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## **Renaud de Chateaudun's "Queen of France" and the Royalist Lament in Federal Philadelphia: A Study in Atlantic Musical Politics**

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# Renaud de Chateaudun's "Queen of France" and the Royalist Lament in Federal Philadelphia: A Study in Atlantic Musical Politics

The United States is not the first place where one expects to find musical tributes to deposed monarchs at the end of the eighteenth century. The American Revolution had overturned a royal administration, resulting in the first modern republic and offering a precedent to leaders of the French Revolution. Moreover, the federal era is known as a time of consolidation, when an antimonarchical national identity strengthened throughout the colonies turned states. It might seem strange that music lamenting the fall of the Old Regime found an audience in postrevolutionary America, but songs entitled "Captivity," "Louis the Sixteenth's Lamentation," and "Maria Antoinette's Complaint"—all sympathetic portrayals of the demise of the French king and queen—circulated in Philadelphia between 1793 and 1800. In part this phenomenon is attributable to the popularity of English music in American cities during the late eighteenth century—all of the above titles were reprints of London editions.<sup>1</sup>

But even so, it is hard to reconcile such a trend with the emergence of an American national consciousness. Further complicating matters is the existence of American-published royalist songs. One such work,

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"The Queen of France to Her Children Just Before Her Execution," is of particular interest. This lament had a multinational background, even though its only known site of publication, and thus its presumed point of origin, was the United States. Its text is a British poem, its subject and musical language derive from the European continent, and its composer, Jean-Baptiste Renaud de Chateaudun, was a refugee of the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) who settled in Pennsylvania in 1795. As perplexing as the far-flung components of "The Queen of France" might seem, however, they represent a useful framework for understanding early American music and politics. Whereas a national or Anglo-American paradigm cannot comprehend such a cultural hybrid, a broadly Atlantic perspective can. A circum-Atlantic logic could even explain the free circulation of antirepublican laments during the formative years when the new nation coalesced around republican principles.<sup>2</sup>

The political associations of "The Queen of France" were not the only characteristic that marked the song as a marginal form of expression. Its musical style was at least as problematic as its poetic tone. As said, English royalist lament enjoyed a degree of popularity in the urban United States. Featuring words by the Londoner John Wolcot (1738–1819), alias Peter Pindar, Chateaudun's song correlated with other Philadelphia publications like Stephen Storace's "Captivity" and John Percy's "Maria Antoinette's Complaint."<sup>3</sup> But whereas the choice of text was conventional, its musical language represented a departure from the Anglo-American mainstream. The prevailing style of the British laments, and indeed the dominant musical idiom in Philadelphia, was the galant.<sup>4</sup> A comparison of Storace's royalist song "Captivity" and Chateaudun's "Queen of France" establishes a contrast between the emotionally muted rhetoric of Anglo-American salon music and the melodramatic impulse of songs connected to the northern European continent.<sup>5</sup> The two works embody different approaches to representing grief, and further investigation shows that these paradigms were unequally privileged. Specifically, a graphic analysis of Chateaudun's publications uncovers revisions that pulled his musical language closer to the English model of lament, underlining the hegemony of British musical culture in the urban early republic. Yet in addition to pinpointing culturally significant editorial decisions, such analysis clarifies the chronology of Chateaudun's publications, situating them more accurately within the fast-changing political environment of the late eighteenth-century Atlantic world. A unique product of transatlantic circulation, "The Queen of France" went against the grain of early American music and politics. Couching outmoded monarchical values in an eccentric musical language, it illustrates the cultural heterogeneity of the young republic, forcing us to contend with influences from beyond the nation itself. It will be useful to begin, however, by reviewing our composer's American itinerary.

*Chateaudun's Pennsylvania Career*

Aside from the fact that he published at least a dozen musical works while in the United States, little is known about Jean-Baptiste Renaud de Chateaudun. Writing in 1795, the exiled French royalist and social reformer François-Alexandre-Frédéric, duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt noted the arrival at Asylum, a remote French settlement on the banks of the Susquehanna in northern Pennsylvania, of a "Mr. Renaud" and family. Liancourt identified Chateaudun as a "merchant of St. Domingue" who possessed "some remains—still considerable—of a large fortune."<sup>6</sup> Although most St. Dominguan (Haitian) refugees came to the United States in 1793, this account suggests that Chateaudun arrived somewhat later. Indeed, his name does not appear in any U.S. sources until 1796, when he is listed as a composer and performer on a concert program in a Baltimore newspaper.<sup>7</sup> Following this notice, Chateaudun disappears from the historical record, until in 1799 his name begins to appear regularly in the Philadelphia papers.<sup>8</sup> It is not known what became of Chateaudun after 1804, the last year in which there is evidence of his residence in Philadelphia.

This biographical sketch is thin, but the situation at Asylum, where Chateaudun initially settled, provides a basis for conjecture about the course of his U.S. career. This misbegotten colony owed its 1793 founding to a combination of land speculation and French idealization of American agrarian life. It was a project of the Asylum Company, which had acquired tracts of land in the area and whose principal investors included aristocratic leaders of the early French Revolution like Antoine Omer Talon and Louis-Marie, vicomte de Noailles. With backing from wealthy Philadelphians like Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, and John Nicholson, Noailles and Talon recruited French and Haitian settlers while planning the town, which was to be a beacon of civilization in the Pennsylvania backcountry.<sup>9</sup>

Beginning in the 1730s, French Enlightenment writers like Voltaire had cultivated a utopian vision of rural American life, which was thought to epitomize simplicity, virtue, and natural abundance.<sup>10</sup> This naive image of wilderness existence influenced the construction of Asylum, whose large houses and urban amenities—including a large central market, shops and taverns, a bakery, and a theater—were unlike anything seen in other frontier towns. There was even a mansion rumored to have been built for Marie-Antoinette. The settlement was difficult to access, yet exquisite furnishings and rarified building materials were conveyed up the barely navigable Susquehanna.<sup>11</sup> Once arrived at Asylum, elite French and Haitian exiles were confronted with a labor-intensive life to which they were unaccustomed. Even those eager to work found that the local economy could not support the town as it had been conceived.

