpets alongside or instead of the natural trumpet in the orchestra. For Maury's students who had taken the cornet class to augment their trumpet technique, the instruction they received emanated directly from the elite tradition that had dominated the orchestral field, rather than from Arban's popular experience. For those trumpeters outside of Maury's class in the 1870s, the orchestral cornet and trumpet traditions began to coalesce in other ways. This was due in large part to generational change in the cultural field as older orchestral players retired. It was also due in significant measure to the agency of one artist, Paris' musical outlier, Xavier Teste.

Xavier Napoléon Aimé Teste turns from cornet to high valve trumpet

Born in November 1833, Teste was a younger member of Arban's generation.[93] His professional career began on cornet and trumpet, but he led the move to modern valve trumpets that were modelled along similar material lines to the cornet. Teste is highly significant because this ambitious, highly able, and pragmatic, musician reveals how in the mid-1870s the orchestral trumpet tradition finally turned to valve trumpets and away from natural trumpets and cornets.[94]

Teste enjoyed a rapid rise as a talented orchestral musician through the 1870s. His audition for the second cornet position at l'Opéra in 1868, at the age of 19, was reportedly stunning.[95] It signalled his arrival, as an unknown, in Paris' elite orchestral music field. In November 1872 Teste was appointed to la Société on trumpet as an "aspirant en cas".[96] This temporary contract was probably to cover for an ailing Dubois. In 1874 Teste was made an aspirant at la Société in the principal trumpet role and in keeping with tradition in that orchestra confirmed in his position a year later on the 19th of October 1875.[97] Teste was not eligible for membership of la Société because he had not attended the Conservatoire, but his appointment was secured with reference to emergency rules for filling vacancies when there was a shortage of able players.[98] Teste's

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[93] D. Kern Holoman, "Teste," University of California Press, accessed 1 November, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

[94] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 May, 1874, 191; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1880, 284.

[95] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*, 3 May, 1868, 182; "Actualities," *La France Musicale*, 5 January, 1868, 147.

[96] D. Kern Holoman, "Teste," University of California Press, accessed 1 November, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

[97] Ibid.

[98] D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 248.

appointment in 1872 also shows that the poor numbers and results in Cerclier's trumpet class ought not be attributed only to the new professor. So soon after Dauverné's retirement, the lack of trumpet players in Paris rested strongly with the retired professor and the Conservatoire administration.

By 1875, Teste was playing second cornet to Maury and Guilbaut at l'Opéra, and then leading the trumpet section at la Société, also alongside Maury and Guilbaut on cornets. With Ferdinand Dubois' retirement from l'Opéra in 1877, Teste's tenure as principal trumpet in that iconic institution commenced shortly thereafter.[99] When Maury retired from the Conservatoire due to ill health in 1880, Teste substituted as cornet professor for the last half of the academic year, prior to Arban's return.[100] In that choice, the Conservatoire denied opportunity to older cornet players like Guilbaut who had worked alongside Maury for most of his career. It also overlooked younger cornet players like Mellet who was appointed to l'Opéra's cornet section at this time.[101] While Teste's appointment was temporary, it signalled that the Conservatoire recognised his cultural capital in the elite orchestral field. It also highlighted the fact that Teste played trumpet and cornet. He was unlike Maury and Mellet who both initially graduated on horn. Teste's relief position at the Conservatoire revealed a shift in thinking, away from the dominant natural-horn and natural-trumpet lineage. It forecast that the Conservatoire, like the orchestras at l'Opéra

[99] D. Kern Holoman, "Dubois," University of California Press, accessed 1 November, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.
[100] "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1880, 284.
[101] "Paris et Départements," *Le Ménestrel*, 1 August, 1880, 279; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 9 August, 1868, 293; "Instruments à Vent," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August, 1869, 285.

and la Société, were beginning to move to valve trumpets under Teste's influence.

In addition to being an adept cornet and trumpet player, early in his career Teste established himself, and garnered considerable cultural capital in the elite orchestral field, as an expert high-trumpet soloist. His success and his profile on the modern high valve trumpet accelerated its acceptance into the elite orchestra. Merri Franquin, 15 years Teste's junior, recalls that Teste was the first to successfully perform on such a trumpet in Paris in 1874.[102] He notes that Teste had a small valve trumpet pitched in D/C made for a performance of George Frideric Handel's *Messiah* at Concerts Lamoureux in February that year.[103] This instrument, like the cornet, was pitched an octave higher than the traditional long valve trumpet. Importantly, Teste did not request a high-pitched cornet for the occasion. He required a high-pitched valve trumpet that took the tessitura of the cornet and its valve mechanism, but that also represented a genuine trumpet timbre. Equally importantly, the need on this occasion was not the performance of new highly chromatic orchestral works, but in the revival of a work written in 1741. The admiration that marks Franquin's account of Teste's performance, along with the fact that he was a student in Maury's cornet class in 1874, suggest that Franquin heard this event in person.[104] Teste was heard to good effect on the same instrument the following year when he performed the obbligato trumpet solo with soprano Carlotta Patti in Handel's *Samson* at

[102] Merri Franquin, "La trompette et le cornet," in *Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, eds. Albert Lavignac and Lionel de la Laurencie (Paris: Delagrave, 1925), 1611.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.; D. Kern Holoman, "Franquin," University of California Press, accessed 1 November, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

Concerts Populaire.[105] He was later joined by Lallement who shared his eagerness to perform Johann Sebastian Bach's *B Minor Mass* on high trumpets at la Société.[106] Claude Paul Taffanel, who had replaced Leplus on flute at la Société in 1865 and become chief conductor in June 1892, noted that Teste's performance in the B Minor Mass in 1891 was remarkable, marked by "lightning brilliance, fearless and error free".[107]

Teste sought the accuracy and facility of the cornet on the high valve trumpet. In this way Teste's agency preserved the history and nobility of the trumpet tradition, but added to it the chromatic facility and fluidity that characterised the cornet. Franquin's historical account shares this understanding of the valve trumpet's evolution as a response to the influence of the cornet.[108] Teste also began to take the valve trumpet to the mass public outdoors. He was one of the "elite artists" invited to play at Les Concerts du Jardin d'Acclimation, and his presence afforded the garden concert the cultural status and musical credibility that flowed from the la Société and l'Opéra.[109] The first- and second-generation cornetists, Dufrène and Forestier, then Arban and Maury, had regularly performed on the cornet *in plein air*. It is significant that Teste now removed such performances from the exclusive domain of the cornet, and in 1878 performed outdoors on the modern orchestral valve trumpet. While the music

[105] "Concerts Annonces," *Le Ménestrel*, 28 February, 1875, 103.
[106] Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 293.
[107] Ibid., 64.
[108] Franquin, "La trompette et le cornet," 1611.
[109] "Concerts et Soirees," *Le Ménestrel*, 21 April, 1878, 166.

presented was a mixture of that of “the masters” and “light music”, Teste’s presence signalled that the valve trumpet had arrived.[110]

