

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Faculty Publications, UNL Libraries

Libraries at University of Nebraska-Lincoln

6-2007

Music Circulating Libraries in France: An Overview and a Preliminary List

Anita Breckbill

University of Nebraska - Lincoln, abreckbill1@unl.edu

Carole Goebes

University of Nebraska - Lincoln, cgoebes1@unl.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libraryscience>



Part of the [Library and Information Science Commons](#), and the [Music Commons](#)

Breckbill, Anita and Goebes, Carole, "Music Circulating Libraries in France: An Overview and a Preliminary List" (2007). *Faculty Publications, UNL Libraries*. 179.

<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libraryscience/179>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Libraries at University of Nebraska-Lincoln at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty Publications, UNL Libraries by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

MUSIC CIRCULATING LIBRARIES IN FRANCE: AN OVERVIEW AND A PRELIMINARY LIST

BY ANITA BRECKBILL AND CAROLE GOEBES

The year is 1867 in Paris during the Second Empire. A musician sets off one day from his flat in a building several centuries old situated on the north side of the city. He is mulling over finances, and he feels lucky to have the place. Though the building is six floors tall with a narrow spiral staircase, the ground floor apartment was available when he was looking, and the piano movers were just able to shoehorn in his forty-year-old Erard piano.

He has a package under his arm, and he is on a mission, but he pauses upon emerging from his narrow street onto the great boulevard. He glances up at the magnificent arch dividing the boulevard at Porte St. Denis and then heads west toward the Opéra where he is employed as an opera coach. As he walks, his mind turns to finances. Some calculation in his head divides his monthly salary. Almost three-quarters goes toward food and another quarter to his apartment, fuel, and clothes, leaving little for everything else.¹ The scores that he deeply desires cost around fifteen francs, too much for him to spend in his quest to keep up with the latest operas.

*A fellow musician is visiting tonight, as he does weekly, so they can play and sing some opera music. They are hoping to work through a piano-vocal score they had seen advertised in a recent edition of *Le ménestrel*,² Mignon by Ambroise Thomas, which had been first performed last November. Some music, some gossip and good fellowship—that is his hope for the evening.*

He continues down the boulevard, glances in the pâtisserie, passes the butcher, and turns in at his goal, the shop of Léon Grus. Grus has an especially lovely shop, and well-placed.³ He sells pianos and scores, a few other instruments, and sundries, such as candles and music paper. The musician bypasses the displays, though, and heads to the end of the counter. Here is the abonnement de musique, the music circulating library, where he has been a member since before the old man died and his son took over. Last month he paid his annual subscription of thirty francs, and this enables

Anita Breckbill is the director of the Music Library and Carole Goebes is a music catalog librarian at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. Research for this article was supported by the Bibliographical Society (Great Britain), the Music Library Association Carol June Bradley Award, the Nebraska Library Association College and University Section, and the Layman Grant from the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. Translations in this article are by Breckbill.

1. E. H. Phelps Brown with Margaret H. Browne, *A Century of Pay: The Course of Pay and Production in France, Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, 1860–1960* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1968), 368.

2. [Advertisement] *Le ménestrel* 34, no. 7 (13 January 1867): [8]; 1833–97 reprinted in 36 vols. by Minkoff (Geneva).

3. Anik Devriès and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, 2 vols. in 3, *Archives de l'édition musicale française*, 4 (Geneva: Minkoff, 1979–88), 2:202. According to Devriès and Lesure, *L'annuaire musical* of 1845 reported that Grus had “one of the most beautiful music shops in Paris, and has had a large growth of sales in France and other countries, particularly because of his ‘abonnement de lecture musicale,’ one of the most complete of its type.” [l’un des plus beaux magasins de musique de Paris, et qui a pris un si grand accroissement par sa vente en France et à l’étranger et surtout par son abonnement de lecture musicale, l’un des plus complets en ce genre.]

him to borrow three scores per week, which he does regularly, like clockwork. The proprietor chats with him, and the man hands him the package he has been carrying. Grus glances quickly through the scores, but he knows his customer and knows that there will be no missing pages or penciled markings in the scores being returned. The musician is happy to hear that Grus has just received in his shop several piano-vocal scores of the Thomas opera, and the proprietor quickly prepares one for the abonnement—placing a sticker on the front cover and preparing a checkout card for his files.

The man makes several other choices for the week and then exits the shop, continuing on his way to give a piano lesson to the daughter of a petty official. If the girl's parents think an ability to play piano will help her on the marriage market, so much the better, because the girl actually has some talent and is a diligent student. Her parents took his suggestion to present her with a subscription to a music circulating library as an *étrenne*, or New Year's gift, and she has been spending time sight-reading the scores she borrows.

The *abonnements de musique* as characterized in the preceding scenario, also known as *cabinets de lectures musicaux*, or, in English, music circulating libraries, were businesses that loaned music scores to subscribers. In France the life span of the institution was roughly a century and a half, from the end of the eighteenth century until the 1950s. In this article we describe the businesses as they existed in France, give some ideas about their patronage, and present a preliminary list of firms. We will see that music circulating libraries illustrate the functional nature of business, where a new enterprise can spring up to fill a need in the marketplace and then fade away when no longer needed. We also infer that these libraries played a significant role in the dissemination of music, allowing people to rent music which they could not afford to buy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Michel Brenet, writing in 1906,⁴ noted that the history of French circulating libraries for music was then almost entirely unknown. A century later, this is still mostly true for the French businesses. The history is more complete for German, English, and Norwegian libraries. In 1998, Tobias Widmaier's book on German *Musikalienleihhandel* clarified our understanding of such businesses in German-speaking countries. Widmaier, who offers detailed city-by-city research, is able to follow the growth and decline of German music circulating libraries. One revealing graph shows numbers of libraries in a parabola from only 39 libraries in 1840, through a high of 393 in 1890, and back to a low of 36 in 1925.⁵ For the British Isles, Robin Alston examined all types of libraries in existence be-

4. Michel Brenet, "Les débuts de l'abonnement de musique," *Mercure musicale* 2 (1906): 256–73.

5. Tobias Widmaier, *Der deutsche Musikalienleihhandel: Funktion, Bedeutung und Topographie einer Form gewerblicher Musikaliendistribution vom späten 18. bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Saarbrücken: Pfau, 1998), 154.

fore 1850 and identified fifty-one music circulating libraries in Great Britain that opened between 1770 and 1845.⁶ In addition, Alec Hyatt King's excellent article on the subject lists music circulating libraries identified from music catalogs, trade cards, trade sheets, and Humphries and Smith's *Music Publishing in the British Isles*.⁷ For Norway, Dan Fog and Kari Michelsen in their book on Norwegian music publication note that: "It has been found advisable to mention the music hire libraries of the 19th century. Their importance can hardly be over-estimated. To the musical public of that time they were indispensable, and to the musicologist of today they mean an authentic and first-hand source of information as to the repertoire of times past."⁸ Of the thirty-eight Norwegian publishers listed in the book, Fog and Michelsen note the presence of hire libraries in thirteen of the entries.

Hans Lenneberg in his article "Early Circulating Libraries and the Dissemination of Music" makes a case that "new compositions were published in editions too small to explain their rapid and widespread dissemination."⁹ An example was Robert Schumann's piano work *Kinderszenen*, which was published in an edition of only 300 yet was widely known. Lenneberg suggests that music circulating libraries accelerated the dissemination of scores published in such small editions.

Circulating music libraries in France have not had a detailed examination. Though Americans ourselves, we have come to these French libraries because our library, the Music Library at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln, holds the Rokahr Family Archive, a collection specializing in French opera scores of the nineteenth century. In the course of cataloging this collection, we noticed scores with stickers on the covers or with specially embossed covers (see fig. 1), indicating that the score had once been part of a music circulating library. Our involvement with these scores moved from mild curiosity to interest to concentrated attention.

To explore the issues affecting music circulating libraries, we will focus on business models from each of four time periods: the pioneers (late eighteenth century), the entrepreneur (1830s), the established businesses (mid- to late-nineteenth century), and the mega-businesses (twentieth

6. Robin Alston, "Circulating Libraries, Musical," *Library History Database*, <http://www.r-alston.co.uk/circm.htm> (accessed 21 February 2007).

7. Alec Hyatt King, "Music Circulating Libraries in Britain," *Musical Times* 119 (February 1978): 134–38. Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles, from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century: A Dictionary of Engravers, Printers, Publishers, and Music Sellers, with a Historical Introduction*, 2d ed. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970).

8. Dan Fog and Kari Michelsen, *Norwegian Music Publication since 1800: A Preliminary Guide to Music Publishers, Printers and Dealers* (Copenhagen: Dan Fog, 1976), 4.

9. Hans Lenneberg, "Early Circulating Libraries and the Dissemination of Music," *Library Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (April 1982): 122.



Fig. 1. Sticker from Rouart-Lerolle music circulating library as affixed to score (Rokahr Family Archive)

century). We will then consider who might have used these libraries and why.