In short, although it flourished temporarily thanks to stores of settler capital, Asylum was unsustainable. Inhabitants trickled away as soon as it was safe to return to France, and the colony was abandoned altogether in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Asylum's history sheds light on Chateaudun's U.S. itinerary. It would not have taken long for the ill-conceived colony to drain his resources, considerable though they were, or at least for him to ascertain the futility of a long tenure at the settlement. When he participated in the Baltimore concert of 1796, he may have been scouting alternatives to Asylum. Or perhaps he had permanently left the colony by then, although in this case the dearth of evidence from 1797 and 1798 is hard to explain. Most likely, Chateaudun abandoned the colony between the middle of 1798 and early 1799, or around the time that many exiles left Asylum for Paris. Lacking connections in the *métropole*, he was unable to go there, as some Caribbean refugees did. Chateaudun had to make a living in the United States, and Philadelphia was the natural location for a man of his abilities to do so.

Although the career of a Philadelphian musician compared poorly to the life he had enjoyed in St. Domingue, Chateaudun did not suffer by comparison with other refugees. As a wealthy merchant he had belonged to Haiti's *grands blancs*, or "white elite," which also included rich planters and government officials. He outranked lesser colonial Frenchmen, or *petits blancs*. Farther down the ladder were *gens de couleur* (free people of mixed ancestry), free blacks, and slaves, by far the colony's largest group. It is safe to assume that Chateaudun escaped with more of his fortune than those *grands blancs* whose plantations the insurgency targeted. If Liancourt's appraisal of Chateaudun's finances is sound, then he indeed fared better than most white Haitians who fled to the United States. Their arrival by the thousands is a story of administered aid. And, of course, Chateaudun was better off than St. Domingue's nonwhite refugees, some of whom came voluntarily, others as slaves. White Americans greeted exiled *grands* and *petits blancs* with a mixture of sympathy and suspicion—sympathy for being "victims" of a black revolt, suspicion of antirepublican feeling—whereas exiled blacks faced continued slavery in the South and only slightly less degrading forms of servitude in the North.<sup>12</sup>

But for all his relative privilege, Chateaudun would not have welcomed his removal to the United States. Indeed, several of his Philadelphian works, including "Elegy on the Death of Mrs. Robinson" (which mourns the passing of the British writer Mary Robinson), "Marian's Complaint" (a pastoral meditation on lost love), and "Paul au tombeau de Virginie" (in which Paul laments the death of his beloved), display a preoccupation with grief.<sup>13</sup> They reflect the loss and dislocation of the refugee experience. And if the composer projected his own misfortune onto that represented in his songs, then the case of Marie-Antoinette would have

been especially meaningful. "The Queen of France" is unique among Chateaudun's works in that it openly relates to the political tumult that had uprooted him from his home. The demise of the French monarchy signaled the decline of the Old Regime in the colonies, and Antoinette's death was particularly discouraging to the founders of Asylum, who had hoped to rescue the queen from Paris.<sup>14</sup>

Regardless of Chateaudun's personal investment in "The Queen of France," however, the song's expressive musical language reflects clearly that of vocal *romances* from the northern European continent. This stylistic orientation differs from that seen in English royalist laments that were popular in Philadelphia at the time, of which Benjamin Carr's 1793 Philadelphia edition of Stephen Storace's "Captivity" provides an example. The contrast between English and Continental lament is borne out primarily in the relationship of music to text and in the manner of the songs' accompaniment.

### *Laments, English and French*

At the end of the eighteenth century the lion's share of printed American secular song stemmed from the tradition of the London galant. Aimed at amateurs, this genteel repertory was predictably phrased, lightly accompanied, and generally unassuming. In accordance with drawing-room decorum, it emphasized a universal pleasantness that allowed little room for expression of contrasting moods. Royalist laments composed in this manner are in major keys, contain mostly diatonic harmony, and make limited use of expressive dissonance. To our modern, post-Romantic ears, they tend to convey bleak subject matter in music that sounds incongruously charming. Yet eighteenth-century audiences valued the agreeability and accessibility of this music. Appearing in modest arrangements for voice and keyboard, it enabled upwardly mobile Philadelphians to adorn their homes not only with appealing sounds but with the aura of artistic accomplishment.

Stephen Storace's "Captivity" (see fig. 1) served such purposes well. A Londoner who had studied music in Naples, Storace (1762–96) was an exemplary practitioner of the galant. Comprising four stanzas written from Antoinette's perspective during her confinement, "Captivity" meditates on the queen's personal anguish and physical decline, the uncertain future of her children, and her husband's gruesome end. Meanwhile, its music, set in E-flat major, represents the clarity, simplicity, and agreeability of a parlor song. But Storace does not entirely disregard the tragic content of his song, sacrificing all expression to ease. For example, the lean accompaniment during the first one and a half measures depicts Antoinette's solitude—the singer is alone. Subsequently, occasional chromaticism and dissonance convey the queen's despondence. Beginning on beat 3 of measure 9, for instance, the left hand descends by

*Affettuoso*

My foes pre - vail, my friends are fled. These sup - pli - ant hands to Heav'n I

spread. Heav'n guard my un - pro - ject - ed head, a - mid this sad, sad cap - tiv - i -

ty. Vic - tim of an - guish and de - spair, how grief has chang'd thy flow - ing hair,\* how

wan thy wast - ed cheek with care, a - mid this sad,

*a tempo* this sad cap - tiv - i - ty.

\*The hair of this once lovely woman was of a bright flaxen color, but three years of sorrow have brought on a premature old age. Antoinette is now grey-headed, wan, and wrinkled.

Figure 1. Stephen Storace, "Captivity" (author's transcription of Benjamin Carr's 1793 Philadelphia edition).

semitone from B-flat to G as Antoinette complains of being a "Victim of anguish." Earlier, in measure 3, there is a suspension when she laments that her friends are "fled," and, on the first half of beat 2 in measure 6, a grating minor ninth sounds as she prays for her "unprotected" head. Yet Storace saves his most dramatic effects for last. In measure 14 the singer ascends to her highest note, an A above the treble staff, while the keyboard descends to a low F. This contrary motion propels the phrase toward a drawn-out and ornamented suspension on the word "care," at

which point the meter dissolves, mirroring Antoinette's degeneration. After a brief *ad libitum* passage, the word "sad" is assigned a tritone before resolving to the subdominant. In the postlude the right hand then plays a melancholic descending line.

Storage's "Captivity" illustrates the subtle emotional control of the English galant. Although it does not altogether ignore the affective quality of its text, this lament belongs, by virtue of its expressive restraint, to a communicative world different from that of comparable songs from the Franco-Germanic mainland. In particular, laments in the tradition of the postrevolutionary *romance* were less reserved in their representation of sorrow.