Teste’s use of the valve trumpet was not immediately welcomed or accepted at l’Opéra. At la Société the trumpet players Teste and Lallement enjoyed tenure. Both made regular recourse to valve trumpets. The cornet players there were Maury and Guilbaut and as casual players were hired to play on a needs basis. As external members of the orchestra, they had limited input to the orchestra’s directions. At the more conservative l’Opéra, however, Maury and Guilbaut enjoyed tenured roles. This afforded them a greater degree of influence over the structure of the trumpet and cornet sections. Franquin contends that these cornetists at l’Opéra resisted the adoption of the valve trumpet out of “resentful self-preservation”.[111] There can be little doubt they sought to preserve their own positions whether or not Franquin resented them for it. They and other conservative elements at l’Opéra were keenly aware that the valve trumpet would dislodge both the natural trumpet and the cornet from the orchestra. As Teste and Lallement played both the long F trumpet and the modern Bb/C valve trumpet, those who faced an immediate loss were the cornetists. With the untimely death of Maury in 1880, and the move of Mellet out of l’Opéra to the role of professor of cornet at the Conservatoire in 1890, Guilbaut was one of the very few still active orchestral cornetists at l’Opéra. As these players retired, and were replaced by valve trumpeters, resistance to the valve trumpet lessened, and the dominance of that generation who used it in the field of orchestral music increased. Teste’s pragmatism allowed him to continue to play

[110] Ibid.
[111] Franquin, “La trompette et le cornet,” 1611.

the natural trumpet for a time at l'Opéra. Franquin's observation that Teste continued to do so in order to prove to the old masters "that he could", is more the reflection of the then 42-year-old co-conspirator than the later historian.[112] Teste subsequently retired from la Société at the end of the 1895-96 season. Franquin took over as principal trumpet playing the high valve trumpet. Then following Franquin's retirement from orchestral performance in 1900, Jean Lachanaud was appointed to the principal trumpet playing the same instrument. Lachanaud had occupied the same role at l'Opéra since Teste's departure.[113]

The importance of Lachanaud and Franquin was not only that they carried forward Teste's mantle, nor was it due to the fact that in these two men, la Société, l'Opéra, and the Conservatoire, embraced the modern valve trumpet. Rather, the careers of Lachanaud and Franquin point to: the popular influence of Arban on the orchestral trumpet tradition in Paris; the centralising influence of Maury in returning both cornetists and trumpeters to the orchestral tradition; and, the progressive and pragmatic, but also highly-able and artistic, influence of Teste. Franquin and Lachanaud, as students, were taught by members of Arban's generation. Both had been inspired to become cornet players prior to entering the Conservatoire. The public and popular career of Arban in the 1860s and 1870s played its part in encouraging that choice. In a very different way, in terms of context, Maury too was a featured soloist with the military during this period. As cornet students at the Conservatoire before and around 1874, both Franquin and Lachanaud briefly studied with Arban. If Franquin and Lachanaud

[112] Franquin, "La trompette et le cornet," 1611.
[113] D. Kern Holoman, "Lachanaud," University of California Press, accessed 8 November, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.

were inspired by Arban and other cornet players to take up that instrument during their formative years, the orchestrally-oriented teaching of Maury and Teste at the Conservatoire saw their students and younger colleagues turn to the valve trumpet under their influence. Franquin and Lachanaud both graduated from Maury's cornet class, then moved on to highly successful careers as orchestral valve trumpet players. Lachanaud was premier prize-winner in Maury's first cornet class in 1874.[114] Franquin, following graduation with a first-prize in 1877, went on to play cornet and high valve trumpet in the orchestras at l'Opéra Comique and la Société.[115] He succeeded Cerclier as professor of trumpet at the Conservatoire and dedicated that class to valve trumpet.[116] Despite his own cornet background, for him it was Teste's high valve trumpet performance practice that restored the trumpet to the orchestra and established the valve trumpet as the orchestral instrument of the future.

For composers too, the transition from cornets to trumpets was gradual. Léo Delibes' *Coppélia* (1870) and *Sylvia* (1876) included cornet parts, but by 1883 Delibes' *Lakmé* was written for three valve trumpets. César Franck's *Symphony* (1888) retained a pair of cornet and trumpet parts, although both pairs include a similar level of chromaticism and complexity. This not only reflected the fact that trumpet players were using valve instruments, but particularly with Franck the valve trumpet was being privileged above the cornet.[117] Similarly, Emmanuel Chabrier's *España* (1883) gives chromatic writing and largely equal weight of

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[114] D. Kern Holoman, "Lachanaud," University of California Press, accessed 8 November, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.
[115] D. Kern Holoman, "Franquin," University of California Press, accessed 1 November, 2015. http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/.
[116] Franquin, "La trompette et le cornet," 1611.
[117] Joyce Francine Davis, "The Cornet à Pistons in French and French-infuenced orchestration from 1830 to 1936" (DMA diss., Ohio State University, 1990). 49.

exposure to both the trumpet and cornet. Composers including Franck's student Vincent D'Indy and his friend Paul Dukas develop this trend towards the valve trumpet, and away from the cornet, to its completion in the nineteenth century. Franquin's identification with Teste was not only one of admiration of his artistic and technical ability. Franquin recalls that the difficulties and dangers of trumpet parts in the late 1870s and 1880s meant that it was prudent to perform them on the modern high valve trumpet.[118] Whereas Teste's main motivation to move to high valve trumpet was to be able to perform repertoire from the Baroque era, Franquin sought to address newly composed needs. For him, this was finally crystallised and formalised around the time of the premier of Richard Wagner's *Lohengrin* in 1891.[119] According to Franquin this was the time when generational and artistic change at l'Opéra, along with Teste's artistic and technical success more broadly, allowed Teste to renounce the natural trumpet entirely. More significantly, increasing chromaticism imposed by composers from without propelled Franquin's desire to followed Teste's lead from this point forward.

Endings

The initial move to valve trumpet rested with Teste and his influence through the 1870s. Teste was welcomed as an orchestral cornet player initially, but quickly made the transition to high valve trumpet. He maintained some natural trumpet performance as a means of placating the more conservative elements at l'Opéra and la Société. After Teste, the first influential individuals who took the valve trumpet forward were cornet players, inspired by Arban, but taught

[118] Franquin, "La trompette et le cornet," 1611.
[119] Ibid.

primarily by Maury in his orchestrally-orientated cornet class: Merri Franquin and Jean Lachanaud, both originally cornet players at the Conservatoire, led the modern valve trumpet movement forward in France. Teste's obituary at la Société distilled what Franquin pointed to in his history of the trumpet: the change to valve trumpet began with Xavier Teste. Teste's significance was not lost on the orchestral elite at la Société. In his eulogy for Teste, Pierre Chavy, viola player and committee member at la Société, wrote that Teste was "renowned of the trumpet and the trumpet's renown".[120] This all too short recognition summed up Teste's contribution to the valve trumpet tradition in France. He changed it permanently, and he oriented it to the twentieth century.

Vale Dauverné

1874 proves to be the pivotal year in which Paris' elite orchestral field turns from the natural trumpet and the low F valve trumpet to the modern valve trumpet pitched in Bb/C. This year heralded the arrival of Teste, the pragmatic and influential musician whose personal ambition promoted the high valve trumpet to Paris. It also marked the quiet passing of Dauverné, a man whose reverence for the trumpet tradition ensured that the trumpet was never usurped by the cornet, and whose practice and advocacy ensured that the historical trumpet tradition remained vital and influential through the Conservatoire, la Société, and l'Opéra.

[120] Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967*, 64.

Dauverné's death was acknowledged with very little fanfare in the press (see figure 29):

> Mr G. Dauverné, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, professor of trumpet at the Conservatory of Music, has just died at the age of seventy-four years. He was an artist considered and loved by all those who have had the opportunity to know him.[121]

Figure 30. Dauverné 1864.[122]

[121] "M. G. Dauverné, chevalier de la Légion D'honneur, professeur de trompette au Conservatoire de musique, vient de mourir à l'âge de soixante-quatorze ans. C'était un artiste estimé et aimé de tous ceux qui l'ont connu". "Obituary," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 November, 1874, 391. "La musique et la légion d'honneur," *La France Musicale*, 23 August, 1868, 261.