THE PIONEERS: BUREAU D'ABONNEMENT MUSICAL

A vision for the first Parisian music circulating library came from two immigrants: a Belgian painter, Antoine de Peters, and an Italian violinist, Jean-Baptiste Miroglio.¹⁰ An announcement for their venture, called the Bureau d'abonnement musical, first appeared in *L'avant coureur* on 22 July 1765:

Since music has become an almost general amusement, and since people of the highest rank find pleasure in it, nothing is more useful than a shop that has assembled all kinds of music from ancient to modern. Such is on offer at the business we are announcing today that will be opened the 22d of this

10. Brenet, 256–57.

month in the cour de l'ancien Grand-Cerf, rue des Deux-Portes-Saint-Sauveur at the home of Miroglio. The collection at the shop is most complete for instrumental and vocal music. One can find all the good French, Italian, and German pieces there, and new pieces are added daily. The subscription will be 24 livres per year, in exchange for which sum the subscriber can take whatever piece of music that they would like. For that purpose they will be provided with a catalog which will be updated every six months. The borrowing period is eight days. One will be able to get new scores when the old are returned in good shape. We believe that this establishment, which is run by people of taste, will contribute to the progress of art and will give the subscriber the pleasure of a varied repertoire.¹¹

The eighteenth century adapted fluid, changing business models for all aspects of music commerce: printing, publishing, and sales. One model for selling music was quite informal. The composer would self-publish, send the music out to be engraved and printed, and then become his own distributor, selling the music from his home. Alternatively, it was the engraver or publisher who would take up the business of distribution from home or shop. Music was also occasionally sold at related businesses, such as instrument builders, stationers, or even candle makers. Music could find strange partners in the shop, as paper sellers sold "paper, ink, desks, pens, penknives, stamps, powders, Spanish waxes, seals, blank books and registers, portfolios, cardboard, [and] books ruled for music."¹² In this mix of business models, the dedicated music store was not the norm. The concept existed, though. Henri Foucault opened the first Parisian music store in the 1690s, followed much later in the 1720s by those of Boivin and Leclerc.¹³ Despite these early attempts, the idea of a merchant specializing in music and related items was still

11. "Depuis que la musique est devenue un amusement presque général et que les personnes du plus haut rang en font leurs délices, rien n'était plus utile qu'un magasin où se trouvent rassemblés tous les morceaux de musique tant ancienne que moderne. C'est ce qu'offre aujourd'hui le bureau que nous annonçons, et qui sera ouvert le 22 de ce mois, cour de l'ancien Grand-Cerf, rue des Deux-Portes-Saint-Sauveur, chez le sieur Miroglio. La collection que présente ce bureau est des plus complètes, tant en musique instrumentale que vocale. On y trouvera tous les bons morceaux français, italiens et allemands, et on y ajoutera journellement tout ce qui paraîtra de nouveau. L'abonnement sera de 24 l. par an, moyennant laquelle somme les abonnés pourront y prendre telle pièce de musique qu'ils désireront, et il leur sera à cet effet fourni un catalogue dont on leur donnera le supplément de six mois en six mois. On pourra garder les exemplaires l'espace de huit jours, et on en fournira de nouveaux; on en pourra même prendre de nouveaux tous les jours en remettant les anciens entiers et non déchirés. On sent combien cet établissement, à la tête duquel sont des personnes de goût, peut contribuer au progrès de l'art, et varier les agréments qu'on en retire." Quoted by Bruno Brévan, *Les changements de la vie musicale parisienne de 1774 à 1799*, Publications de la Sorbonne: Série "N.S. Recherches," 40 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1980), 80.

12. "des papiers, encre, écritroires, plumes, canifs, poinçons, poudres, cire d'Espagne, pain et soie plates à cacheter, livres et registres en blanc, portefeuilles, cartons, livres réglés pour la musique." Anik Devriès, *Édition et commerce de la musique gravée à Paris dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle: Les Boivin, Les Leclerc* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976), 13.

13. See book devoted to this topic, cited in n. 12.

just one of many models for music commerce at the end of the eighteenth century.

The inspiration for Peters's and Miroglio's Bureau probably came from more general circulating libraries. Various called *cabinets de lectures* or *salons de lectures*, these were freestanding businesses offering books for loan for a subscription fee and also often providing a place to read periodicals and newspapers. The launch of such businesses was an eighteenth-century phenomenon. The year sometimes quoted for the first circulating library in the British Isles is 1725, when Allan Ramsay opened a shop in Edinburgh.¹⁴ Benjamin Franklin in the United States is credited with opening a similar establishment, the Philadelphia Library Company, in 1731.¹⁵ In Paris one of the first opened in 1761.¹⁶ Whereas booksellers first greeted these establishments with some alarm, fearing a diminishment of business as a result, they later became more sanguine. In 1813, T. N. Longman replied to the Copyright Committee (in England) when asked if the system of circulating libraries injured book trade: "I think the contrary. It tends to diffuse a taste for reading; having read a book, you have a desire to possess it, in many cases: besides that, the numerous societies which exist, each taking a copy creates a considerable demand."¹⁷ The idea served the needs of the growing middle class, who were becoming more literate and increasing their consumption of printed materials.

The immediate result of Peters and Miroglio opening a circulating library dedicated to music was paranoia in the world of music publishing. The publisher Louis Balthazard de La Chevardière instituted a suit soon after the Bureau opened in 1765, alleging harm to music publishers in the venture. He was joined by a long list of composers who feared for their profits. The suit seems to have waxed and waned and involved some countersuing. According to Michel Brenet's description of the proceedings, the suit was quiet until February 1767 when it was reopened by La Chevardière, who had lost some supporting musicians in the intervening years—those who felt that the business could be useful to musicians—and gained others. Peters countered with his own long list of supporters. At the end of the suit, the court decreed that Peters was not to engrave, distribute, or rent music before the expiration of privileges. La Chevardière was fined three thousand livres in damages for infringing

14. Ernest A. Savage, *The Story of Libraries and Book-Collecting* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1909), 191.

15. H. W. Barnes, *The First American: The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 112.

16. Graham Keith Barnett, "The History of Public Libraries in France from the Revolution to 1939" (Thesis, Library Association, 1973), 287.

17. Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books*, 3d ed. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1974), 426.

on the rights of Peters and Miroglio by engraving an arietta of Miroglio, and the court ordered him to stop printing the arietta.¹⁸ Probably no one was satisfied by the decision of the court, but the Bureau d'abonnement musical continued to be listed in the *Almanach musical* until 1789, even after the death of Peters in 1779 and Miroglio in 1785.¹⁹

If we return for a moment to the announcement published in the *Avant coureur*, we notice several items that feature in future circulating music libraries. Essential elements of the business include a subscription fee (in this case twenty-four livres), and a length of subscription period (in this case a year). A borrowing period must be established, which Peters and Miroglio set at eight days. They thought ahead about possible damage to the scores and commented on the necessity of returning the scores in good shape. These regulations, themselves borrowed from more general circulating libraries, continued as the basic formula for future music circulating libraries.

Facsimiles of one-page catalogs from the Bureau, printed between 1767 and 1782, are reproduced in Cari Johansson's *French Music Publishers' Catalogues of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*.²⁰ The earliest catalog lists about 125 scores, while the score count in the latest catalog has grown to nearly 300. These are specifically sale catalogs ("Catalogue des musiques qui se vendent au Bureau d'abonnement musical"). Performance media listed in the earliest catalog include sonatas for violin solo, music for piano and another instrument, violin duets, violin and continuo trios, quartets, symphonies, French and Italian ariettas, pieces for cello or bassoon, violin concertos, and pieces for harp or piano. Composers are a mix of Italian, German, and French with Martini, Wagenseil, and Miroglio himself figuring heavily. By the final catalog, new media had been added: piano concertos, cello concertos, French operas, airs with the accompaniment of harp, violin and bass, or guitar, *airs détachés* from comic operas, and more of everything. The Bureau would have had more scores than this available for borrowing, however. Peters bought 40,000 livres worth of scores in 1763–64.²¹ Assuming an average score price of eight livres, this purchase would have been about five thousand scores, enough to give a respectable quantity of stock for borrowing.

18. Brenet, 271.

19. *Music Printing and Publishing*, ed. by D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie, Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), 190.

20. Cari Johansson, *French Music Publishers' Catalogues of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, 1 vol. plus plates in portfolio, Publications of the Library of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 2 (Stockholm: s.n., 1955), plates, facs. 15–22.

21. Devriès and Lesure, 1:43.

Probably discouraged by the legal troubles of the Bureau d'abonnement musical, no imitators appeared advertising circulating libraries for music in Paris until well after the revolution of 1789. Auguste Leduc, who had a publishing business dating from 1775, advertised a circulating library in 1798, as did Sieber fils. They were then joined by Decombe and Duhan, who advertised their libraries in 1802 and 1804, respectively.

THE ENTREPRENEUR: MAURICE SCHLESINGER

New music publishing firms began to open at a brisk pace. Between the beginning of the Revolution in 1789 and 1830, 190 French music publishers were established, and an average of six opened every year between 1815 and 1849.²² By the 1820s nine music businesses in Paris advertised music circulating libraries as part of their offerings, and there were as many as nineteen firms in business which at one time held circulating music libraries.

Maurice Schlesinger (1798–1871), for his creative and sometimes devious business practices and for sheer flamboyance, was one of the most fascinating proprietors operating in Paris during the first half of the nineteenth century. Schlesinger, the son of Berlin publisher Adolphe-Martin Schlesinger, founded his Parisian music publishing house in 1821 and continued the business until 1846. He published an impressive list of composers, including Beethoven, Liszt, Berlioz, and Hummel, and ran a journal, the *Gazette musicale de Paris* (later the *Revue et gazette musicale*), in addition to his circulating library. He was an innovative businessman, and experimented with new approaches to selling and renting music. Several of his new ideas in publishing and distribution seemed designed to make music accessible to a larger public.

One of Schlesinger's boldest plans was to sell music *à bon marché*, that is, much more cheaply than it had been sold previously. He published complete editions of composers such as Mozart and Rossini, and offered the sets by subscription at one sou per page, a very low cost. A writer in the magazine *Le pianiste* criticized him for the attempt, and wrote that publishing selected masterpieces, rather than the complete works of a composer, was the fairer approach, because such publishing would serve an educational function. The buyers would also get the music they really wanted and not have to sort through the lesser works to find the greater ones, or, even more dangerous, take inferior works as their models.²³

22. Heinrich Probst, *Breitkopf und Härtel in Paris: The Letters of Their Agent Heinrich Probst between 1833 and 1840*, trans. by Hans Lenneberg, *Musical Life in 19th-Century France*, 5 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1990), xxv.

23. "La musique a un sou la page," *Le pianiste* 2, no. 6 (20 January 1835): 46–47; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1972.