After waning during the early 1790s, the French vocal *romance* experienced a resurgence following the Terror of 1793–94, albeit in a form different from the one it had taken before the Revolution. Advocated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the early *romance* was known for its simplicity and bucolic charm. It naively related comic and sentimental tales from the distant past. But in the latter half of the 1790s, French *romances* began to reflect the turmoil of the revolutionary era. They continued to be relatively simple strophic songs composed as amateur entertainments and as numbers in *opéras comiques*, but their musical language became graver and more sophisticated. Their accompaniments grew more expressive, and they drew on the *Sturm und Drang* movement in order to convey grim subjects.<sup>15</sup>

During the Thermidorian Reaction of 1794–95, when Maximilien Robespierre and other leaders of the deadliest phase of the French Revolution fell from power, it became safe for French composers to express dissatisfaction with the republican government that had come to power in 1792. For instance, Martin Joseph Adrien (1767–1822), a Flemish musician known in Paris as Adrien the Elder, published a *romance* based on a text by Nicolas Montjourdain, a commander in the French revolutionary army who had been imprisoned at the Conciergerie. Along with word painting, the "Complainte de Montjourdain" (1795) features a brooding keyboard part replete with dynamic and articulation markings. The end of the opening strophe serves as an example. Condemned to death, Montjourdain cries, "Ah! Je dois regretter la vie" (Ah! I must regret life). Adrien renders the initial exclamation vividly, assigning it dynamic, melodic, and rhythmic accents (see fig. 2). This occurs on the subdominant, whence Adrien moves to an incomplete applied diminished chord before arriving on the dominant. Meanwhile, syncopation heightens the tension in both the vocal and keyboard parts. The composer saves his most striking idea, however, for the word "vie." The singer sustains the first syllable for a full measure, while underneath the keyboard slips downward chromatically. To all of this Adrien applies the direction *smorzando*, indicating that the voice and keyboard are to slow and *decrescendo* in tandem.

The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece with piano accompaniment. The top system consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line has lyrics: "Ah! Je dois re-gret-ter la vi-". The piano accompaniment features a right hand with chords and a left hand with a bass line. Dynamics include *[f]*, *p*, and *smorz.*. The bottom system shows a vocal line with a fermata over the note "e." and a piano accompaniment. The piano accompaniment includes dynamics *ff*, *p*, and *[ff]*, and a *stac.* marking. The score is in a minor key and features chromatic inflections and diminished-seventh chords.

Figure 2. Martin Joseph Adrien, "Complainte de Montjourdain" (author's transcription of the 1795 Paris edition), mm. 22–27.

Montjourdain's "life" thus ebbs away. Afterward, the keyboard repeats an idea that first appears in the prelude. A syncopated *fortissimo* tonic chord gives way to a *piano* subdominant, but the fifth of the tonic (an E) is suspended, generating an affective dissonance. Such grimly evocative music is uncharacteristic of the prerevolutionary *romance*, and it likewise surpasses the intensity of expression seen in English royalist laments.

As opposed to the English galant, the musical language of the post-revolutionary French vocal *romance* furnished a model for Chateaudun. Though not a *romance* properly called, "The Queen of France" correlates with Adrien's "Complainte" and with Chateaudun's own *Six romances nouvelles* in terms of musical style.<sup>16</sup> It readily exploits chromatic harmony, dissonance, dynamic contrasts, mode mixture, and registral extremes in order to illustrate Antoinette's suffering. The song is in a minor key, it brims with chromatically inflected lines, non-chord-tones, and diminished-seventh chords, and it makes affecting use of altered harmonies such as augmented-sixth and Neapolitan chords. Moreover, Chateaudun's music would have been harder for amateurs to perform than Storace's. In "Captivity" the accompaniment is bound to the voice, whereas in Chateaudun's work it serves in its own expressive capacity.

The song's proto-Romantic characteristics include several abrupt *fortissimos* that coincide with diminished-seventh chords (see fig. 3, mm. 12, 13, 15, and 23), along with one that accompanies a Neapolitan harmony (m. 20). Here an *appoggiatura* adds urgency, and similar non-chord-tones are

found at the end of every vocal phrase (mm. 6, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18, 22, and 25). Of these dissonances, the most substantial is the minor-ninth appoggiatura on "woe" in measure 18. Chromatic inflections in the prelude and postlude (mm. 3 and 26) also contribute to an unsettled atmosphere, as does the insistent pulse of the eighth-note chords in the accompaniment.

*un poco adagio*

*con expression*

3  
From my pris - on with joy could I

6  
go, with joy could I go, and with

9  
smiles, with smiles meet the sav - age de - cree,

*p*

*ff*

Figure 3. Renaud de Chateaudun, "The Queen of France to Her Children Just Before Her Execution" (author's transcription of the undated Philadelphia edition).

(continues on next page)

13  
 were it on - ly to sleep from my woë,

17  
 from my woë, since the grave holds no ter - rors for me, since the

21  
 grave holds no ter - rors for me, holds no ter - rors, holds no

24  
 ter - rors for me.

Figure 3. (cont.)

And yet the mood of the song is not entirely uniform. The music represents an overall state of distress while accommodating contrasting emotion. Witness the mention of “smiles,” which inspires a turn to the relative major. In measure 9 the word is set to a second-inversion dominant-seventh harmony that progresses through an applied dominant to arrive at A minor in measure 10. Here, on the pivot chord that gives way to a first-inversion D dominant seventh and eventually to G major, “smiles”

is repeated. This detour is interrupted at the end of measure 12, however, offering only a short reprieve from the prevailing melancholia.

That Storace and Chateaudun chose to set similar texts in markedly different ways speaks to their differing personal circumstances—Chateaudun was an aggrieved refugee, Storace was not—but it also reflects a stylistic distinction between English and French vocal music. More importantly, however, the contrast represents the cultural confrontations wrought by circum-Atlantic migration in federal era Philadelphia. The urban early republic hosted competing standards for representing royalist loss, and we can further observe this phenomenon in the publication history of Chateaudun's music. In particular, the normative status of English lament appears to have compelled Chateaudun to revise parts of his closeted royalist lament, "Paul au tombeau de Virginie."<sup>17</sup> But before we can establish this possibility, it is necessary to resolve certain ambiguities in the bibliography of Chateaudun's music, including the date and publisher of "The Queen of France."