[122] Unsigned, *François Georges Auguste Dauverné*, 1864, Photograph Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8416988n.

Vale Arban

Arban was peripheral at best, absent and irrelevant at worst to these developments around 1874 in Paris. His career as an inspirational cornet soloist ought not be diminished. However, the eventual adoption of the modern valve trumpet in Paris went on despite Arban's contribution as a cornet soloist, composer, and conductor. While Arban returned to the Conservatoire following Maury's death, the elite orchestral field represented by the Conservatoire, l'Opéra, and la Société, had already moved to the modern valve trumpet. In stark contrast to Dauverné's quiet obituary in *Le Ménestrel*, Arban's 280 word "Nécrologie" encapsulated the popularity and flamboyance of the artist it celebrated:

> A well-known artist of the Parisian public, a man of a brilliant reputation, Jean-Baptiste Arban, died last Tuesday in Paris, as a result of lung congestion. Arban became famous in his youth as a virtuoso on the cornet, thanks to his beautiful tone, his agility and his astonishing ability to articulate the triple tonguing technique; later, he garnered a great reputation as an orchestra leader of balls. His success at the Cadet Casino, and the Salon Valentino and Frascati were beyond reproach. A former student of Dauverné's trumpet class at the Conservatoire, he obtained the first prize in 1845. The cornet was popularly in vogue, and Arban's ability was such that he rivalled that of Forestier, and he began to be especially noticed in 1856, in his outdoor performances in the mode of Alfred Musard. The following year, he was appointed professor of the military saxhorn class at the Conservatory, and in 1869 he became professor of the civilian cornet class. A few years later he resigned and was replaced by Maury, assistant musical director of the Republican Guard. However, at the death of the latter, in 1880, he resumed the direction of the cornet class. This he maintained until his last days. As a composer, Arban published a complete method for cornet and saxhorn, and a large amount of fancies and concert pieces for the

cornet based on popular opera themes. He also produced a countless number of quadrilles and dance pieces for orchestra. He had, it is said recently, “manufactured a series of brass instruments of a perfect correctness” which will be on display at the Universal Exhibition. Arban was born in Lyon, February 28 1825.[123]

Figure 31. Arban in 1880.[124]

[123] “Nécrologie,” *Le Ménestrel*, 14 April, 1889, 120. “Un artiste bien connu du public parisien, qui lui avait fait une brillante renommée, Jean-Baptiste Arban, est mort mardi dernier à Paris, des suites d'une congestion pulmonaire. Arban était devenu fameux dès sa jeunesse comme virtuose sur le cornet à pistons, grâce à sa belle sonorité, à son agilité et à son étonnant triple coup de langue; plus tard, c'est comme chef d'orchestre de bals qu'il acquit une grande notoriété, et l'on sait les succès qu'il obtint sous ce rapport au Casino Cadet, créé par lui, à Valentinù à Frascatie à l’Opéra, succès que l'étrangernelui marchanda pas non plus. Ancien élève, au Conservatoire, de la classe de trompette de Dauverné, où il avait obtenu le premier prix en 1845, il s'était adonné au cornet à pistons, dont c'était l'heure de grande vogue, devint le rival des Forestier et des Schlottmann, et commença surtout à se faire remarquer en 1856, aux concerts- promenades d'Alfred Musard. L'année suivante, il était nommé professeur de la classe de sax-hbrn créée au Conservatoire pour les élèves militaires, et en 1869 il devenait titulaire de la nouvelle classe régulière de cornet à pistons; quelques années plus tard il donnait sa démission, et était remplacé par Maury, second chef de musique de la Garde républicaine; mais a'la mort de celui-ci, en 1880, il reprenait-la direction de sa classe, qu'il a conservée jusqu'a ses derniers jours. Comme compositeur, Arban a publié une bonne Méthode complète de cornet à pistons et de sax-horn, une assez grande quantité de fantaisies et de morceaux de concert pour cornet à pistons sur des motifs d'opéras en vogue, et un nombre incalculable'de quadrilles et morceaux de danse pour orchestre. Il avait, dit-on, fait “fabriquer récemment toute une série d'instruments de cuivre d'une justesse parfaite qui figureront à l'Exposition universelle, où leur succès paraît certain. Arban était né à Lyon.le 28 février 1825”.

[124] Paul Maurou, *Joseph-Jean-Baptiste-Laurent Arban*, 1880, Photograph, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photograyphie (public domain), accessed 8 March 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415378w.

Conclusion

The trends beyond the claims

Overview

Half a century lay between Dauverné's first use of the low valve trumpet in Chelard's *Macbeth* in 1827, and Xavier Teste's influential adoption of the modern high valve trumpet for Handel's *Messiah* in 1874. In the intervening period at l'Opéra, la Société, and the Conservatoire, a conservative lineage of horn and trumpet players founded in the teaching and performance of natural horn exponents Heinrich Domnich and Louis-François Dauprat, dominated the thinking in those institutions. This lineage maintained a culture of resistance to valve technology because they believed that it corrupted that which was natural in both the horn and the trumpet. That preference was dominant during François Dauverné's tenure in these orchestras and remained so for at least two decades beyond his departure from active performance in 1851. Throughout that period, the natural trumpet was given preference over the valve trumpet.

These culturally elite orchestras turned to the cornet as composers began to call for chromaticism and middle and upper register lyricism beyond the capacity of the natural trumpet in new works through and beyond the 1830s. The practice commenced at l'Opéra in Halévy's *La Juive* in 1835. The orchestral works of Berlioz after 1836 show that this quickly expanded into orchestral practice beyond l'Opéra. In practical terms the natural trumpet and cornet combination was a trend of sufficient strength and influence to remain dominant in the elite orchestras and beyond until the 1870s. Through the 1840s

and 1850s, the natural trumpet and cornet combination in the elite orchestras marginalised the valve trumpet, despite the fact that players across Paris, like Kresser, and Ferdinand and Edmond Dubois, used both valve trumpet and cornet in performances elsewhere. The cornet remained at l'Opéra and la Société until the 1880s.

Mid-century, Dauverné's *Méthode* suggests that natural trumpet practice was in decline. It retained its place in the elite orchestras, but players were also making recourse to valve trumpet alongside cornets. Despite the protestations in his last method book, Dauverné's perception of the natural trumpet's demise was such that he began writing for and more importantly actively examining valve trumpet at the Conservatoire after 1860. Arban's *Grande Méthode* of 1864 put the view that one could play the trumpet and starve, whereas cornetists could live easily.[1] Arban's blunt observation points to the fact that in his musical world, the popular and dance music field, trumpet performance whether natural or valve, was rare. Together Dauverné's and Arban's claims suggest that in the years around 1860, the natural trumpet was being removed from the orchestral field, and the trumpet in both natural and valve forms was largely absent from the popular field.

The turn to high valve trumpets pitched in Bb, C and D, in the orchestral field in Paris, and away from natural trumpets and cornets, rested initially with the agency of Xavier Teste. Teste's motivation was to meet the technical and musical needs of Handel's *Messiah* and similar high trumpet material in the years after 1874. Like the pragmatic military-theatre players of the 1830s and

[1] Jean-Pierre Mathez, *Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban, 1825-1889: Portrait d'un Musicien Français du Xixe Siècle* (Switzerland: Editions Bim, 1977), 19.

1840s, Teste used a range of instruments in his orchestral practice. This practice was influential on other young trumpeters such as Merri Franquin and Jean Lachanaud, as Teste quickly accrued significant cultural capital on the basis of his high standards of execution, and his occupancy of the principal trumpet positions in the elite orchestras, l'Opéra and la Société.