In Flaubert's novel of 1869, *L'éducation sentimentale*, the character Monsieur Arnoux was based on Schlesinger, making Schlesinger's name as well known in the literary world as in the musical. Monsieur Arnoux is a purveyor of art at a cheap rate, and Frederic, the main character in the novel, views his business methods as follows:

Having helped to establish certain contemporary masters, the picture dealer, always progressive, had tried to increase his sources of revenue, while preserving his artistic associations. His aim was the popularization of the arts—the sublime for sixpence. Every branch of the Paris luxury trade felt his influence, which was good in small matters, but disastrous in the larger issues. With his passion for gratifying the public, he enticed able artists from their proper path; he corrupted the strong, exhausted the weak, and turned the second-rate into celebrities; for his connections and his magazine gave him widespread power. . . . To Frederic, he seemed to unite the attributes of a millionaire, a dilettante, and a man of action.²⁴

The plan for music *à bon marché* was in some ways laudable and based on a democratic idea to “transform the French into a ‘musical people,’”²⁵ but it was about ten years before its time. Costs of music had increased more than six-fold in a forty-year period, making, for example, a full score of Halévy's *La juive* cost 250 francs, the same cost as a violin or as two oboes with copper keys; the cost of a concert grand was about 1,250 francs.²⁶ In the early nineteenth century both ink and paper became more economical, and this permitted larger print runs on less expensive paper. Interestingly, though, the music publishers trying to lower costs did not take advantage of these technological innovations during the 1830s. Schlesinger himself approached the problem through creative financing and increased advertising, but these changes were not enough to make the inexpensive music he published financially viable. According to Devriès, selling music at a lower cost did become successful in the 1840s when publishers took advantage of less costly paper and reduced-size formats. These publishers, Launer and Bernard Latte, who sold scores for as little as thirty centimes, were also in the circulating library business.

Another bold move was Schlesinger's approach to his journal, the *Gazette musicale de Paris*. He pulled out all the stops in its first year of

24. Gustav Flaubert, *Sentimental Education*, trans. Anthony Goldsmith (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1941), 38.

25. Anik Devriès, “La ‘musique à bon marché’ en France dans les années 1830,” with summary in English, “‘Inexpensive Music’ in France in the 1830s,” in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties = La musique à Paris dans les années mil huit cent trente*, ed. Peter Bloom, La vie musicale en France au XIXe siècle, 4 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987), 249.

26. Ibid.

operation, 1834, by having such literary luminaries as George Sand, Jules Janin, Heinrich Heine, Honoré de Balzac, and Alexandre Dumas write for the journal.²⁷ His journal gave publicity for his publishing house, and Schlesinger kept his eye out for the flashiest publicity he could muster. When events in his personal life led him to fight a duel, he wrote about it in his journal, having fully integrated the idea that bad publicity was as useful as good for selling magazines and music.

Schlesinger's innovations extended also to his music circulating library. He offered a two-tiered subscription rate. The basic subscription rate, corresponding to other circulating libraries of the time, was thirty francs per year, eighteen francs per half year, or twelve francs per three months. For this price the subscriber would receive two pieces of instrumental music at a time, and they could be exchanged three times per week. Alternatively in Schlesinger's new model, the customer could subscribe to a type of approval plan costing fifty francs per year, thirty per six months, or twenty per three months. For this greater price, not only could the subscriber borrow, but if he found a piece he particularly wanted to own, he could keep the music, up to seventy-five francs worth per year. The subscribers could essentially acquire more than they paid for—an enticing offer.

Schlesinger provided catalogs of music that he had available for sale and by subscription, and he advertised in 1840 that he had over 2,000 scores on hand for rental.²⁸ In addition, he offered subscriptions to those in the provinces with the understanding that they would pay the postage. Subscribers in the provinces could have four scores at a time, as compared to two at a time for those who lived in Paris. This was not an uncommon approach, in a sense rewarding those who lived further away by offering a more liberal score count, but also making the exchange more efficient for the business.

Eventually, Schlesinger's innovations—scores *à bon marché*, a musical journal with famous writers, and a two-tiered music rental system—did not serve him well financially. As a businessman, Schlesinger faced much criticism. Heller minced no words when he wrote that “Schlesinger is always and everywhere a man with neither faith nor law, who hasn't a drop of honest blood,” and Liszt simply called him a stupid scoundrel.²⁹ Apparently the composers whom he published were not well paid.

27. Anne Randier-Glenisson, “Maurice Schlesinger, éditeur de musique et fondateur de la ‘Gazette musicale de Paris,’ 1834–1846,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 38, no. 1 (January–March 1991): 37–48.

28. [Advertisement] *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 7, no. 57 (11 October 1840): 494.

29. Devriès and Lesure, 2:389. S. Heller: “Schlesinger est toujours et partout un homme sans foi ni loi qui n’a pas une goutte de sang honnête”; Liszt: “Stupide canaille.”

Flaubert deals with the breakdown of his fictional character, Monsieur Arnoux, by portraying him as a manic person with numerous business ideas:

Arnoux leaned right forward and . . . confided his ideas to him. He wanted to take a lease of all the embankments on the Nord railway and sow them with potatoes; or to organize a monster procession along the boulevards, which would include all "the celebrities of the age." He proposed to hire all the windows, and to relet them at an average of three francs a seat, thus securing a fine profit. In short, he was hoping to corner something and so make his fortune quickly.³⁰

Schlesinger's life was as colorful as that of Flaubert's character. He figures prominently in letters written by Breitkopf & Härtel's Paris correspondent, Heinrich Probst. Schlesinger seems to have been a thorn in Probst's side, and Probst's letters mention various rumors and scandals involving Schlesinger: an affair of honor regarding the wife of the composer LaBarre,³¹ a scandal involving a letter published under Schlesinger's name in a periodical³² and rumors of his financial collapse.³³ Schlesinger left the music publishing business in the 1840s, selling out to Louis Brandus. He found enough capital to buy a hotel in the seaside town of Trouville; later he got into the railway and telegraph businesses. Maurice Schlesinger's creative business mind saw many opportunities for increasing his trade, and during the time he was a music publisher the idea of a music circulating library seemed to him a natural addition to his publishing concern.

THE ESTABLISHED BUSINESSES

At the time Schlesinger was retreating from the music trade in the 1840s, others were adding circulating libraries to their businesses at a great rate. In fact, in this decade more music circulating libraries were operating in France than in any other decade before or since. Table 1 shows the explosive growth of numbers of circulating libraries in the 1830s and 1840s and their gradual wane over the next hundred years.³⁴

30. Flaubert, 295.

31. Probst, 8.

32. Ibid., 55.

33. Ibid., 68.

34. Widmaier includes a graph in his book *Musikalienleihhandlung* (p. 154) that shows a growth in music circulating libraries in Germany until 1890 and a gradual tapering off after. Why in France were the highest numbers in 1830–40 and in Germany in 1890? We think that this is partially explained by France having one major cultural center, Paris, and Germany having many. With the concentration in one place in France the idea could explode, whereas in Germany the idea had to trickle geographically through the country. Another partial explanation is that we were less able to identify possible music circulating libraries in the French provinces, so our numbers may be artificially low later in the century when the idea of music circulating libraries may have spread to the provinces.

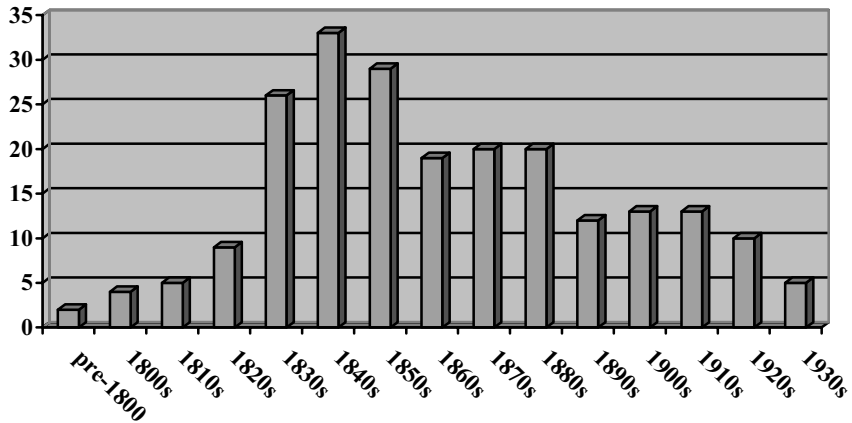


Table 1. Numbers of music circulating libraries in France by decade

The table shows only businesses that actually advertised during the decade in which they are represented. The actual numbers of working circulating libraries during a given decade were probably much higher.

A large number of libraries opened during the 1830s and 1840s, and some went on to have life spans of thirty years or more. The publisher Brandus opened in 1846 and advertised his circulating library until 1888. Three businesses, which opened in the 1830s, advertised their circulating libraries for decades: Etienne Challiot had a library into the 1860s, J-F. Colombier into the 1880s, and Grus into the next century, the 1910s. The famous publisher Heugel, whose publishing house is still in existence, opened a circulating library in the 1840s and continued it until at least the 1860s and probably much longer. An earlier arrival on the scene, Henry Lemoine, began in the 1820s and continued into the 1880s. We regard these six businesses—Brandus, Challiot, Colombier, Grus, Heugel, and Henry Lemoine—as “established” because of the longevity of their operations.

These six music circulating libraries held other attributes in common. Each of them was involved in the music trade in several ways. They were all music publishers, and all published catalogs of scores offered for sale. Brandus, for example, is represented at the Bibliothèque nationale de France by catalogs dating between 1848 and 1853. Separate catalogs were printed for vocal, instrumental, and piano music, and Brandus published supplements as needed. In a catalog supplement from 1849 appears the first advertisement for the circulating library, a “Grand abonnement à la lecture musical,” available to the subscriber for thirty francs

per year (or eighteen francs per six months, twelve francs per three months, or five francs per one month). A subscriber could borrow three pieces at a time, or six if he lived in the provinces instead of Paris.

Challiot advertised the same terms as Brandus in catalogs from 1850 and 1857; Colombier in catalogs from 1840 and 1841 had the same prices; Heugel had the same in the 1850s and 1860s; and most remarkably of all, the same prices were advertised by Lemoine as early as 1827 and by Grus as late as 1913. If there was competition among these businesses, it did not show in their pricing levels. If there was inflation between 1827 and 1909 in France, the cost of circulating library subscriptions did not reflect it.

In the collection of music catalogs held at the Bibliothèque nationale are some other types of advertising. Colombier produced fliers in which he both announced his new scores and advertised his circulating library. We also found four-page paper folders in which the first side advertised the shop's circulating library and the other three pages were blank. Our best guess is that these were used as wrappers for music purchased or borrowed from the store. The folders included collection descriptions and subscription prices and terms. One example is a folder from 1850 of Challiot (see fig. 2), who went so far as to print his information in both French and English, writing that he kept "an extensive circulating musical library . . . for the accommodation of residents and visitors."³⁵

It was by no means a foregone conclusion that a circulating library would advertise in the press. While we found ads for circulating libraries in six music journals (*Le courrier musical*, *L'art musicale*, *Gazette musicale de Paris*, *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, *La France musicale*, and *Le ménestrel*),³⁶ their appearance was sporadic, and no house used this vehicle extensively. Challiot, for example, who operated a music circulating library between 1837 and 1866, placed ads in *La France musicale* in only three of its earlier years (1837, 1838, and 1844).³⁷ Grus apparently advertised only in the twentieth century, between 1909 and 1913 in *Le courrier musical*, and Colombier did no journal advertising at all. Overall we found periodical ads for only 18 of the 130 libraries on our list (see appendix), and most of these advertised only a few times.