### *The Publication History of Chateaudun's Laments*

The publication histories of early American music sheets are generally obscure, and "The Queen of France" is especially problematic to trace. Publishers normally marked music sheets with imprints containing their names and addresses. When eighteenth-century music printing businesses were listed in city directories, or when their proprietors advertised address changes in newspapers, bibliographers can check this information against music-sheet imprints in order to estimate when they were made. But in the case of this edition, only the title and author are provided (fig. 4). Aside from the high likelihood that the song was published

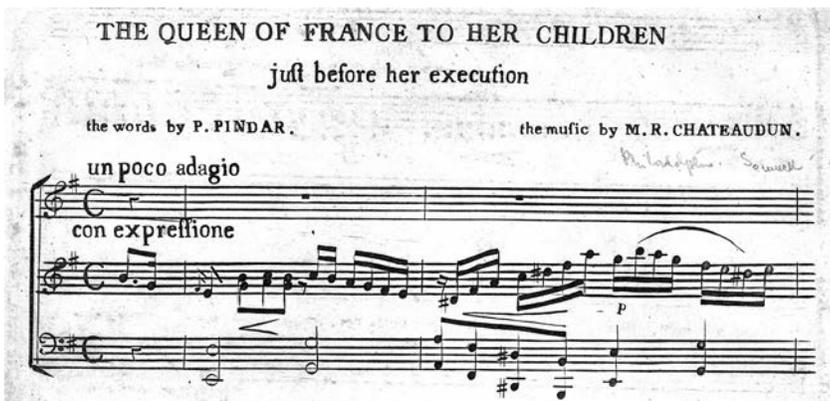


Figure 4. Renaud de Chateaudun, "The Queen of France" (n.p., n.d.), title area and first system. Keffer Collection of Sheet Music, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, The University of Pennsylvania.

after October 16, 1793, when Antoinette died, there appears to be little to hang a date on.

Donald Krummel proposes, however, that we can date music sheets by comparing them in terms of their design as printed objects, a method that he calls “graphic analysis.”<sup>18</sup> Considering the layout of the page together with symbols like clefs, accidentals, and rests can be productive, as these are often peculiar to a given publisher for a period of time. Engravers developed design habits and used characteristic tools, such that the very appearance of their sheets can be a reliable means of dating. A graphic analysis of publications attributed to Chateaudun reveals similarities between “The Queen of France” and other Chateaudun editions (figs. 5 and 6). The letter style, content, and spacing of the text are uniform enough to suggest the work of a single artisan. Moreover, the three-stave layout of each score and the identical flat and rest symbols shown in figures 5 and 6 point to one engraver. Most important, however, is the uniformity of the clefs between the three editions. Krummel notes that the complexity of the treble clef, in particular, makes its “variant shapes” easy to detect.<sup>19</sup> In the absence of an imprint, a treble clef is often the most reliable way to identify a publisher. Observe the equivalence of the clefs (both treble and bass) in the three editions and their difference from other U.S. clef symbols from the same period (see fig. 7). It is clear that the same punches made the clef symbols in each of Chateaudun’s songs.

But whose punches were they? It is the identity of the engraver that helps to determine when the prints were made. I have examined hundreds of American music sheets from the late eighteenth and early

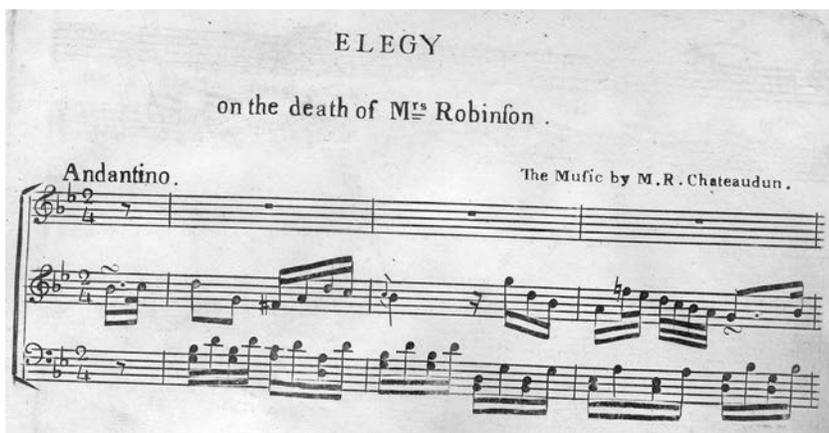


Figure 5. Renaud de Chateaudun, “Elegy on the Death of Mrs. Robinson” (n.p., n.d.), title area and first system. The Library Company of Philadelphia.

**MARIAN'S COMPLAINT**

The words by P. PINDAR      The Music by M.R. CHATEAUDUN

*Phila. See Summary.  
Blaise public?*

Figure 6. Renaud de Chateaudun, "Marian's Complaint" (n.p., n.d.), title area and first system. Keffer Collection of Sheet Music, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, The University of Pennsylvania.

Benjamin Carr (Philadelphia)	George Gilfert (New York)	P.A. von Hagen (Boston)	James Hewitt (New York)	Filippo Trisobio (Philadelphia)

Figure 7. Representative clef symbols used by U.S. music publishers of the 1790s.

nineteenth centuries—primarily Philadelphian ones but also many from Baltimore, Boston, and New York—and of these very few feature the same clefs as the songs in question. All of these bear the imprint of Philadelphia's George Willig, including the address "Market Street No. 185," where his shop was located from 1798 until 1804 (figs. 8 and 9).<sup>20</sup>

That George Willig almost certainly engraved "The Queen of France" represents a significant step forward in the bibliography of Chateaudun's music. For the last five decades scholars believed the song was published by Benjamin Carr, Willig's Philadelphia competitor.<sup>21</sup> What is more, the dates of Willig's tenure at 185 Market Street clarify when the lament was

COME GENIUS OF OUR HAPPY LAND.

A FAVORITE PATRIOTIC SONG.

composed by H.C.

Printed and sold Philadelphia by G: Willig Market street N<sup>o</sup>. 185.

The image shows a musical score for a piano. It features a title area with the text 'COME GENIUS OF OUR HAPPY LAND.' and 'A FAVORITE PATRIOTIC SONG.' Below this, it says 'composed by H.C.' and 'Printed and sold Philadelphia by G: Willig Market street N<sup>o</sup>. 185.' The score itself consists of two systems of music, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The first system ends with a double bar line. The second system begins with the word 'Come' written below the bass staff.

Figure 8. Henri Capron, “Come Genius of Our Happy Land” (Philadelphia: Willig, n.d.), title area and opening systems. Music Division, The Library of Congress.

THE PRESIDENTS MARCH

A new FEDERAL Song.

Published by G Willig Market street N<sup>o</sup>. 185. Philadelphia.