Factors behind the rejection of the valve trumpet

The factors that led to the initial rejection of the valve trumpet at l'Opéra and la Société, then in French orchestras more broadly, lie with the generation of performers, composers, and administrators born in the years around the Revolution of 1789. The main identities addressed herein include: Habeneck (1781), Buhl (1781), Dauprat (1781), Auber (1782), Meyerbeer (1791), Meifred (1791), Gallay (1795), and Dauverné (1800). The members of this group were strong advocates of the hand-horn school established at the Conservatoire under Heinrich Domnich in 1795. They were also highly influential in developments in the orchestra and instrumental music in the first decades of the 1800s. In the first instance this was an accident of generational timing. Importantly, the emergence of their professional careers aligned with moves to reinvigorate l'Opéra in Paris in the 1820s, and Habeneck's moves to enhance and expand instrumental music in the capital through the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire in 1828. Also, all these individuals played key roles in the teaching of the newly established Conservatoire throughout their careers. Gildea's description of this generation as "self-aware, raised in a period of excitement and greatness" is apt.[2] Collectively, these

[2] Robert Gildea, *Children of the Revolution: The French, 1799-1914* (London, UK: Penguin, 2008), 6-10.

artists sought to preserve and build upon the noble musical traditions to which they perceived that they belonged, into the new century. They aimed to achieve this through elite performance and elite teaching that was loyal to the ancien regime in Paris.

In l'Opéra's efforts at rejuvenation through the importation of the latest instrumental technology from Spontini in Berlin, the elders of this group faced their first challenge in leading Paris' musicians forward. Buhl, Dauprat and Meifred, the performers, rejected the addition of valve technology to the natural instrument. Buhl, after leaving the orchestra, eventually shifted and adopted the valve, Dauprat maintained his position, and Meifred sought a compromise solution for the low horn to match that of Dauprat in the upper register. Dauprat is the ultra-conservative of this collective. He was not willing to modify any aspect of his horn practice and rejected valves for the entirety of his career. Gallay, who succeeded Dauprat as professor of horn at the Conservatoire, and who was renowned in Paris as an outstanding natural horn performer, powerfully sustained Dauprat's resistance to technology until his death in 1864.

Dauverné was the junior-player in this Domnich-Dauprat factional orchestral lineage. Dauprat like Dauverné's teacher Buhl was nineteen years his senior. Dauverné's initial appraisal of the Spontini trumpet demonstrated his attempt to be both professional and objective, but he was also already persuaded by his senior anti-valve colleagues. As a result, his *Théorie ou Tablature* (1827) simultaneously celebrated the uniformity of the valve trumpet's timbre on all the notes, while finding that in combination the valves robbed the instrument of its

characteristic sharpness and brightness.[3] This ambivalence marks Dauverné's entire career. In addition, beyond the philosophical or aesthetic orientation of Dauprat and his colleagues, I have argued that Dauverné was not the most competent of trumpeters. In this context it is entirely conceivable that his orchestral colleagues, upon hearing Dauverné's fledgling performances on the valve instrument, could attest that he sounded more comfortable and at one with the natural instrument with which he was more familiar. This reinforced Dauverné's absorption of Dauprat's aesthetic, his dedication to the natural trumpet, and his avoidance of the valve trumpet.

Rossini's tenure at l'Opéra up to 1829, a further effort by its administrators to reinvigorate the institution artistically and economically, reveals that composer agency was also influential in promoting the new technology of valves. The works of Meyerbeer, initially, but then more so Halévy indicate that these composers followed Rossini's lead in their incorporation of keyed- and valved-trumpets. Berlioz's works through the 1830s and 1840s show that trends at l'Opéra were readily adopted outside the structure of that institution. These early composers outpaced their performing colleagues in the Dauprat faction in their desire to include chromatic brass in the orchestra. However, in the years of and immediately after Rossini, the primary option in Paris, as yet still lacking a flourishing industrial musical instrument-manufacturing sector, was to import keyed trumpet players from Italy. That said, Dauprat, and as Dauverné's habitus continually reveals Dauverné followed him in this entirely, totally rejected early keyed instruments at l'Opéra. When the French trumpeters were left to their

[3] François Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, ca. 1828), 4, 13.

own devices, those first works that called for keyed trumpets at l'Opéra such as Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* and Meyerbeer's *Robert Diable* were played on valve trumpets. This was deemed to be the best alternative choice to keyed instruments at the time. From shortly thereafter, under Dauverné's influence the French trumpet tradition was marked by a conservatism with regard to the natural trumpet which militated against the use of the valve trumpet. This facilitated the use of the cornet as a soprano brass voice in the orchestra.

Factors behind the adoption of the cornet

The persons and factors that led to the adoption of the cornet over the valve trumpet for chromatic material at l'Opéra and la Société were multiple, complex, deeply interwoven, and contested. The cornet's acceptance into l'Opéra in 1835 was originally driven by the orchestral elite. The first and most influential agent in this regard was Joseph Meifred. Meifred's work with Jacques-Charles Labbaye not only led to his development of a valve horn in 1828, but later contributed to the development of the cornet.[4] Antoine-Halary who worked with Dauverné on trumpets may well have worked independently of Meifred on the cornet, but the latter's work was the impetus for valve horn and early cornet concepts.[5] That is to say, the orchestral elite worked with local manufacturers in the interests of incorporating technology that served to advance orchestral performance in the elite orchestras in the new century.

Further evidence that the cornet's acceptance into l'Opéra was at the initiative of the elite lies in the performance of Dufrène. As a horn player at l'Opéra in the

[4] François-Joseph Fetis, "Nouvelles de Paris," *Revue Musicale*, 1828, 346.
[5] Edward Tarr, "The Romantic Trumpet, Part 1," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 258.

1830s, Dufrène was schooled in the structurating elements of the orchestral field. He most likely played one of the two valve horn parts in Jacques François Halévy's *La Juive* (1835), and in this role, doubled on cornet in the brief cornet parts in *Acte V Nº 21 Marche*.[6] The horn-centric nature of the cornet's debut in the orchestra was a product of Meifred's influence and Dufrène's performance. If it was to be associated with any instrument it was the horn, because its first and its leading exponents were horn players.

At its genesis, Dauverné regarded the cornet as a new kind of instrument. Neither Dauverné, nor Meifred, nor the Dauprat collective, initially regarded the cornet as a derivative of either the horn or the trumpet. Dauverné reinforced this general sentiment in 1857 in his view that the addition of valves "places these instruments in a category apart".[7] As a result of these factors, Dauverné did not regard the incorporation of the cornet into the orchestra as a threat to the natural trumpet, or indeed the valve trumpet. He willingly played alongside Dufrène's cornet in the Strunz Quintet performances in 1833. He welcomed the cornet in *La Juive* at l'Opéra two years later precisely because it was not a valve horn or a valve trumpet substitute, but because it was a new instrument that had incorporated what he thought to be the ingenious system of valve technology that could enrich instrumentation.[8] This also allowed Dauverné, up to the time of his *Méthode* of 1857, to published isolated snippets for the instrument: his *Méthode de Trompette à piston* in 1834/5; the 24 popular operatic melodies for cornet in 1837; and in 1846 his brief *Méthode Théorique &*

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[6] Jacques François Halévy, *La Juive* (New York, NY: Garland, 1980), 645.
[7] François Dauverné, "Method for Trumpet 1857," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3, no. 1 (1991): 244.
[8] Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons*, 2.