35. Other examples of such folders from the collection in the Bibliothèque nationale include Catelin (1842), L. Boieldieu (1850), Gérard (1864), Chatot (1882), and Flaxland (1872).

36. We found advertisements in the following music journals, and have noted the years we searched: *Le ménestrel*, 1833–1900; *Gazette musicale de Paris*, 1834–35; *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 1835–80; *La France musicale*, 1837–48, 1851–70; *L'art musicale*, 1860–93; *Le courrier musical*, 1905–15. We searched scattered years of the following music journals and general newspapers and found no advertisements for circulating libraries: *L'année musicale*, *Le pianiste*, *Revue grégorienne*, *La revue musicale*, *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, *Cahiers de la quinzaine*, *L'Ermitage*, *La fronde*, *La plume*, *La revue blanche*, *Revue des deux mondes*, *Le temps*.

37. Another house, Brullé, announced the opening of his library in the same journal in 1841, but placed no further ads in the fourteen-year life of his establishment.

Fabrique et Location
DE PIANOS ET HARPES.

MAISON **CHALLIOT** (ETIENNE),

Paris, rue Saint-Honoré, n° 354, près la place Vendôme.

ABONNEMENT DE MUSIQUE.

CONDITIONS DE LA MUSIQUE EN LECTURE.

1 mois, Prix **5 francs.**
3 mois, id. **15 id.**

6 mois, Prix **15 francs.**
Un an, id. **30 id.**

On peut avoir en lecture tous les jours trois morceaux à la fois, choisis dans toute la musique publiée à Paris, parmi les partitions de chant français et italien, la musique de piano et de piano concertant, classique et moderne, des meilleurs auteurs; la musique de harpe, les quadrilles, valse et polkas.

Nota. Sont exclus les airs détachés d'opéra, les romances, les méthodes et les livres d'études.

Les abonnés de province ont droit au double des morceaux en lecture, mais les ports sont à leurs frais.

Les abonnés doivent déposer un cautionnement proportionnel, et se munir d'un carton pour transporter la musique. Les abonnés qui auront reçu des morceaux neufs et qui les rapporteront tachés, déchirés, doigtés ou incomplets, devront en payer la valeur. Le service d'abonnement ne se fait point les dimanches et jours de fêtes.

(Conditions adoptées par les Editeurs réunis.)

HARPS AND PIANOS

OF A SUPERIOR QUALITY

FOR SALE OR HIRE,

MANUFACTURED BY **ETIENNE CHALLIOT**, MUSIC-SELLER,

N° 354, rue Saint-Honoré, near the place Vendôme,

Where an extensive circulating musical library is kept for the accommodation of residents and visitors.

THE TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION ARE :

For **1 month.** . . . **5 francs.**
 » **3 d°.** . . . **15 d°.**

For **6 month.** . . . **15 francs.** **£**
 » **12 d°.** . . . **30 d°.**

Which entitles the Subscriber to have in constant use 3 pieces of music, and to exchange the same daily for others selected at will, from all the printed music in Paris, comprising french and italian songs, harp and piano music, quadrilles, waltzes and polkas.

N. B. Instruction and exercise Books, detached pieces from operas and romances, are not included in the above arrangements.

Country subscribers are privileged to have in use a double portion of music; all expences of carriage, etc., to be at their charge. — Subscribers are required to make a deposite proportionate to their subscription and provide a portfolio to enclose their music. — Subscribers receiving new pieces and returning them spotted, fingered, or incomplete, will be required to pay for the same. — Subscriptions are not receivable on sundays or fête-days.

Fig. 2. Advertisement with terms of subscription from Challiot folder (Bibliothèque nationale de France)

The two exceptions were Brandus and Heugel, who had their own house organs. Brandus advertised in his *Revue et gazette musicale* intermittently in 1847–49, 1851, 1865, and 1869–81. Note that even when advertising space was presumably readily available, the company did not always take advantage of it. Brandus's most consistent run of advertising was 1869–81 when it could be relied upon to suggest each December that a library subscription would be a perfect New Year's gift. Heugel, too, made use of its own magazine, *Le ménestrel*, placing ads nearly every year between 1833 and 1900. Oddly, though, these ads never appeared more than five or six times per year in this weekly publication.

Although Lemoine seems not to have advertised in the press, he did make use of another avenue. The annual *Almanach général du commerce et de l'industrie*³⁸ published by Didot-Bottin, which could be compared to a country-wide yellow pages, listed firms in business in Paris and in the provinces. The Paris section of the publication was most complete, with three indexes: name, address, and profession. In the professions section under "Musique (marchands et éditeurs de)," most businesses were simply listed by name and address. Some, presumably for a price, took the opportunity to describe the business in greater detail. Lemoine often included an extended entry. An example from 1863 will suffice:

Lemoine (Henry), éditeur du Panthéon des pianists, *grand abonnement pour la musique de piano*, les partitions pour piano et celles à grand orchestre; grand assortiment d'ouvrages didactiques et classique et de musique de piano ancienne et moderne, maisons spéciale de commission pour la France et l'étranger, rue St-Honoré, 256. [italics added]

This advertisement was the longest in that year's edition of Didot-Bottin, and Lemoine clearly considered it a significant place to advertise his business.

Lemoine's decision on whether or not to advertise his circulating library in Didot-Bottin is seemingly arbitrary. He advertised in 1843 and 1844, then included only a name-and-address listing until 1862. During the next decade of entries the circulating library was mentioned again, but 1873 to 1878 saw a return to the shorter listing. From 1879 through 1899 Lemoine again ran a long listing but made no mention of a circulating library, which may or may not have existed at this point.

38. This is the latest title of an annual first published in 1775 and continuing under various editors and titles well into the twentieth century (other titles include: *Annuaire général du commerce et de l'industrie*; *Annuaire-almanach du commerce et de l'industrie*; *Annuaire du commerce Didot-Bottin*; *Bottin*). We will refer to the entire series as "Didot-Bottin."

Of the other five businesses, Grus advertised his circulating library in Didot-Bottin in the 1840s and 1850s, as did Challiot, and Colombier occasionally added a line to his entry mentioning his library (between 1839 and 1880). Brandus and Heugel usually simply listed an address in Didot-Bottin, but this changed for Heugel a few years after the business became Heugel & fils. Many of the Heugel & fils entries of the 1870s, 1890s and 1910s were quite long, but did not mention the circulating library, though we know from ads in *Le ménestrel* that it was operating.

With all of these businesses the seemingly arbitrary decision of whether or not to advertise the circulating library reflects changes of personnel and adjustments of advertising plans. This makes Didot-Bottin valuable for identifying the existence of circulating libraries, but not as useful for determining when the libraries began or how long they lasted.

A feature of these firms that stands out is their interconnectedness, and following the businesses through the years makes evident legal relationships and ties of family and work. Hopkinson, in an appendix to *Parisian Music Publishers*, lists some relationships in graphic form.³⁹ The same ties are present among the circulating libraries.

Brandus may serve as an example. In 1846 Louis Brandus purchased the firm of Schlesinger, which had a circulating library. In 1850 Louis's younger brother, Gemmy, became a partner, and the firm acquired Troupenas, which also had a circulating library. They took Dufour into partnership in 1854. The business was not doing well, so in 1855 Brandus ceded a part of the business to Retté, including the library, in order to keep finances afloat. Brandus took the circulating library back in 1865. Finally, the firm was sold to Maquet in 1887. A graphical presentation of these relationships might look like the chart below. The businesses that held circulating libraries are in bold, and familial relationships appear in italics.

Business Cycle of Brandus

	<i>Louis Brandus</i>
Bought business from	Schlesinger
Partnered with	<i>Gemmy Brandus</i>
Acquired	Troupenas
Partnered with	Dufour
Interim of	Retté
Sold to	Maquet

39. Cecil Hopkinson, *Dictionary of Parisian Music Publishers, 1700–1950* (London: printed for the author, 1954; reprint, Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series, New York: Da Capo, 1979), 123–25.

Colombier also makes an interestingly long graphical presentation:

Business Cycle of Colombier

	<i>Colombier</i>
Apprenticed to	Janet & Cotelte
Employed by	Meissonier
Married sister of	<i>Brullé</i>
Opened business succeeding	Petit
Absorbed	Catelin and Gérard
At death continued by	<i>Widow</i>

In this case, six companies—Janet & Cotelte, Meissonier, Brullé, Petit, Catelin, and Gérard—all had circulating libraries, and Colombier developed a long-lived business, partly on the strength of all these relationships. It was also quite common that a widow would continue a business for some years after the death of her husband. In this case, François-Jules Colombier died in 1884, and his widow continued as head of the business for eight years until 1892.

Grus's chart shows direct familial relationships:

Business Cycle of Grus

	<i>Alexandre Grus</i>
Followed by son	<i>Léon Grus</i>
Followed by son	<i>Lucien Grus</i>
Sold to	Lemoine

Henry Lemoine has such a long list of relatives who were music publishers that a family tree is published in Devriès and Lesure. Our chart of his business looks like this:

Business Cycle of Henry Lemoine

	<i>Henry Lemoine</i>
Took over business from father	<i>Antoine-Marcel Lemoine</i>
Followed by son	<i>Achille Lemoine</i>
Absorbed	Schonenberger
Absorbed	Brandus
Succeeded by	<i>Four sons</i>

Such relationships are an inevitable feature of business. One becomes almost sentimental, when following the businesses as listed in Didot-Bottin

through the years, to suddenly see a familiar name changed to “Vve de” (widow of) or to see a familiar address listed with a new business name beside it.