Hail! Columbia happy land hail: ye Heroes heavn born band Who fought and bled in freedoms

caufe who fought and bled in freedoms caufe and when the storm of war was gone enjoyd the peace your

The image shows a musical score for a piano. It features a title area with the text 'THE PRESIDENTS MARCH' and 'A new FEDERAL Song.' Below this, it says 'Published by G Willig Market street N<sup>o</sup>. 185. Philadelphia.' The score consists of two systems of music, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The first system includes the lyrics 'Hail! Columbia happy land hail: ye Heroes heavn born band Who fought and bled in freedoms'. The second system includes the lyrics 'caufe who fought and bled in freedoms caufe and when the storm of war was gone enjoyd the peace your'.

Figure 9. Philip Phile and Joseph Hopkinson, “The President’s March” (Philadelphia: Willig, n.d.), title area and opening systems. Music Division, The Library of Congress.

published. As noted above, based on textual evidence alone “The Queen of France” could have been dated as early as 1793. Now, however, my bibliographical analysis suggests that the sheet appeared no sooner than 1798 and no later than 1804, a timespan that corroborates newspaper evidence of Chateaudun’s presence in Philadelphia, already discussed.

We can further reduce this date range based on the editions shown in figures 8 and 9. It is an established fact that Joseph Hopkinson set

words to Philip Phile's "President's March" in April 1798, resulting in the popular song "Hail Columbia."<sup>22</sup> Both this anthem and Henri Capron's "Come Genius of Our Happy Land" were patriotic responses to the XYZ Affair, a debacle in which Paris officials tried to extort favors from American diplomats, turning U.S. opinion against the French and fostering widespread support for the Federalist administration.<sup>23</sup> At any other time—including during the Terror—U.S. Republicans would have balked at favorable representations of the French monarchs. But following the publication of the XYZ dispatches, and for as long as France kept attacking U.S. ships on the high seas, American suspicion of French republicanism ran high enough to encompass nostalgia for the *ancien régime*, a lost era in which France had been an ally. The royalism of Chateaudun's laments belongs to this moment; Willig thus published these songs during the early part of his tenure at 185 Market Street, between 1798 and 1801.

A final wrinkle in the publication history of this music offers a glimpse of Chateaudun at work as a revisionist. In addition to the three songs discussed, two other editions of Chateaudun's music show Willig's distinctive clefs. The problem is that one of these, a complete set of the composer's *Six romances nouvelles*, bears the imprint "Se vend chez Carr à Philadelphie" (Sold by Carr in Philadelphia) (fig. 10). Meanwhile, the other edition, an offprint of the first of the *Six romances*, the familiar "Paul au tombeau," shows the expected "Printed and sold by G Willig Market street No. 185" (fig. 11). In fact, although they have different publishers, the two editions of "Paul au tombeau" are nearly identical. They were made from the same plates and so could only have been engraved by either Willig or Carr.

Three facts point to Willig as the engraver. First, a total of six verified Willig publications show the clef symbols in question, as opposed to only one bearing Carr's name.<sup>24</sup> Second, parts of measures 15, 22, and 23 in Carr's version of "Paul au tombeau" have been altered (fig. 10), suggesting that he was not the original editor. Finally, there is a crucial difference between the imprints on the two editions. Whereas Willig specified that he "printed" Chateaudun's "Paul au tombeau," Carr claimed merely to sell the *Six romances*. It thus appears that Willig engraved all of Chateaudun's *Six romances nouvelles* and that Carr subsequently acquired the plates, modifying them and then reissuing the music with a new cover page. If this is the case, then 1795, the date previously assigned to Carr's version of "Paul au tombeau," is too early, even though Chateaudun may have composed the *romance* by then.<sup>25</sup>

Carr's edition of the *Six romances* offers insight into Chateaudun's dealings with Philadelphia music publishers. It appears that the composer first brought his manuscripts (which are not extant) to Willig, paying him to engrave and print them. Even though Carr was the better-established

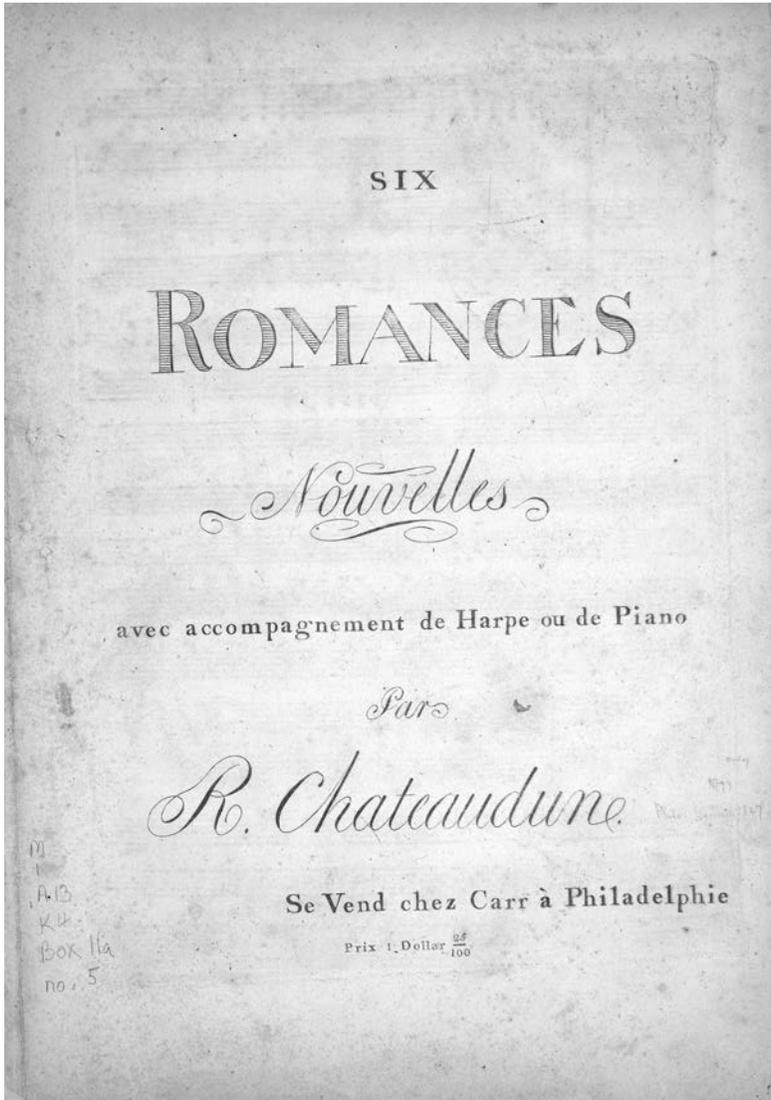


Figure 10. Renaud de Chateaudun, *Six romances nouvelles* (Philadelphia: Carr, n.d.), cover and first page. Keffer Collection of Sheet Music, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, The University of Pennsylvania.

merchant, newspaper advertisements from 1800 indicate that Chateaudun relied on Willig to vend concert tickets from his shop on Market Street.<sup>26</sup> A private arrangement with the composer would explain Willig's unusual decision to withhold his name from the plates for "The Queen of France." Unless the sheets were printed for Chateaudun's

Paul  
au tombeau  
de Virginie

Lento. *f* *p* *f* *p*

[6]

*f* *f* plus vite

[10]

Re. po te en paix ma virgi. ni. e re po te en paix ma virgi

*f* tempo 1º

[16]

ni. e Le re.