Pratique De Cornet à Pistons ou à Cylindres, all probably with his younger trumpet and cornet playing brother in mind.[9]

The use of the cornet in the orchestra was also driven from outside, if not indeed from a status position below, the elite orchestras, that is from military and theatre players whose practice promoted the transference of skills and use of instruments across the military and orchestral fields. Dufrène is a powerful agent here. Alongside his orchestral performance Dufrène was both lead cornetist and second lieutenant to the orchestral power brokers in his Legion in la Garde, captain Habeneck and chief Meifred.[10] Dufrène was not alone in his high profile performing in both the military and at l'Opéra. Kresser and Forestier were also influential in performance across these fields. Both performed in the military and the orchestral field and added to their cultural capital in both fields by virtue of their status as professors at the newly formed Gymnase Musical Militaire from 1836.[11]

More broadly, the ready adoption of the cornet in the legion bands of the Music de la Garde Nationale after 1831 saw it occupy soprano chromatic brass roles above and alongside low F valve trumpets and natural trumpets. Military players who also performed in Paris' theatre orchestras such as the Théâtre Royal de l'Opéra-Comique, Athénée Musical, Théâtre des Variétés, and Théâtre du Vaudeville, subsequently used cornets in combination with valve trumpets and

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[9] "Musique Nouvelle," *L'Indépendant*, 22 October, 1837, 3; "Petite Chronique," *Le Ménestrel*, 28 January, 1844, 3; François Dauverné, *Méthode Théorique et Practique de Cornet à Piston ou à Cylindres* (Paris: Henry Lemoine, 1846).

[10] Planque, *Agenda musical pour 1837 ou indicateur des amateurs, artistes et commerçants en musique de Paris, de la province et de l'etranger* (Paris: Librairie Musicale De E. Duverger, 1837), 76, 83.

[11] Ibid., 60, 84.

or natural trumpets in performances requiring facile soprano brass performance. These musicians were pragmatic. Skills acquired in military circles along with instruments used were seamlessly transferred to the orchestral field. Facilitating this in the 1830s was the fact that the status or cultural divide between those fields was highly permeable. Players freely worked across both fields, and in practical terms took the instruments they used in the military to their work in the theatre. The political and state-centric control of both fields provided the over-riding structure for individual agent musicians to develop a common practice in both. This practice remained strong even when the formal structuration of military bands using the instruments of Adolphe Sax commenced in 1845. By this time, the cornet had already become entrenched in orchestral music by virtue of the dual field agency of individual working trumpeters seeking to meet composer demand in practical and convenient ways.

The use of the cornet in the orchestra was also shaped by its feature solo and lead melodic roles in Concerts Musard, and in dance orchestras across Paris after 1833. Dufrène appears as a pivotal figure. Dufrène's high profile, popularity, and success, afforded him considerable cultural capital and influence. They also provided a level of financial independence sufficient for him to resign his position at l'Opéra and focus entirely on popular concerts and dance genres.[12] He was joined for a time by Forestier, but in these two identities within ten years of its arrival in Paris the cornet's unique tradition split into two broad paths. Dufrène pursued the popular music line; Forestier developed the

[12] "Une Foule Prodigieuse Assistait à Cette Délicieuse Fête De Nuit - 'Bals Masques'," *La Syllphide*, 6 December, 1840, 1; "Bulletin Des Theatres," *Figaro*, 14 May, 1835, np; "Nouvelles Des Arts," *Journal des Artistes*, 23 December, 1838, 394; "Chronique," *Les Coulisses*, 17 December, 1840, 3.

orchestral cornet role. Dufrène's career popularised the cornet in the public mass popular forms as well as in the military; Forestier's was aligned to military training and orchestral performance.

The public's reception of the cornet also served to frame its use through the 1830s and 1840s and contributed to its acceptance amongst the orchestral elite. Issues of nomenclature aside, to the eyes and ears of many musicians and audiences alike in Paris, the cornet looked like and sounded like a small trumpet. Appearing alongside horns and trumpets of all types it came to be expected that the cornet would provide a lead soprano voice in the brass section. This was not a simple matter of the instrument's or its practitioner's popularity. It was the cornet's function in the military and popular fields that was initially influential. That said, its popularity, especially in the hands of Dufrène, contributed to its adoption in the elite orchestra.

The use of the cornet by the elite orchestras was not initially driven by composer demand. The composers addressed herein requested valve trumpets in their scores. The reticence of Dauverné and the horn section at l'Opéra and la Société met their demands by having those parts performed on cornets. While this frustrated Berlioz, he instituted the pattern of pairing natural trumpets with cornets from 1836 in *Benvenuto Cellini*. A measure of the strength and ostensible permanence of this practice is its ongoing presence in French orchestration as in the works of Charles Gounod, Ambroise Thomas, Léo Delibes, César Franck, Georges Bizet, and Emmanuel Chabrier into the 1880s.

By the time the 18 year-old Arban arrived in Paris in 1843, as far as the orchestral cornet was concerned its die had been cast. However, Arban's early

post-graduate career made two very significant contributions to the orchestral cornet-trumpet tradition. His performance in the banda for Giuseppe Verdi's *Jerusalem* at l'Opéra in 1847 demonstrated a remarkable level of lyricism.[13] Beyond its entertainment value, it signalled to trumpeters, cornetists, and composers, that such writing on soprano brass was not only possible, but its realisation could be executed in the highest artistic terms. The following year, Arban's demonstration of multiple tonguing technique on the cornet represented a revolutionary turn in the trumpet and cornet traditions. The use of repeated double and triple tonguing by a trumpeter and cornetist in this way had not been heard on either instrument before, and it is right to recognise in this "the great artist Arban".[14]

Beyond this, Arban's connection to the elite orchestral field ought not be overstated. Through Sax he had performed alongside Kresser and Forestier in concert.[15] He appeared at l'Opéra for a single season of performances of Verdi's *Jerusalem*, and a single concert performance at the Conservatoire. Up until his appointment to the Conservatoire as professor of cornet in 1869, Arban's only contact with that institution was through the Gymnase teaching the alto saxhorn class. In contrast, in Paris and across France, in London, Baden, Madrid, and St Petersburg, Arban throughout his career perpetuated the popular cornet line established by Dufrène. Given that these first and second generation cornetists played together on occasion, the younger Arban was inspired if not directly encouraged by Dufrène to take this route. Arban's career

[13] "Académie Royale de Musique," *Le Ménestrel*, 28 November, 1847, 2.
[14] "Arban et le cornet compensateur," *La France Musicale*, 9 April, 1848, 109.
[15] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Le Ménestrel*. 19 March, 1848, 3.

constantly evinced the aspirational nature of his habitus. No sooner had he arrived in Paris as a trumpet student than he was taking leave from study to perform on the cornet in London. The identical practice thirty years later led to his resignation from his cornet professorship. Arban's student years aligned with the moves against Dauverné at la Société and the appointment of Kresser above him after 1843. While the highly able young Arban may have had less reason to respect his teacher or an orchestral position at the time, Arban did not try to maximise his orchestral connections and manoeuvre for a position alongside Kresser and Forestier at la Société or l'Opéra. In the face of the moves against Dauverné following graduation, and perhaps in response to a sense of impending change in the air that would manifest as the Revolution of 1848, Arban elected to develop his solo career in London.