Reading the business and biographical facts as presented by Devriès and Lesure makes it clear that life as a merchant of music was often difficult. Louis Brandus, who, in addition to having a long-term business, was president of the *Chambre de commerce de musique* from 1884, ended his life in 1887 by committing suicide.⁴⁰ Further, the phrase “*en faillite*” (bankrupt) appears with disturbing frequency. Bernard-Latte, Biville, Carpentier, Catelin, Marcel Colombier, Décombe, Dufaut, Duhan, Dumouchel, Heu, Hiélard, Janet & Cotelte, Auguste Leduc, Legoux, Sylvain Saint-Etienne, Sieber fils, and Vasseur all experienced this misfortune. In fact, more than 10 percent of those on the list of French music circulating libraries in our appendix went bankrupt—and those are just a quick count of the ones we happen to know. The real number of bankruptcies was doubtless higher.

The focus in this section has been on six established businesses that held music circulating libraries for thirty years or more. By contrast, many of the businesses with circulating libraries in the mid to late 1800s were short-lived. Fully twenty-one Paris businesses on our list of 117 seemed to have operated for no more than three years. Alfred Carpentier, for example, established a business around 1880. The only listing in *Didot-Bottin* is in 1882: “Carpentier (A.) (anc. maison Gambogi), éditeur-commissionnaire, grand abonnement de musique, pianos et orgues, rue du Quatre-Septembre, 24.” The name never appeared again in *Didot-Bottin*, as the business went bankrupt in 1882.

Sometimes new names appear as successors to former businesses. The name Roux is listed only once in *Didot-Bottin*, as a successor to Madame Durand-Duquesnay, with a circulating library. Apparently the business did not last long, because the name dropped from the annual directory. The inherent riskiness of business enterprises is evident in the music listings in *Didot-Bottin*. A circulating library owner would have needed capital to either buy an existing business or to purchase or rent a shop, to buy a collection of scores to rent, to provide some way of marking and perhaps binding the scores, and finally to find some way to advertise. Establishing a business was as risky then as it is now, and there were many more short-lived attempts at music shops with circulating libraries than there were long-term businesses.

40. Devriès and Lesure, 2:76.

INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: THE MEGA-BUSINESSES

Referring back to table 1, we can see as we move into the twentieth century that the number of circulating libraries operating in France remained fairly stable for several decades, but was considerably lower than the high point between the 1830s and early 1850s. At the same time, the numbers of general music stores were increasing at a great rate (see table 2). Whereas during the 1840s nearly 50 percent of music businesses at one time included music circulating libraries, the music businesses that held circulating libraries decreased to 10 percent in the twentieth century.⁴¹ Not only did the numbers of music circulating libraries decrease, their significance in the music trade overall plummeted.

There were a few holdouts. In the 1920s, we can verify that ten businesses in Paris were still advertising their music circulating libraries. Before World War II, in the 1930s, that number had dropped to five, and these were all large businesses: Durand, Eschig (which later merged with Durand), Fortin, Hamelle, and Rouart-Lerolle. Two of these, Durand and Hamelle, had their beginnings in the nineteenth century, Durand in 1869, and Hamelle in 1877. The other three began in the twentieth century—Rouart-Lerolle (1904), Eschig (1907) and Fortin (ca. 1920)—demonstrating that even new firms in the twentieth century considered circulating libraries a viable part of the business. In fact, Fortin was the only one of these businesses, and only one of a handful since the Bureau d'abonnement musical opened in 1765, that was solely a music circulating library. A picture in a catalog Fortin published in 1933 gives a rare glimpse of the public face of such a library (see fig. 3). They advertised a stock of more than a million pieces and, what is easier to believe, 7,000 scores.

After World War II and into the 1950s there were only two businesses still advertising. In the 1953 edition of Didot-Bottin, Durand and Fortin still list their circulating libraries; by the 1959 edition, all trace of such businesses is missing from the annual.

Two first-person anecdotes reflect on the demise of such businesses. Jack Rokahr, who built the collection of largely-French opera scores that resides at the Music Library of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, related how he visited the store of Legresle in Nice in 1946. All scores were behind the sales counter in large horizontal cubbyholes covered by

41. The count of music businesses in table 2 is derived from the corresponding years in annuals, such as the *Annuaire général du commerce* of Didot-Bottin. Note that the numbers of circulating libraries differ in tables 1 and 2 because of the method used for counting. In table 1 only the businesses that were verified to have had circulating libraries during the decade were counted. In table 2 businesses were counted as having circulating libraries if the business was listed in Didot-Bottin for the given year and had held a circulating library at any time in its history.

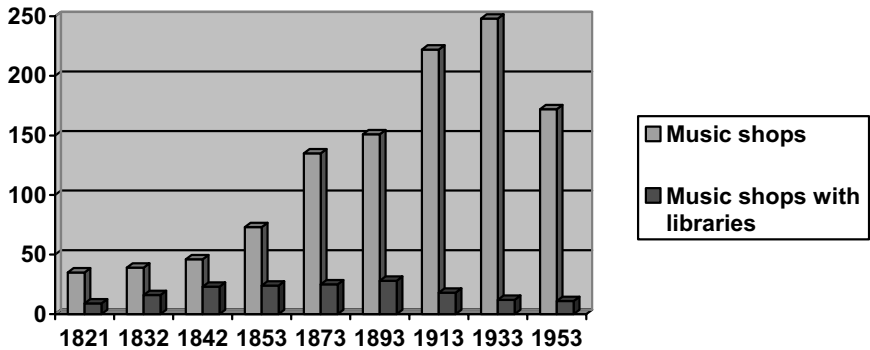


Table 2. Comparison of numbers of music shops to music shops holding circulating libraries

leather flaps and marked with the composers' names. The scores marked for sale were nearest the door, while the circulating library was separated at the far end of the counter. At that time some of the circulating library stock was being sold, and Rokahr bought five used scores for his collection. When he returned to the store in the 1950s, the circulating library section was very small, and when he went back again in the 1970s it was nonexistent.⁴²

More than one hundred scores in Rokahr's collection contain marks showing that they were once part of music circulating libraries. A large percentage of these are marked with a sticker from Rouart-Lerolle, but twenty-seven other libraries from both Paris and the provinces are also represented. Many of these Rokahr bought from Arioso, a music shop in Paris dealing with both new and used scores. The current proprietor of the shop, Bernard Peyrotte, remembered his experience in trying to acquire used stock from music circulating libraries for his store.⁴³ Dupont-Metzner in Nancy contacted him about selling used circulating library scores, and Peyrotte took a trip down to Nancy to look over the stock. Unfortunately, the scores had been stored in a basement and not inspected for decades. When Peyrotte descended the steps with his host, they found that flooding had completely destroyed the scores.

We asked what might have happened to scores from large music circulating libraries whose businesses lasted the longest, such as Durand, and to that question Monsieur Peyrotte shook his head. Real estate is so expensive in Paris, he explained, that when Durand moved to a new

42. From telephone conversations with Jack Rokahr, 2003–5.

43. From conversation between the authors and Bernard Peyrotte, 9 March 2006.

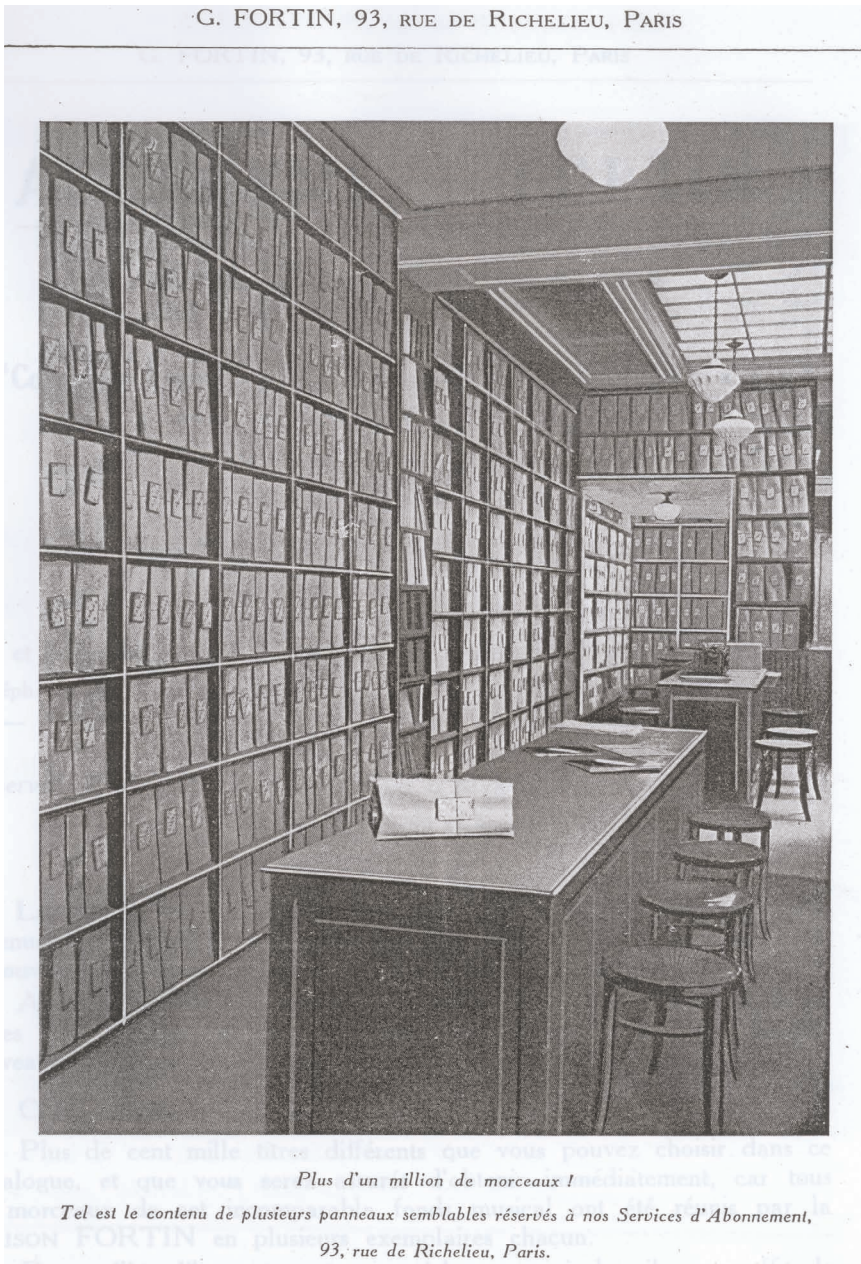


Fig. 3. Picture of Fortin music circulating library from their 1933 catalog (catalog held by Bernard Peyrotte, Paris)

location, they moved quickly. Their stock of used circulating library scores may have been worth a nice amount on the used market. But that figure paled in comparison to the cost of the real estate needed for storage, which was about two hundred times as much, so the stock of scores was simply destroyed when the business moved.