*p* *f*

[22]

plus vite pour moi plus vite tempo 1º anime

*f* *f*

[26]

cresc. poco à poco *ff* hé

Figure 10. (cont.)

use and at his expense, the publisher would have wanted to include his imprint.

But although the composer had a working relationship with Willig, he eventually found it necessary to revise "Paul au tombeau," and for this purpose he turned to Carr, who introduced two changes. The first of these can be seen by comparing measure 15 in figure 10 with the same measure in figure 11. Between the end of measure 14 in Willig's

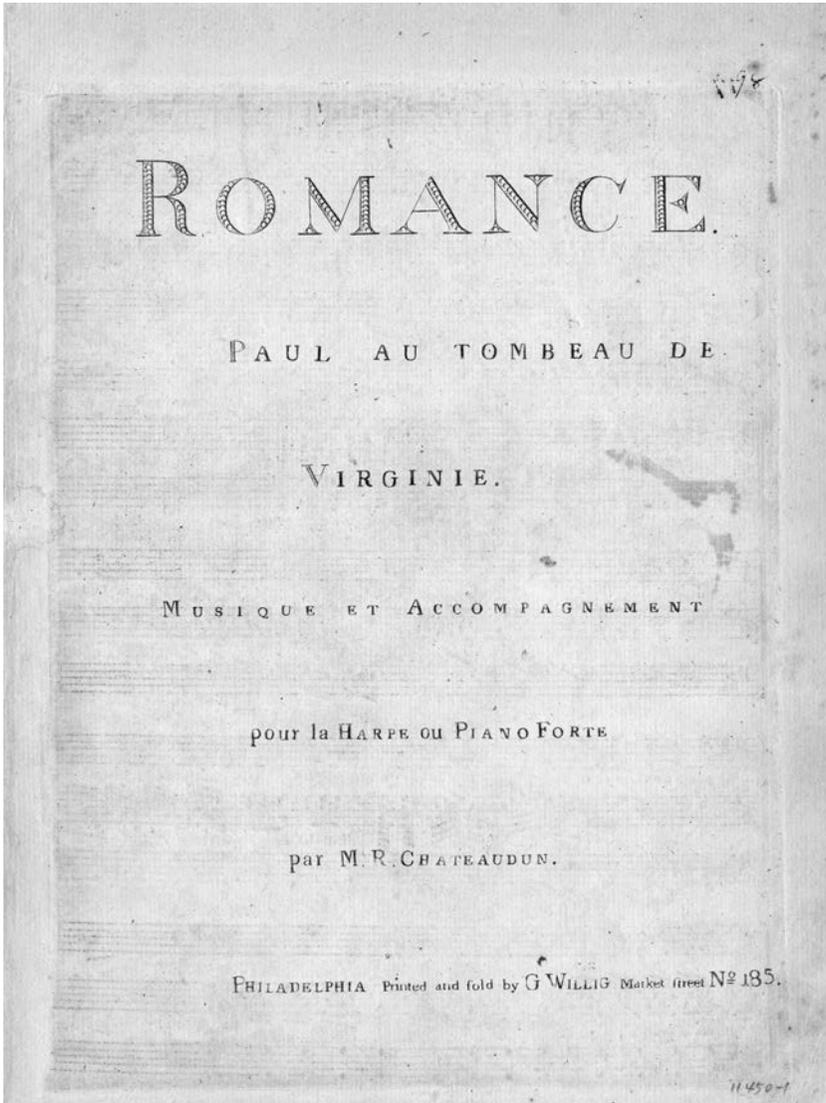


Figure 11. Renaud de Chateaudun, "Paul au tombeau de Virginie" (Philadelphia: Willig, n.d.), cover and first page. Sheet Music Collection, The Free Library of Philadelphia.

edition and beat 2 of the subsequent measure, the vocal line ascends a minor ninth, from G to A-flat. This is a significant demand to make of the singer at an early point in the song. Beneath this immoderate gesture, the accompaniment is assigned a third-inversion G dominant seventh, an unstable harmony against which the vocal A-flat is dissonant.

The image displays a page of a musical score for Renaud de Chateaudun's "Queen of France". The score is written for voice and piano accompaniment. It begins with a tempo marking of "Lento" and a dynamic of "F". The music features a complex, rhythmic accompaniment with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The vocal line is sparse, with lyrics in French. The score includes several measures of piano accompaniment without vocal lines, marked with dynamics like "P" and "F". There are also markings for "plus vite" and "tempo 1<sup>o</sup>". The lyrics include: "Re. pose en paix ma virgi. ni. e re pose en paix ma vir. gi ni. e Le re. pos n'est plus fait pour moi plus vite tempo 1<sup>o</sup> anime he. cresc. poco a poco FF".

Figure 11. (cont.)

Together, the voice and accompaniment thus register the character Paul's wretchedness.

In the Carr version, this passage is less dramatic. The vocal F and A-flat are lowered to D and F, curtailing the melodic range and making the phrase more predictable. Moreover, the singer's climactic note is rendered consonant with the underlying harmony, which has been

changed to a first-inversion predominant triad. The result is a less daring musical representation of Paul's distress, and a related modification appears in measures 22 and 23. Here the Willig accompaniment shows a third-inversion dominant seventh (created by the vocalist's G in measure 22) resolving to a first-inversion tonic, whereas Carr's edition displays a root-position fully diminished seventh moving to a root-position tonic. The revised progression is stronger, the form of the music clearer. But whereas the original, avoided cadence reflects Paul's uncertainty and emotional fragility, Carr's edition effaces this effect.