Upon his return to Paris, Arban's connections with Cadet Casino, and ballrooms at Salle Valentino and Frascati, tied him, and the cornet, ever closer to the popular music and dance field. As Arban became known for his contribution to light music in Paris, his performances of truncated versions of music of the masters only served to highlight his separation from the artistic elite. Arban's social and musical environment was unlike that of Dufrène who in the 1830s and 40s operated in close and permeable fields. In the 1860s the separation between elite orchestral music at l'Opéra and la Société, had become much more distinct: from Jules Pasdeloup's well attended Concerts Populaires Pasdeloup, which were in turn distinct from Arban's increasingly low-brow light music arrangements of popular tunes, which were distinct from a professionalised military music force. For all of Arban's aspirational nature, his habitus suggests he did not so much seek perfection of the art or the instrument

in an artistic sense. It suggests he maintained a dedication to formulaic forms of concert giving which also manifest as an inability to read the changing of the times. His return from London saw him re-implement his London model in Paris again and again. Arban's efforts to modify his repertoire such as through the Rossini festival and a Meyerbeer festival in 1868 served only to highlight his disconnection from the then serious performance of such repertoire. This was not lost on Arban's contemporaries, nor in the press. Such recourse to the orchestral masters ultimately failed for one reason: Arban's habitus, his life goals, and the proof of his career, was his attraction to popular acclaim and the rewards of a performing and conducting travelling virtuoso. His success in this regard only served to harden the divide between light popular music and the art music elite of the professional orchestra.

Arban's pitch to the Conservatoire in his *Grande Méthode* in 1864 was very clear proof of this. Contrary to Arban's intentions, not only did it highlight his complete disconnect from the elite field, its attempts to justify his acceptance into that field through thinly veiled attacks on his perceived detractors were blunt, and destructive. Arban's attacks on stalwarts of the orchestral tradition in Jacques François Gallay and Joseph Forestier in particular, did little to advance his cause. Arban's lack of awareness of his disconnection from the orchestral elite resulted in a misreading of the Conservatoire and the times in Paris. His correspondence with Auber suggests that he was either unaware, or had dismissed the importance of Meifred's retirement and the Conservatoire's decision to maintain a single natural horn class following the death of Gallay in 1864. More importantly in this light, Arban missed the continued importance of the natural trumpet in the elite orchestral tradition represented at the

Conservatoire. Far from ingratiating himself with the academy, Arban's appeal to Auber and the Conservatoire in his *Grande Méthode* sealed his disconnect from the elite field. At best Arban was ardent and idealistic, but ill-informed regarding music performance in Paris. At worst he demonstrated a lack of awareness of the divide between popular and orchestral music that had spelt his demise in London in the 1850s and through the 1860s and 1870s would do so again in Paris. This meant that he saw his musical output in the latter decades in Paris as continuous with the output from l'Opéra and la Société. The emergence of new middle class concert societies such as Concerts Populaires Pasdeloup only served to prove and further polarise Arban's irrelevance to the elite.

Outside of Arban's claims in his *Grande Méthode* of 1864, the impact of Arban post-1860 on the orchestral tradition was small. The result of his success as a soloist and conductor-composer was effectively a hardening of the boundaries between the popular music field and the orchestral music field. If this had any influence, it was in reinforcing the comparative low-brow nature of the cornet which in turn impelled artists such as the young Teste to look for hybrid trumpet solutions that retained the cornet's facility but adapted this to the trumpet's timbre and cultural history. Nonetheless Arban's career was emblematic of a wider claim, that the cornet should replace the trumpet in all its forms. For all his initial success with high standard students after appointment to the Conservatoire in 1869, the orchestral use of the cornet began to decline in the 1870s. However, trumpet players did begin taking the cornet class, in preference to Jules Cerclier's trumpet class, and then turn to the valve trumpet in performance.

The turn to the modern high valve trumpet

The persons and factors behind the turn to modern high valve trumpet rest initially with the agency of Xavier Teste. Teste was an outlier in terms of the Conservatoire and the elite orchestral tradition of Paris at l'Opéra and la Société. Teste entered that tradition through a stunning audition for the second cornet position at l'Opéra in 1868, the same year Dauverné ceased employ at the Conservatoire. Dauverné's habitus, his characteristic ambivalence, his willingness to follow the lead of his natural horn colleagues, his benign acceptance of the cornet occupying soprano brass roles in the orchestra up until the *Méthode* of 1857, meant that the Chevalier of the Legion of Honor was unassuming in his retirement, and passed away with dignity but little fanfare in 1874.

Teste's career dictated that 1874 was a significant year for the turning of the trumpet tradition in Paris. Just as 1835 saw the first use of the cornet in the elite orchestra, 1874 saw Teste's adoption of the high valve trumpet for the first time. This instrument combined the musical facility of the cornet, and the natural timbre, and historical and cultural nobility of the trumpet. Beyond the aesthetic and cultural dimensions, Teste's decision was like that of his predecessors in the 1830s, pragmatic. This was not the result of a deficit in the artist or in the current standard of instruments. Teste was an outstanding musician. He could perform to the highest level on the cornet, the natural trumpet, and the valve trumpet. His decision to commission the construction of a high valve trumpet was driven by the need to play Handel's *Messiah*. His initial use of the instrument was in revival performances of high clarino repertoire, the repertoire and practice that Dauverné's inspirational performer and writer Altenburg

lamented had passed in 1795. In the 1870s Teste's decision to perform on the modern high valve trumpet was not initially driven by composer demand. It was driven by artistic and administrative decisions to perform the works of Handel and Bach. Teste's artistry and accuracy as a musician was influential on leading players in Paris. He was recognised for his outstanding error-free playing from the time of his audition to the time of his retirement. From 1868 he sat alongside trumpeters Jean Ferdinand Dubois and Joseph Ernest Lallement at l'Opéra and in Lallement found a willing ally in valve trumpet performance, especially after 1877 when Teste took the principal trumpet role in that orchestra.

Aiding Teste's pragmatic repositioning of the orchestral trumpet tradition in Paris in the 1870s, was the overall generational shift that saw the leading brass players of the 1820s and 1830s, those from Dauverné's generation, retire from orchestral performance and teaching. This opened up the elite orchestral field to new voices and new agendas. Teste quickly acquired considerable cultural capital on the basis of his artistic and technical prowess. He was aided by a contemporary from Arban's generation in Maury. Maury's brief tenure at the Conservatoire introduced a centralising voice to the trumpet and cornet debate wherein both instruments were considered for their use in the orchestra rather than juxtaposing the cornet's popular use against the trumpet's orchestral use, as Arban had done throughout his career. Arban's career as a cornet virtuoso was influential in this in a broad sense, in that his facility on the cornet inspired his contemporaries to experiment with valves, and their students too were inspired to study the instrument. Both Lachanaud and Franquin were originally cornet players. After only brief exposure to Arban's teaching and soloistic emphasis, both completed their Conservatoire studies under Maury's orchestral

framework in Arban's absence. Lachanaud and Franquin, students of Teste and Maury, both the latter of Arban's generation, carried the French trumpet tradition forward into the new century.

Conclusion

These developments do not map neatly onto political disjunctures in France in the nineteenth century. However, the years immediately after 1830, and those after 1870, emerge as significant times of change. As chapter one proposed, it is difficult to ascribe direct causality between large-scale socio-political events and developments in the trumpet tradition. The move to cornets in the orchestra in 1835 had more to do with the previous arrival of valve mechanisms and ideas from abroad than it had to do with immediate social and political change. The original impetus for this was in efforts to reinvigorate opera and instrumental music in France that had begun in the second decade of the century. The same can be said for the political turmoils in 1870. My argument has been that developments after 1874 were a product of both a pragmatic undercurrent, found in Paris' trumpeters since the 1830s, and the fact that Teste was a cultural and musical outlier to the Conservatoire and the two leading elite orchestras. Developments after 1870 were generational, but more significantly as I have shown, the debates of which they were a product had been flagged previously by both Dauverné and Arban. Dauverné's *Méthode* of 1857 and Arban's *Grande Méthode* of 1864 were indicative of the long held deliberations regarding the role of the trumpet and cornet in the orchestra. Their mid-century pedagogy indicates that these discussions were of greater intensity in the 1860s, and this fuelled the dynamics for change with a new generation of trumpet players in the following decade.