Scores from circulating libraries are still sometimes available in the used score market. Some of them can be identified by their gold-embossed green-pebbled binding—a binding that was used by a number of circulating libraries in the twentieth century. Most of the scores, however, are identifiable by stickers on the front. The orange 3" x 5" Rouart-Lerolle sticker, with its name, address, and conditions of borrowing, is a common sight in the Rokahr Family Archive.

PATRONS OF CIRCULATING LIBRARIES

The question of who might have used music circulating libraries is one not easily answered by primary sources. There are, for instance, no subscription rolls or other information on borrowers. What we do know is that scores were relatively expensive to purchase through much of the nineteenth century, and many people simply did not have the disposable income to invest in music. Enrollment in a subscription library would have been the only economically feasible solution for much of the population. At the same time, the need for music as a consumer good was increasing dramatically. In the words of Supičić in *Music in Society*: “The enormous expansion of the musical public . . . brought with it an enormous expansion in musical ‘consumption.’”⁴⁴ The circulating libraries filled both a social need and an economic one.

It is unlikely that the primary clientele for the circulating libraries came from either the upper or the lower classes. The relatively small elite class was the group with the most leisure time to play and sing, and music would have been an important part of the social fabric. But one suspects the elite would have had the means to buy their music and not have had to make use of a library.

At the other end of the social spectrum, the lower working classes would also have been unlikely subscribers, because even this inexpensive way of obtaining music would have been beyond their means. In professions not immediately affected by mechanization, such as the building trades, wages remained steady in the first half of the nineteenth century, but the early years of industrialization were difficult for many workers. Although earnings depended on one’s profession, between 1810 and

44. Ivo Supičić, *Music in Society: A Guide to the Sociology of Music*, *Sociology of Music*, 4 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987), 171.

1850 the general trend of workers' wages was downward.⁴⁵ Until the 1850s the wages of factory workers "which varied regionally and over time, tended to be around what was estimated to be subsistence level."⁴⁶

Compounding the difficulty for lower class laborers was the cost of living. In the 1840's a laborer in the north of France could expect to spend 70–80 percent of his wages on food, 6–12 percent on rent, 13–21 percent on clothing, and 8–12 percent on heating and lighting. Even taking the lowest percentages in each of these categories we find a mere 3 percent left for medical care and recreation.⁴⁷ "For most families life, even at the best of times must have involved a constant struggle to make ends meet."⁴⁸ Add to this the fact that they worked twelve-to-fourteen-hour days and we see that there was neither leisure time nor money to devote to serious music.

A period of economic prosperity for entrepreneurs occurred in 1851–71, and wages rose: 40 percent in the building industries, 50 percent in metallurgy, 60 percent in mining, and 78 percent in textiles. At the same time, however, the cost of living increased to the extent that the worker in 1860 was no better off than he had been a decade before. After this date the situation finally began to improve as "the rise in wages overtook the rise in the cost of living, increasing purchasing power."⁴⁹ The cost of living actually fell between 1873 and 1896, increasing workers' real wages by 40–45 percent.⁵⁰ Now, at last, the laborer had some disposable income and might have used some of it to join a circulating library. On the other hand, while we know that at the end of the century instruction in the form of classes, popular libraries, and organized museum visits were established for the workers,⁵¹ we found no evidence of similar attempts to offer music education.

The middle classes encompassed a wide variety of jobs and wages. The civil servant who earned about 1,500 francs in 1900 was not a great deal better off than the manual laborers of the time. But the average middle-class employer in manufacturing annually earned some 12,500 francs in 1860⁵² (at a time when his employee was making less than a tenth of that

45. Georges Dupeux, *French Society, 1789–1970*, trans. by Peter Wait (New York: Barnes & Noble; London: Methuen, 1976), 133.

46. Roger Price, *An Economic History of Modern France, 1730–1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 170.

47. Roger Price, *A Social History of Nineteenth-Century France, 1815–1914* Hutchinson Social History of Europe, 1 (New York: Holmes & Meier; London: Hutchinson, 1987), 216.

48. Ibid.

49. Dupeux, 138.

50. Ibid., 137.

51. Alain Corbin, *Time, Desire, and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1995), 8.

52. Price, *Social History*, 130.

amount⁵³), and a lawyer might earn 20,000 francs or more.⁵⁴ Not only would much of the middle class have had the money to join a circulating library, these were the people with the most hope of social advancement. We know, for instance, that the daughter of a well-to-do member of the bourgeoisie who wished to marry a gentleman of similar status was expected to play the piano, just as her prospective husband must be versed in Latin.⁵⁵

The lower middle classes, the small business owners, civil clerks and so forth, were the people with the most hope of social advancement. They would have been attempting to emulate the interests and social abilities of their “betters” in addition to improving their financial positions. They were especially interested in advancing the interests of their children. Part of this campaign involved improved education, and this would almost certainly have included some instruction in fine arts. We get a hint of this in the advertisements run by Brandus between 1869 and 1880 suggesting that a circulating library subscription would make an excellent New Year’s gift for a student.

Though we know that Richard Wagner used circulating libraries,⁵⁶ that a young Puccini bemoaned the fact that he could not afford to join one,⁵⁷ and that Moscheles was such an obsessive user of music circulating libraries that his teacher made him stop,⁵⁸ we could find no direct evidence of French composers making use of these establishments. Many of them came from a middle-class background, though. Chabrier’s father was a lawyer, and he himself worked as a civil servant until the age of forty-two.⁵⁹ Massenet’s father was the director of a scythe factory and had been involved in mining and metallurgy before that.⁶⁰ Ernest Chausson’s

53. Jürgen Kuczynski, *France, 1700 to the Present Day, A Short History of Labour Conditions under Industrial Capitalism*, 4 (London: F. Muller, 1946), 80–81. In 1853 the average daily wage for male laborers in the cloth industry was 2.75 francs. Working six days a week throughout the year the worker could earn a maximum of 860.75 francs per year. His female counterparts earned about 64 percent of this for a possible annual wage of 551 francs. Using wage indexing tables we find that wages were 10–16 percent higher between 1860 and 1865, and we can extrapolate wages of 947 francs in 1860 rising to 999 by 1863 for men, 606 francs rising to 639 for women.

54. Price, *Social History*, 216.

55. Dupeux, 127.

56. Richard Wagner, *Letters of Richard Wagner: The Burrell Collection*, ed. by John N. Burk (New York: Macmillan, 1950), 657.

57. Mary Jane Phillips-Matz, *Puccini: A Biography* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002), 27.

58. Ignaz Moscheles, *Recent Music and Musicians as Described in the Diaries and Correspondence of Ignatz [sic] Moscheles*, ed. by his wife, adapted from the original German by A. D. Coleridge (New York: H. Holt, 1875; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1970), 3. The actual words of his teacher, according to the diaries, are: “If [Ignaz] persists in using the circulating libraries, I have done with him for ever.”

59. Rollo Myers, *Emmanuel Chabrier and His Circle* (London: J. M. Dent, 1969; Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970), 2.

60. Demar Irvine, *Massenet: A Chronicle of His Life and Times* (Portland, OR: Amadeus, 1994), 1, 5.

father was a wealthy building contractor.⁶¹ It is easy to imagine any of these or other young students and composers taking advantage of circulating libraries.

Though it would be lovely to know which composers were most popular for patrons and what kinds of music they borrowed most frequently, there are only a few clues to such information. We can learn a bit through music catalogs. Bernard Latte published a catalog in 1835 that was thirty-eight pages long. Nineteen pages were given over to vocal solos with piano accompaniment, and seven to piano alone. All string music (including that for harp and guitar) required just six pages, while flute had an astonishing four pages all to itself. Other winds received a scant two pages in total. Other catalogs were similarly weighted towards vocal (particularly opera) scores and solo piano music, leading one to suspect that these were the most popular media in nineteenth-century France. The Rokahr Family Archive, a collection of nearly four thousand opera scores, contains 107 scores that once belonged to circulating libraries. Of the 107, only one is a full score, the rest divide into roughly equal parts piano-vocal scores and piano scores of operas. This implies that these circulating library scores were mostly used for playing at home and in small, informal groups.

Interestingly, we have in hand eleven original checkout cards, nine from Eschig, given to us by Bernard Peyrotte in Paris, and one each from the libraries of Barthe and Legresle, found in the Rokahr collection. The cards are for operas by Adam, Cuvillier, De Lara, Gounod, Leroux, Mazellier, Paladilhe, Planquette (see fig. 4), Pons, and Seynes. Such a small sample is of no real use in determining the borrowing habits of circulating library users. One cannot help being struck, though, by the obscurity of most of these composers today.

CONCLUSION

Music circulating libraries were a significant part of the music business in France for more than a century and a half. The first one was founded in Paris in 1765, but the numbers exploded in the 1840s when more than thirty music businesses were advertising their circulating libraries. The music circulating library business dropped off as the century turned, and was continued after World War II by only a handful of businesses. The last circulating libraries stopped advertising in the 1950s. Overall, we found evidence of 130 French music circulating libraries, 117 of which were in Paris.

61. Jean-Pierre Barricelli and Leo Weinstein, *Ernest Chausson: The Composer's Life and Works* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 5.

The fictional Parisian musician at the beginning of this article and his amateur students were well-served by the circulating libraries. Salaries for the middle classes and their living expenses made buying music scores a luxury. Having a subscription to a music circulating library allowed professional and leisure-time use of music scores that would not otherwise have been affordable. Adding a circulating library to a music business was an opportunistic, flexible approach to business that fit the needs of the time.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are several research directions that might garner further information about French music circulating libraries. Having searched unsuccessfully for advertising in the few general French newspapers owned by the University of Nebraska–Lincoln Libraries (see n. 36), we elected to devote our research time to music journals. A more thorough and methodical search of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century French newspapers, particularly those for the decades when music circulating libraries were at their height of popularity, might be well worth the time. If databases become available for French newspapers as they have for American ones, this kind of information could be several mouse clicks away.