In comparing the two editions of "Paul au tombeau," it is clear that Carr's version pushes the song toward the English model of lament. The edits render the music less radically expressive—simpler, more pleasant, and clearer—bringing it nearer to the galant, and it is noteworthy that this occurs in "Paul au tombeau" rather than in "The Queen of France." It is as though a musical Anglicization was required to offset the Frenchness of the *romance* text, whereas the British poetry of "The Queen of France" licensed its musical otherness. When music and words alike were foreign, publications were evidently harder to sell, especially in the Francophobic atmosphere of the late 1790s. As an Englishman, a respected composer, and the leading U.S. purveyor of Anglo-American music, Carr was the natural person to whom Chateaudun could turn for assistance in this regard. More so than Willig, a German emigrant for whom the Continental lament was a naturalized expressive form, Carr understood how to tailor "Paul au tombeau" to the Philadelphian market for genteel music.

### *Conclusion*

Despite its antirepublican connotations, the royalist lament enjoyed a measure of popularity in the early United States. It did so primarily when representing the galant, which was equally popular in London and Philadelphia. Reactionary songs by English composers like Storace were marketable in federal America because they catered to the Anglophilia of elite consumers of music. And the politics of such laments were not merely tolerated; they resonated with Federalists who opposed the radical turn of the French Revolution.

Although Chateaudun chose a British text for "The Queen of France," and its political tone matched that of the English laments, its musical language was another matter. The stylistic Frenchness of "The Queen of France" and "Paul au tombeau de Virginie" requires a conceptual widening of the network in which early American musical print is situated. A national focus concerned with musical traditions that are exclusive to the United States is of little use. And even an Anglo-American framework, although it accounts for one aspect of intercontinental influence,

cannot explain the appearance of Francophone royalist lament in federal era Philadelphia. At a time when one might expect the burgeoning U.S. publishing trade to have nourished the formation of a national musical identity, Chateaudun's music suggests instead that a confluence of English, Continental, and Caribbean culture animated Philadelphian musical commerce.

Such cultural interpenetration went hand in hand with a heterogeneous politics. The history of music-sheet publishing suggests that, in a cosmopolitan center like Philadelphia, the merit of the revolutionary tradition was not universally acknowledged. Storage's and Chateaudun's laments valorize France's monarchical past. They show that New World republicanism accommodated Old World attitudes as these were refreshed by waves of circum-Atlantic migration. Even as it represented white Haitian loss, the royalism of Chateaudun's "Queen of France" reinforced American hostility to French republicanism.

An Atlantic perspective affirms the pluralism of early American print, taking into view music that defies narratives of national consolidation. In Chateaudun's case, it is important to note that such an inquiry is aided by close consideration of material texts. When politics transform as quickly as they did in 1790s Philadelphia, accurate cultural interpretation requires careful attention to publication history. In the study of Chateaudun's editions, bibliographical analysis uncovers a moment when the composer revised his expressive language, rendering his eccentric brand of lament more appealing to Anglo-Americans. Such redactions would prepare the way for distinctively national musical forms to emerge, but this was a moment for which the United States still had to wait.

## NOTES

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1. George Willig reissued John Percy's "The Captive" (London: author, 1793) as "Maria Antoinette's Complaint" (Philadelphia, [ca. 1800]). Benjamin Carr replicated John Stevenson's "Louis the Sixteenth's Lamentation" (London: Preston, 1793) in his *Philadelphia Pocket Companion for the Guittar or Clarinett* (Philadelphia, 1794), and he released a derivative edition of Stephen Storage's "Captivity" (London: Dale, 1793) upon his arrival in the United States (Philadelphia, 1793). While it was dangerous to publish such material under the Convention in France, musical tributes to Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette proliferated in the British Isles, which were a haven for royalist exiles.

2. Key texts in Atlantic historiography include David Armitage and Michael Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005); Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America* (New York: Knopf, 1986); Jack Greene and Philip Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Robert Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014 [1959–64]). Nicholas Butler's *Votaries of Apollo: The St. Cecilia Society and the Patronage of Concert Music in Charleston, South Carolina, 1766–1820* (Columbia: University of South

Carolina Press, 2007) devotes considerable attention to the role of St. Dominguan refugees in Charleston's musical life, and Glenda Goodman has stressed the broader relevance of an Atlantic paradigm for American music history. See Goodman, "American Identities in an Atlantic Musical World: Transhistorical Case Studies" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2012) and "'The Tears I Shed at the Songs of Thy Church': Seventeenth-Century Musical Piety in the Puritan Atlantic World," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 3 (2012): 691–725.

3. The author of Percy's text is unknown, and that of Storace's was a certain Reverend Jeans. Walley Chamberlain wrote the words of Stevenson's aforementioned song, "Louis the Sixteenth's Lamentation." Chateaudun likely discovered Wolcot's "Queen of France" in the *Pindariana*, a collection that Benjamin Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, published in an unauthorized Philadelphia edition in 1794.

4. On this stylistic paradigm, see Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: Norton, 2003).

5. In this regard I build on the work of Emily Laurance, who has related the musical style of Chateaudun's Philadelphia publication "Paul au tombeau de Virginie" to the postrevolutionary development of the Parisian *romance*. Laurance, "The French Vocal *Romance* and the Sorrows of Exile in the Early American Republic," in *Haydn and His Contemporaries*, ed. Sterling Murray (Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2011).

6. "M. Renaud, riche négociant de Saint-Domingue, et sa famille, sont arrivés à Asylum avec quelques débris, encore considérables, d'une grande fortune" (François-Alexandre-Frédéric, duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les États-Unis d'Amérique, fait en 1795, 1796, et 1797* [Paris: Du Pont, Buisson and Charles Pougens, 1799], 1:160).

7. *Federal Gazette*, April 12, 1796. The concert was to occur at the Old Theatre the following day.

8. He is listed in concert notices and programs in the *Aurora*, March 15 and 26, 1799; *Philadelphia Gazette*, April 9, 1799; *Philadelphia Gazette*, February 17 and April 22, 1800; *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, May 1, 1800; *Gazette of the United States*, April 11, 1801; and *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, March 27, 1804. He is also named in a program announcement for the New Theatre (*Philadelphia Gazette*, March 1, 1802), and on May 14, 1804, he placed an advertisement in the *Gazette of the United States*, offering his services as a fencing instructor and music teacher.

9. For a general (albeit somewhat romanticized) history of Asylum, see Elsie Murray, *Azilum: French Refugee Colony of 1793* (Athens, Pa.: Tioga Point Museum, 1940). On the significance of the colony as a capitalist land venture, see François Furstenberg, *When the United States Spoke French: Five Refugees Who Shaped a Nation* (New York: Penguin, 2014), chap. 4.