Opportunity remains to explore the potential influence of new institutions of performance in the orchestral field in the 1860s and 1870s, such as Jules Pasdeloup's Concerts Populaires where Teste engaged in performance in his early years. Similarly, the works of a younger generation of composers, such as Vincent D'Indy for example, who were also more inclined to the modern valve trumpet. The expansion of the cultural field into a wider array of more strongly delineated concert societies and orchestras, might also reflect influential market mechanisms on the instruments and musics, and the professionalisation of musicians, that formed the cultural field. More, further research might also give consideration to external influences on the French tradition. This thesis has noted the early influence of Spontini and Rossini in the 1820s. Opportunities exist to further explore the impact of transnational trends and influences in composition and performance on the French trumpet tradition throughout the period of this thesis and also after the 1870s. For example, the longer tradition of brass manufacture in the German tradition, and its earlier adoption of valve trumpets by orchestral musicians, was not felt in France only through the exclusive agency of Berlioz. Finally, outside the French orchestral trumpet tradition in the nineteenth century, this thesis has pointed to the vitality and influence of popular entertainment and dance music forms in the cultural field. Arban's name continues to be widely known and respected amongst brass musicians across the world by virtue of his success in the popular music field. This is particularly so in the amateur band community. For practicing trumpeters, Arban's contribution to French solo repertoire alone, there being little specifically written for valve trumpet, merits more detailed study of this artist. Xavier Canin's forthcoming Doctoral dissertation, "Jean-Baptiste Arban,

du cornet à la baguette: un musicien Français du XIXè siècle aux multiples talents" offers a research catalogue that might assist such studies.[16]

The broad aim of this thesis has been a quest for a synthesis that allows a deeper contextualisation of the French trumpet tradition in Paris, and a greater sense of the socially situated rhetoric of Dauverné and Arban as revealed through an analysis of the hermeneutic consistency of their published methods. This thesis has explored the transitionary process between the introduction of the low F valve trumpet 1827 and the adoption of the modern valve trumpet in high Bb/C 1874. It has offered a unique contribution toward explaining the influential artists, institutions, and trends, behind the initial rejection of valve trumpets, through the adoption of the cornet as a de facto valve trumpet, to the final turn to the modern valve trumpet in the orchestras of Paris.

[16] Xavier Canin. "Jean-Baptiste Arban, du cornet à la baguette: un musicien Français du XIXè siècle aux multiples talents" (PhD Dissertation, Université Paris École Doctorale "Concepts et Langages" 2016) accessed 30 March 2016, http://www.theses.fr/2016PA040003.

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Appendix 1

Chronology

1781 François Antoine Habeneck born (d.1849), Violinist, Conductor and Director, l'Opéra, la Société

1781 Joseph-David Buhl born (d.1860), Orchestral and Military Trumpeter, Dauverné's uncle and teacher, founding member la Société

1781 Louis François Dauprat born (d.1868), orchestral horn player, l'Opéra and Théâtre Italien, influential professor for hand horn at Conservatoire

1782 Daniel Auber born (d.1871), Composer and Director Conservatoire

1789 Revolution & 1799–1804 Consulate

1791 Joseph Meifred born (d.1867), low valve horn player, valve inventor, orchestral horn l'Opéra and founding member la Société, first professor low valve horn Conservatoire

1791 Giacomo Meyerbeer born (d.1864), Composer at l'Opéra

1792 Philippe Musard born (d.1859), popular concerts director with Dufrène soloist

1795 Founding of Paris Conservatoire

1795 Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art*

1795 Jacques-François Gallay born (d.1864), orchestral hand horn player, soloist, succeeded teacher Dauprat at Conservatoire

1795 Heinrich Domnich becomes founding professor of hand horn at Conservatoire, Dauprat's horn teacher

1798 Dauprat wins Premier Prix Horn Conservatoire

1799 Jacques-François-Fromental-Élie Halévy born (d. 1862), Composer at l'Opéra

1800 François Auguste Dauverné born (d.1874)

1803 Hector Berlioz (d.1869), Composer, Writer, Treatise Instrumentation

1804–14 First Empire under Napoleon I

1806 France occupies Berlin

1807 Heinrich Domnich Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor

1808 Dauprat on horn at l'Opéra

1808 France invades Spain

1810 Jean Georges Kastner born (d.1867), military musician trainer composer

1811 Experimentation with keys, valves on brass: Friedrich Blühmel, Heinrich Stölzel

1811 Salle des Concerts du Conservatoire built

1814–30 Bourbon rule

1814 Allied forces invade France

1814 Adolph Sax born (d.1894), clarinettist, manufacturer, professor of Saxophone

1815 Waterloo Napoleon exiled

1815 Joseph Forestier born 5th of May (d.1882) premier prix horn, turned cornet soloist, military player and professor, orchestral performer

1816 Dauprat appointed Professor of Horn at Conservatoire

1817	Dauprat appointed Principal Horn l'Opéra
1817	Habeneck Principal Violin at l'Opéra
1818	Heinrich Stölzel & Freidrich Blühmel patent valve
1818	Meifred wins Premier Prix at Conservatoire under Dauprat
1821	Legram takes out slide trumpet patent in Paris
1821	Habeneck appointed Director l'Opéra (until 1846)
1822	Luigi Cherubini appointed Director Conservatoire
1823	Joseph Riedl & Joseph Kail patent the Vienna valve
1823	Gasparo Spontini imports valved instruments to Paris (1823-26)
1824	Dauprat *Méthode de Cor Alto et Cor Basse*
1824	Gioachino Rossini in Paris (1824-29)
1825	Buhl *Méthode de Trompette*
1825	Gallay appointed horn at orchestra Theatre Italien
1825	Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban born in Lyon (d.1889)
1827	Meifred & Jacques-Charles Labbaye developing valve horn
1827	Hippolyte Chelard uses valve or keyed trumpet in Macbeth at l'Opéra
1827	Berlioz *Waverley* (later annotations with alterations from keyed to valve trumpet part)
1827	Gambati brothers appear on keyed trumpet at l'Opéra (1827-28)
1827/8	Dauverné *Théorie ou Tablature de la Trompette à Pistons*
1828	Habeneck founds Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire (Dauprat, Meifred, Buhl, Dauverné founding members)
1828	Dauprat *Traité pour le Cor a Pistons*
1828	Meifred promotes valve horn in Paris
1828	Berlioz *Les Francs Juges*

1829 Rossini *William Tell* at l'Opéra written for keyed trumpets (performed on valves according to Dauverné)

1830–48 Orléans rule

1830s Joseph Gebhardt Kresser performed alongside Dauverné at l'Opéra

1833-35 Dufrène played horn at l'Opéra but doubled on cornet with Musard

1830 Berlioz *Symphonie Fantastique* (2 natural trumpets + 1 valve trumpet; later revised to 2 natural trumpets + 2 valve cornets)

1830 Kings Band disbanded Dauverné finishes

1831 Bellini *Norma* (La Scala, Italy)

1832 Meyerbeer *Robert le Diable* (2 Natural trumpets + 2 keyed trumpets)

1832 Concerts Musard Champs Elysées, popular public concerts, Musard, Dufrène, Forestier

1833 Dauverné appointed Professor of Trumpet Conservatoire; Meifred appointed Professor of low valve horn

1834 Forestier graduates from Dauprat's horn class at the Conservatoire

1834 Gymnase musicale established for training military players

1834 Berlioz *Harold in Italy* (later revised, added substantial cornet writing)

1834 Dufrène *Grande Méthode Raisonnée de Cornet-Trompette À Pistons* (2 valves)

1834/5 Dauverné *Méthode de Trompette à piston* (2nd method for valve trumpet, this with 2 valves, plus one page for cornet à piston)