Work at the Archives de Paris and at other French city archives could yield information on music circulating libraries from primary financial and legal documents. Because these libraries were almost always connected to another, larger business, such as a music publisher, it is likely that the proprietor did not need legal permission to add this element to his business. This lessens the probability of finding relevant legal documents; nonetheless, some might exist. Though we found no archives of any business in our searches, that does not mean that there are none. If a city archive inherited the records of defunct circulating libraries, one might uncover a trove of catalogs and circulation records. This would probably be the best hope of getting a more complete picture of patron use.

We began our research sorting piece-by-piece through the Rokahr Family Archive to identify scores once held by circulating libraries. Examining the score collections of other libraries would no doubt reveal more such works, though probably the only way to find these would be through a time-consuming shelf-reading of the stacks.

Our impression of who would have patronized circulating libraries is based on extrapolation from the few economic indexes we found, and on conclusions reached from social histories. We found that social histories of nineteenth-century France treated such topics as general education, literature, and the concert and theater scenes, but largely ignored

amateur music making. It appears that a social history that concentrates on this subject is sorely needed.

APPENDIX: LIST OF CIRCULATING MUSIC LIBRARIES IN FRANCE

Following is a list of circulating music libraries in Paris and the provinces spanning the period of their existence, 1765 to ca. 1950.

Sources: The list was compiled from the following six sources.

- 1) The Rokahr Family Archive (RFA) at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. The archive is a collection of nearly five thousand opera scores, with concentration on French works of the nineteenth century. A number of these scores were bought on the used book market, and we identified 107 that came from former music circulating libraries. Such scores are usually marked with stickers on the front covers, sometimes with inscribed covers, and sometimes with stamped pages.
- 2) Annuals of commerce in Paris and provinces as follows: *Almanach du commerce de Paris* and *Annuaire général du commerce et de l'industrie* (referred to in this paper as Didot-Bottin). The following years for these annuals have been searched: 1804, 1809, 1816, 1821, 1832, 1835–1908, 1910–11, 1913, 1915–17, 1919–20, 1922, 1925, 1927, 1929–31, 1933, 1935, 1939–40, 1950, 1953, and 1959. Missing volumes were either not published (pre-1835) or not available in the British Library (post-1908). A search in the “Professions” section in the Paris volumes under “Musique (marchands de)” proved to be the most useful. The search yielded a list of music shops, which sometimes mentioned “abonnements” as well as other functions of the shop. Listings of functions were much rarer in the provinces section, so provincial music circulating libraries were rarely identified using these annuals.
- 3) *Agenda musical* for 1836–37 and *Annales de la musique*, 1819. Both of these sources list music businesses operating in France at the time.
- 4) Anik Devriès and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, 2 vols. in 3, Archives de l'édition musicale française, 4 (Geneva: Minkoff, 1979–88). While the aim of this reference source is to give information about publishers, occasionally a music circulating library is mentioned in the information about a specific business.
- 5) Advertisements in music periodicals sometimes yielded names of businesses advertising music circulating libraries. Some of these names were found in no other sources.
- 6) Publishers' catalogs. The collection of catalogs at the Bibliothèque nationale de France yielded a few for music circulating libraries,

many publishers’ catalogs that also mentioned a connected library, and fliers and folders that advertised the libraries. Since the name of the business had to be identified before material was requested from the librarian, there may be some businesses with catalogs that mentioned circulating libraries that we missed.

Dates: The list includes dates of each business as stated in Devriès-Lesure or other reference sources. The circulating library, however, may not have been operating during the whole tenure of the business. Therefore, the third column is “Verified dates of *abonnement*,” which gives the first and last independently verified dates that we have for a music circulating library. Sources for these dates are indicated with the following abbreviations:

- Ad = from advertisement
- Ann = from specific mention in published annual, such as Didot-Bottin
- Cat = from catalog published by the business
- D-L = from Devriès-Lesure
- RFA = from score in the Rokahr Family Archive.

Completeness of list: The list is incomplete. If the business never listed itself as having a music circulating library in Didot-Bottin; if we found no advertisements for it nor mention of it in Devriès-Lesure; if no score for it existed in the RFA, the name is not listed. We expect that we have found the largest percentage of Parisian music circulating libraries, but not all. We expect that there were many more music circulating libraries in the provinces than we have so far been able to identify.

Music Circulating Libraries in Paris

Names and Addresses	Dates of Business	Verified
		Dates of <i>abonnement</i>
1. Agence musicale 182, rue Monmartre	1848	1848 (Ad)
2. Alleton 13, rue Racine	1898–1926	[unknown] (RFA)
3. Allier 116, Rivoli	1855	1855 (Ann)
4. André 5, quai Voltaire	1883–1925?	1893–1925 (Ann)
5. Arnaud, F. No. 27 bis, rue de Cléry	ca. 1825 (Cat)	1825 (Cat)
6. Barthé 86, rue de Rennes	ca. 1902 (Ann)	[after 1881] (RFA)

Names and Addresses	Dates of Business	Verified
		Dates of <i>abonnement</i>
7. Bernard Latte 2, boulevard des Italiens	1832–1854	1835–1837 (Ann)
8. Biville 6, rue du Coq-Saint-Honoré	1843–1844	1844 (Ann)
9. Boieldieu, Charles 18, rue Vivienne ⁶²	1835–1850	[1836] (Cat)
10. Boieldieu, Louis 34, passage Choiseul	1850–1852	1850 (Cat)–1851 (Ann)
11. Bonoldi frères 11, boulevard des Italiens	1846–1872	1848–1851 (Ann)
12. Brandus 87 and 103, rue Richelieu 1 and 3, boulevard des Italiens	1846–1887	1850 (Cat)–1888 (Ann)
13. Brullé, Alexandre 14 and 16, passage des Panoramas, grande galerie	1841–1854	1841 (Ad)–1855 (Ann) ⁶³
14. Bureau d'abonnement musical Cour de l'ancien grand Cerf, rue des deux portes Saint-Sauveur rue du Hazard	1765–1789?	1765? (Ad)–1789 (Ann)
15. Carpentier 24, rue du Quatre Septembre	1880–1882	1882 (Ann)
16. Catelin, Adolphe 6, rue du Coq Saint-Honoré	1837–1844	1841 (Cat)–1843 (Ann)
17. Cendrier, Mme 1 and 11, rue du faubourg Poissonnière	1841–1859	1841 (Ad)–1850 (Ann)
18. Chabal, Françoise-Joseph 10, boulevard des Italiens 11, boulevard Montmartre	1840–1858	[1840] (Ad)–1848 (Ann)
19. Chaillon, Paul 14, passage des Panoramas, grande galerie	1854–1858	1856 (Ann)
20. Challiot, Etienne 338, 336, 252, and 354, rue Saint-Honoré	1837–1866	1838 (Ad)–1860 (Cat)
21. Chartier 21, rue Saint-Sulpice	1892–1912	1894 (Ann)

62. Addresses are listed only for the dates that circulating libraries are verified. In some cases, as in this one, businesses had other addresses during the tenure of the business.

63. Occasionally the ending date found for a circulating library succeeds the sale date of the business. We assume this happened when information was submitted to a yearbook for the next edition before the business actually ended.

Names and Addresses	Dates of Business	Verified
		Dates of <i>abonnement</i>
22. Chatot, Emile 2, rue de la Vrillère 2, rue de la Feuillade 19, rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs 19, rue des Petits-Champs	1858–1905	1859–1886 (Ann)
23. Clément 129 bis, rue de la Pompe	ca. 1901–ca. 1933	1901 (Ann)
24. Collard 27 (or 29?), rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs	1844	1844 (Ad)–1845 (Ann)
25. Collet, père et fils 123, rue Saint-Honoré	ca. 1856–1858	1856 (Ann)
26. Colombier, François-Jules 6, rue Vivienne 2, passage Vivienne	1838–1892	1839–1880 (Ann)
27. Colombier, Marcel 85, rue Richelieu	1862–1882	1863–1876 (Ann)
28. Costil, Edouard <i>aka Costil, père</i> 221 faubourg St.-Honoré	1900–1911	1901–1911 (Ann)
29. D'Arnaud, L. 18, rue Vivienne	1843–1846	1845 (Ad)–1846 (Ann)
30. Darrest 21, rue de la Paix	ca. 1838	1838 (Ann)
31. D'Aubel, H. L. 8, rue Ollivier and 2, rue Fléchier	1866–1875	1866–1868 (Ann)
32. Decombe 14, quai de l'Ecole	1795–1819	1802 ⁶⁴
33. Delettre, Mme 20, boulevard Saint-Denis	1837–1842	1840–1843 (Ann)
34. Denuelle, Mme 12, rue du Cloître-Saint Benoît	ca. 1836–1837	1836–1837 (Ann)
35. Dolot-Binon 2, avenue de Messine	ca. 1877–ca. 1882	1879–1880 (Ann)
36. Dufaut <i>aka Dufaut et Dubois</i> 10, boulevard Poissonnière 4, rue du Mail	1819–1842	1824 (Cat)–1838 (Ann)

64. Date from *Correspondance des musiciens* (27.XI.1802) as quoted in Devriès and Lesure, 1:54.

Names and Addresses	Dates of Business	Verified
		Dates of <i>abonnement</i>
37. Duhan, Mme 10, boulevard Poissonnière	1802–1821	1819 (Ann)
38. Dumouchel 35, rue Neuve-Vivienne	1846–1848	1847–1849 (Ann)
39. Duquesnay, Mme 398, rue Saint-Honoré	1835–1841	1837–1839 (Ann)
40. Durand 4, place de la Madeleine	1869–	1872 (Cat)–1953 (Ann)
41. Durdilly & cie. 11 bis, boulevard Haussmann	1878–1908	1880 (Ann)
42. Eschig 13, rue Laffitte 48, rue de Rome 1, rue de Madrid	1907–1987	1909 (Ad)–1935 (RFA)
43. Eveillard, Louis-Marin 39, boulevard de Strasbourg	1874–1910	1892–1900 (Ann)
44. Feuchot, Philippe 2, boulevard de Strasbourg	1860–1888	1881 (Cat)–1891 (Ann)
45. Fortin, G. 93, rue Richelieu	ca. 1920–ca. 1953	1920–1953 (Ann)
46. Frère, Antoine-Charles 69, rue de Richelieu 16, passage des Panoramas	1812–1841	1819–1839 (Ann)
47. Fromont, Eugène 12, passage du Saumon	1885–1922	1887? (D-L)
48. Garcia, L. 43, rue du Bac	ca. 1880	1880 (Ann)
49. Gérard, Edouard <i>aka Compagnie musicale</i> 18, rue Dauphine 1 et 3, rue de la Chaussée-d'Antin 12, boulevard des Capucines	1859–1879	1861 (Ann)–1875 (Ann)
50. Girod 16, boulevard Montmartre	1853–1917	1870–1888 (Ann)
51. Gregh, Louis 6, rue de la Chaussée-d'Antin	1873–1907	[unknown] (RFA)
52. Grus 60, rue Saint-Louis 31, boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle 49, boulevard Malesherbes 116, boulevard Haussmann	1832–1933	1836 (Ann)–1913 (Ad)
53. Hamel 22, boulevard Malesherbes	1877–1993	1893–1937 (Ann)