10. On the French idealization of American agrarian life, see Durand Echeverria, *Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957). On how this impacted Asylum, see Catherine Spaeth, "America in the French Imagination: The French Settlers of Asylum, Pennsylvania, and Their Perceptions of 1790s America," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 38, no. 2 (2008): 247–74. John Hector St. John (Michel Guillaume Jean) de Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782) and the fourth of Voltaire's *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733) are touchstones for both writers. See also Gilbert Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1970 [1913]); and Édith Philips, *The Good Quaker in French Legend* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932).

11. On Asylum's material wealth and aristocratic culture, see Rob Mann and Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Keeping Up Appearances: Dress, Architecture, Furniture, and Status at French Azilum," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 5, no. 4 (2001): 281–307.

12. On the Haitian Revolution's U.S. reception, see Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 87–123; and Susan Branson, "St. Dominguan Refugees in the Philadelphia Community in the 1790s," in *Amerindians/Africans/Americans: Three Papers in Caribbean History* (Kingston: University of the West Indies, 1993).

13. Chateaudun's extant publications comprise twelve songs and one instrumental dance. Eight songs—"Adieu Sweet Girl," "The Queen of France to Her Children," and *Six romances nouvelles*—are listed in Oscar Sonneck's *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music, 18th Century*, rev. and enl. William Upton (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964 [1945]). Richard Wolfe's *Secular Music in America, 1801–1825: A Bibliography* (New York: New York Public Library, 1964) lists Chateaudun's "Elegy on the Death of Mrs. Robinson," "Marian's Complaint," "Song from *The Children of the Abbey*," "The Children in the Wood," and "The Cheat," which is the lone instrumental work.

14. Murray, *Azilum*, 8–10.

15. On the postrevolutionary transformation of the French *romance*, see Henri Gougelot, *La romance française sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Étude historique et critique* (Melun: Librairie d'Argences, 1938). On the transmission of the *romance* to the German-speaking lands, see David Ossenkop, "The Earliest Settings of German Ballads for Voice and Clavier" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1968), 150–79, 529–41. French absorption of Austro-German culture is evident in *romances* like Louis-Emmanuel Jadin's "Mort de Werther" (1796) and in a more general affinity between the postrevolutionary *romance* and vocal works by *Sturm und Drang* composers like Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg (1760–1802). For example, see his posthumously published "La jeune fille et la rose (Das Mädchen und die Rose)," *Kleine Balladen und Lieder* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1805), 7:29–36.

16. Despite having been an important French musical genre for roughly a century (1750–1850), the *romance* is not easily defined. *Romances* were composed for both professional and amateur venues, and their texts display a variety of subjects (historical, pastoral, sentimental), modes of presentation (narrative, dramatic, lyric), and poetic forms. Indeed, their principal characteristic—that they consist of strophically set stanzaic French verse—hardly distinguishes them from other varieties of song. In the case of Chateaudun's publications, only his *Six romances nouvelles* represent the genre as historically defined, a distinction owed to the language of their texts and to the mere appellation "*romances*." Had "The Queen of France" been written in French and titled appropriately, it would be indistinguishable from the *romance* tradition (Gougelot, *La romance française*, 21–106). One noteworthy difference between "The Queen of France" and the *Six romances* is that the latter were published "avec accompagnement de Harpe ou de Piano." It was conventional to specify that *romance* accompaniments could be performed on the harp, but this was rarely reflected in the music itself. Composers and printers appealed to the popularity of the harp among French amateur musicians, but for all intents and purposes the accompaniments remained idiomatic to the keyboard, which was more widely used. See Gougelot, *La romance française*; Hans Joachim Zingel, "Studien zur Geschichte des Harfenspiels in klassischer und romantischer Zeit," *Archiv für Musikforschung* 2 (1937): 455–65.

17. Laurance interprets "Paul au tombeau" as a clandestine reactionary work, citing Chateaudun's quotation of Jan Ladislav Dussek's *Sufferings of the Queen of France* (1793) in the opening measure of the *romance*. The Guadeloupean poet François-Nicolas-Vincent Campenon (1772–1843) wrote the words of "Paul au tombeau," basing them on Jacques-Henri Bernardin de St. Pierre's 1787 novel *Paul et Virginie*. Laurance, "French Vocal *Romance*," 176–78.

18. Donald Krummel, "Graphic Analysis: Its Application to Early American Engraved Music," *Notes* 16, no. 2 (1959): 214. For a related discussion of graphic analysis, see Richard Wolfe, *Early American Music Engraving and Printing: A History of Music Publishing in America from 1787 to 1825 with Commentary on Earlier and Later Practices* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 250–55.

19. Krummel, "Graphic Analysis," 216.

20. Harry Dichter and Elliott Shapiro, *Handbook of Early American Sheet Music, 1768–1889* (New York: Dover, 1977 [1941]), 244.

21. Sonneck, *Early Secular American Music*, 350. Richard Wolfe specifies no publisher for Chateaudun's "Elegy" and "Marian's Complaint." Wolfe, *Secular Music*, 1005.

22. Responding to a request from the Wyoming Band at Wilkes-Barre, Hopkinson (1770–1842) recounted the genesis of "Hail Columbia" in a letter of August 24, 1840.

23. The fourth verse of "Come Genius of Our Happy Land" reads, "Here once by folly's sons display'd / The Gallic standard shone / No ribband now our feasts invade / There waves our flag alone." On May 9, 1798, Portland, Maine's *Oriental Trumpet* printed the words of Capron's song, reporting that it had been "Sung by near two hundred staunch federalists, at an entertainment given at Philadelphia." For more on this chapter in Franco-American relations, see Alexander DeConde, *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1799–1801* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966); Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), chaps. 12–14; and Marie-Jeanne Rossignol, *The Nationalist Ferment: The Origins of U.S. Foreign Policy, 1789–1812*, trans. Lillian Parrott (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004 [1994]), 99–106.

24. In addition to the examples shown here, "The Duke of Yorck's [sic] March" (Philadelphia: Willig, n.d.), "President's March" (Philadelphia: Willig, n.d.), and Willig's edition of the overture to Nicolas Dezède's *Blaise et Babet* (Philadelphia, n.d.) display the clefs in question.

25. Laurance, "French Vocal Romance," 170. Carr was selling the collected romances by March 26, 1799, when he advertised them in the *Aurora*.

26. For example, see "Concert," *Philadelphia Gazette*, February 17, 1800; "Concert," *Philadelphia Gazette*, April 22, 1800; and "Concert," *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, May 1, 1800. Occasionally, Chateaudun was involved in concerts advertised by other promoters, in which case Carr is listed as a ticket vendor. For instance, see "Grand Concert," *Aurora*, March 26, 1799; "A Concert," *Philadelphia Gazette*, April 9, 1799; and "Concert," *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, March 27, 1804.