1835 Lagoaner and Carnaud publish cornet methods

1835 Forestier *Méthode pour le Cornet à Pistons* (3 valves)

1835	Halévy's opera *La Juive* (2 natural trumpets + 2 valve trumpets; same for horns; plus curious writing for 2 cors à piston above trumpets in Act V)
1836	Meyerbeer Huguenots (natural horns with hand stopping)
1836-38	Berlioz *Benvenuto Cellini* pairing of natural trumpets and cornets
1836	Kresser Professor of Trumpet at newly created Gymnase
1836	Forestier Professor of Cornet at newly created Gymnase
1836	Kresser *Méthode Complète pour la trompette d'harmonie suivie d'une notice sur le cornet*
1839	François Périnet's piston valve
1839	Berlioz *Romeo and Juliet* follows orchestration of *Benvenuto Cellini*
1839	Dauprat retires from la Société
1840	Meifred *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons*
1840	Kastner valve horn method published
1841	Sax and Berlioz meet
1841	Arban at Conservatoire (until 1845) in Dauverné's Trumpet class
1841	Ferdinand Dubois Premier Prix in Dauverné's Trumpet class
1842	Daniel-François-Esprit Auber appointed Director Conservatoire
1842	Sax moves to Paris
1842	Reviews and recommends Sax's instruments
1842	Gallay Professor of Horn at Conservatoire
1842/3	Berlioz *Treatise on Instrumentation*
1843	Berlioz to Bertin re: Germany
1843	Berlioz *Carnival Romain* follows orchestration of *Benvenuto Cellini*
1843	Berlioz, Sax, Arban, meet to discuss cornet section of *Treatise*

1843	Arban performs demonstrations of Sax's instruments for Meyerbeer and Kastner
1843	Kresser aspirant la Société
1843	Gallay retires from la Société (illness)
1844	Paris Industrial Exposition, Sax Exhibits with works by Berlioz and Kastner (Berlioz sextet featuring Dufrène, Arban, Dauverné brother)
1844	Edmond Dubois Premier Prix Dauverné's Trumpet Class Conservatoire
1844	Arban in London with Laurent Junior
1844	Arban Deuxieme Prix Trumpet Conservatoire
1844	Forestier *Méthode complète, théorique et pratique pour le cornet chromatique à Pistons ou cylindres*, for use at Gymnase
1844	Kastner *Méthode Élémentaire pour le Cornet à Pistons*
1844	Kresser confirmed la Société conditional on him playing principal trumpet
1845	Arban Premier Prix trumpet Conservatoire
1845	Arban in London, soloist with Collinet's dance band at Palace
1845	Gallay *Méthode pour le Cor*, for natural horn
1845	Sax awarded military contract for band instruments
1846	Arban appointed professor of contralto saxhorn at the Gymnase
1846	Cerclier Premier Prix trumpet Conservatoire
1846	Habeneck retires from la Société and l'Opéra
1846	Dufrène *Méthode théorique & pratique du Cornet à Pistons ou cylindres* (no longer active at l'Opéra but popular outside it)

1846 Dauverné *Méthode Théorique & Pratique De Cornet à Pistons ou à Cylindres*

1847 Sax teaches saxophone at Gymnase Musicale; Arban teaches Alto Saxhorn

1847 Arban on stage in Sax's banda for Verdi's Jerusalem

1848–52 Second Republic, Louis-Napoleon (Napoleon III)

1848 Paris uprising, Louis-Napoleon President, male suffrage

1848 Beginning of Haussmann's renovation of Paris under Louis-Napoleon

1848 Kastner *Manuel général de musique militaire à l'usage des armées Française*

1848 Arban demonstrates Sax's Compensator Cornet at la Société to great acclaim (April) particularly for multiple tonguing.

1848 Arban leaves Paris to perform in London (May)

1848 Dauverné's last scheduled year at la Société

1849 Habeneck dies aged 68

1849 Joseph Gebhardt Kresser dies of cholera age unknown

1849 Dauverné succeeds Kresser as Professor of Trumpet at Gymnase Musicale

1849 Meifred revised horn method for three valves

1850s Arban performing and conducting popular music and dance bands in London

1850 Edmond Dubois (Arban classmate) 2nd trumpet to Dauverné at la Société

1851 Leplus advises Dauverné to retire

1851 Dauverné retires from l'Opéra

1852 Dauverné's name appears for last time at la Société, replaced by brothers Ferdinand Dubois (1st) and Edmund Dubois (2nd)

1853 Meifred retires from la Société

1852–70 Second Empire under Napoleon III

1854 Crimean War

1856 Gymnase absorbed into Conservatoire (Arban remains professor of alto saxhorn and Sax Professor of Saxophone)

1856 Arban implements his London model in Paris with renewed vigour

1857 Dauverné *Méthode* published

1859 Arban has dance residency at Cadet Casino

1860 Buhl dies aged 79

1860 Paris' annexation of outlying areas and townships – Paris is the heart and Capital of France

1861 Guilbaut from Gap approaches Auber to establish cornet class

1862 Halévy dies aged 63

1862 Arban in press as "polka king"

1862 Durand pro-Forestier review of new edition of his *Méthode*

1863 Poor review of Forestier's cornet class who lack "elevated style"

1864 Arban *Méthode* - the cornet is the heir to the trumpet

1864 Meyerbeer dies aged 74

1864 Meifred retires from Conservatoire; separate valve-horn class at Conservatoire is suspended

1864 Gallay dies while still employed at Conservatoire aged 69; Jean-Baptiste-Victor Mohr (1823-1891) appointed as his replacement

1867 Arban residency at Valentino rooms

1867 Kastner dies aged 57

1867 Meifred dies aged 75

1868 Dauprat dies aged 87

1868 Arban in talks with Auber about cornet/trumpet and Dauverné's retirement

1868 Arban tours to Spain

1868 Teste appointed to second cornet at l'Opéra

1869 Arban (aged 44) and Cerclier Professors of Cornet and Trumpet after Dauverné; Maury takes Arban's former position in Alto-Saxhorn class

1870–1940 Third Republic

1870 Siege of Paris

1871 Auber dies aged 89

1871 Ambroise Thomas appointed Director Conservatoire; Still composing for 2 cornets + 2 trumpets but affording greater import to latter

1872 Teste is appointed as permanent casual at la Société

1872 Merri Franquin enters cornet class of Arban at Conservatoire, but ends up studying with Maury

1872 Arban on leave from Conservatoire

1873 Jacques Maury, cornet at l'Opéra, replaces Arban (during his tour Russia)

1873	Concerts Colonne established, performing contemporary music + Wagner, Strauss
1873	Arban's Air Swiss is test piece at Conservatoire; Arban tours Russia
1874	Arban tours Russia again
1874	Arban begins residency at Frascati
1874	Dauverné dies aged 74
1874	Teste performs on high valve trumpet in Handel's *Messiah*
1875	Xavier-Napoléon Teste Principal Trumpet la Société
1877	Teste Principal Trumpet l'Opéra after Ferdinand Dubois retires)
1880	Maury dies
1880	Arban returns to Conservatoire upon Maury's passing
1882	Forestier dies 13 November
1889	Arban dies aged 64
1891	François Brémond, appointed professor of horn at Conservatoire, reinstitutes study of valve horn alongside natural
1891	*Lohengrin* performed in Paris on all piston trumpets (Franquin)