Names and Addresses	Dates of Business	Verified
		Dates of <i>abonnement</i>
54. Harand 20, rue de l'Ancienne Comédie	1849–1873	1862 (Ann)
55. Hébert-Strasser 114, boulevard Saint-Germain	ca. 1904–1908	1904–1908 (Ann)
56. Heu 10, rue de la Chaussée-d'Antin	1828–1873	1836–1851 (Ann)
57. Heugel began as Meissonnier et Heugel 2 bis, rue Vivienne	1839–1980	1842 (Ad)–1864 (Ad)
58. Hiéland 8, rue Laffitte	1863–1893	1871–1872 (Ann)
59. Iochem, J. 48, rue Saint-Placide	1868–1899	[unknown] (RFA)
60. Janet & Cotelte 17, rue Neuve des Petits-Champs	1808–1836	1810 (Ad)
61. Katto 17, rue des Saints-Pères	1861–1892	1875–1877 (Ann)
62. Keith, Prowse, et cie. 131, rue du faubourg St-Honoré	1890–1891	1890 (Ann)
63. Lacombe 11, rue du faubourg Poissonnière	1886–1895	1887–1900 (Ann)
64. Lafleur 2, boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle	1852–1896	1858–1862 (Ann)
65. Laloue 5, boulevard Poissonnière	1888–1895	1889–1890 (Ann)
66. LaPlanche-Fortin 51, rue Saint-Placide	ca. 1916–ca. 1933	1916/17–1925 (Ann)
67. Launer 14, boulevard Montmartre 16, boulevard Montmartre	1828–1853	1829 (Cat)–1853 (Ann)
68. Leduc (variously Pierre, Auguste, and Mme Vve.) 78, rue Richelieu 47, rue Vivienne prolongée 47, rue Neuve-Vivienne	1775–1846?	1798 (D-L)–1838 (Ann)
69. Leduc, Alphonse 18, rue Vivienne	1842–1914	1847 (Cat)–1852 (Ann)
70. Legendre 62, rue Saint-Antoine	1838–1842	1839 (Ann)
71. Legoux, E. 14, rue Halévy	1869–1872	1870 (Ann)
72. Lemoine, aîné 20, rue de l'Ancienne Comédie	1812–1850	1836 (Ann)

Names and Addresses	Dates of Business	Verified
		Dates of <i>abonnement</i>
73. Lemoine, Henry 9, rue de l'Echelle Saint-Honoré 256, rue Saint-Honoré 17, rue Pigalle	1816–	1820 (Ann)–1880 (Cat)
74. Lemoine, Mme 18, rue Vivienne	1837–1843	1841 (Cat)–1844 (Ann)
75. Mackar 22, passage des Panoramas	1865–1895	1866–1868 (Ann)
76. Maeyens-Couvreur 36 bis, rue du Bac 40, rue du Bac	1841–1873	1842 (Ad)–1854 (Ann)
77. Maho 24, passage Jouffroy 25, faubourg Saint-Honoré	1851–1877	1858–1870 (Ad)
78. Maquaire, H. 266, faubourg Saint-Honoré	1912–1961	1913 (Ann)–1925 (Ad)
79. Maquet, Philippe 103, rue Richelieu 1 et 3, boulevard des Italiens	1887–1899	1885–1895 (Ann)
80. Mariscotti 7, rue Hyacinthe Saint-Michel	1835–1856	1855–1856 (Ann)
81. Martin 4, place de la Madeleine	1836–1843	1837–1844 (Ann)
82. Martin frères 134, boulevard Montmartre 136, boulevard Montmartre	ca. 1853–ca. 1854	1853–1854 (Ann)
83. Masclet 43, rue du Bac	1877–ca. 1894	1878 (Ann)
84. Mathieu, Eugène, fils 23, rue d'Amsterdam	1866–1904	1867–1873 (Ann)
85. Meis, F. 18, rue Dauphine	1873–1881	1874–1882 (Ann)
86. Meissonnier, J. 22, rue Dauphine 18, rue Dauphine	1820–1856	[1833]–1857 (Cat)
87. Mouillard 3, rue des Martyrs 38 bis, grand rue Batignolles	ca. 1847–1848	1847–1848 (Ann)
88. Muller, Mme 21, rue de Tournon	ca. 1836–1840	1836–1837 (Ann)
89. O'Kelly 11, faubourg Poissonnière	1872–1888	1874–1886 (Ann)
90. Pacini 11, boulevard des Italiens	1810–1866	1848–1849 (Ann)

Names and Addresses	Dates of Business	Verified
		Dates of <i>abonnement</i>
91. Parmentier 37, rue des Mathurins	1903–ca. 1950?	1915 (Ann)
92. Paté 41, passage du Grand-Cerf	1843–1887	1845 (Ann)
93. Petit, aîné 50, galerie Montpensier 42, galerie Montpensier	1850–1888	1851–1865 (Ann)
94. Petit, Alexandre 6, rue Vivienne	1825–1838	1836–1838 (Ann)
95. Petit, Philippe 18, rue Vivienne	1816–1835	1826 (Cat)–1836 (Ann)
96. Pleyel 2, rue Grange-Batelière	1796–1834	1832 (Ann)
97. Porro, Me. B. 20, rue et place du Chantre	ca. 1835–1836	1835–1836 (Ann)
98. Poulalion (et J. Accursi) 35, 37 et 39, rue des Petits-Champs	1885–1924	1893 (Ann)
99. Quesnel 10, rue Neuve-du-Luxembourg	1839–1843	1842–1844 (Ann)
100. Retté 103, rue Richelieu	1855–1865	1855–1865 (D-L)
101. Rouart-Lerolle 78 rue d'Anjou 40, boulevard Malesherbes 29, rue d'Astorg	1904–1941	1908 (Ad)–1937 (Cat)
102. Rouhier 1, boulevard Poissonnière	1895–1927	1911–1920 (Ann)
103. Roux 398, rue Saint-Honoré	ca. 1840	1840 (Ann)
104. Saint-Etienne, Sylvain <i>aka Sylvain-St-Etienne</i> 53, rue Vivienne	1852–1874	1854–1856 (Ann)
105. Sant'Angelo 52, rue Richelieu	ca. 1859	1859 (Ann)
106. Schlesinger, Maurice 97, rue Richelieu	1821–1846	1826 (Cat)–1843 (Cat)
107. Schoen et Laval <i>aka Schoen</i> 42, boulevard Malesherbes	1870–1877	1870 (Ann)
108. Schonenberger 10, boulevard Poissonnière	1830–1875	[1832/33] (Cat)

Names and Addresses	Dates of Business	Verified
		Dates of <i>abonnement</i>
109. Sieber fils (variously Georges-Julien and Adrien Georges) 28, rue de Richelieu 21, rue des Filles Saint-Thomas	1799–1847	1809–1820 (Ann)
110. Testé 6, rue du Coq-Saint-Honoré	1845–1846	1845 (Ann)
111. Troupenas 40, rue Neuve-Vivienne	1825–1850	1845 (Cat)–1850 (Ann)
112. Turon-Lagau 43 et 51, rue Saint-Placide	ca. 1903	1903 (Ann)
113. Van Deventer, Paul 8, rue du Marché-Passy	ca. 1866–1868	1866 (Ann)
114. Vasseur 18, rue Dauphine	1881–1893	1883–1885 (Ann)
115. Verger 11, boulevard Haussmann and 13 bis, rue Taitbout	ca. 1878	1878 (Ann)
116. Villeneuve <i>aka Villeneuve-Tourin</i> 51, rue Saint-Placide	ca. 1904–ca. 1913	1904–1913 (Ann)
117. Wacker 69, rue de Douai	ca. 1870–ca. 1900	[1897 or later] (RFA)

Provincial Music Circulating Libraries

118. Barthelemy 50, Saint-Ferréol, Marseilles	ca. 1850 (Ann)	1850 (Ann)
119. Cabrolhier 6, rue du Poids de l'Huile, Toulouse	1898–1914	[after 1903?] (RFA)
120. Delrieu, Henri 5, boulevard Victor Hugo, Nice	1898–1942?	[unknown] (RFA)
121. De Sivry 3, avenue de Saint Cloud, Versailles	1870–1880? (Ann)	[unknown] (RFA)
122. Dupont Metzner 7, rue Gambetta, Nancy	1865–	[unknown] (RFA)
123. Etesse, E. 37, rue Nationale, Tours	1888–1925 (D-L)	[after 1892] (RFA)
124. Gand 18, rue Heche, Versailles	[unknown]	[after 1868?] (RFA)
125. Le Boulch 54, rue de la Paroisse, Versailles	1879–1921?	[1910?] (D-L & RFA)
126. Legresle 24, avenue de la Victoire, Nice	1927–1956? (Ann)	[unknown] (RFA)

Names and Addresses	Dates of Business	Verified
		Dates of <i>abonnement</i>
127. Mennesson Reims	1870–1924	1905–1906 (Ad)
128. Messerer Marseille	1920–1930 (Ann)	[unknown] (RFA)
129. Poirier, A. 94, Grande-Rue, Remiremont	1909–1920 ⁶⁵	[unknown] (RFA)
130. Poret, Melle. 47, rue Thiers, 17, Trouville	1900? (Ann)	[unknown] (RFA)



65. Date from letter of 17 January 2006 from the director of the Archives départementales des Vosges, who obtained the information from the Société d'histoire locale du pays de Remiremont.