

**‘Charming Daughters’ and A ‘Notorious Lady’:
Two Women-Led Music Businesses in Europe,
1780–1830**

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To Poulette

Abstract

Women and their labour were essential to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European music industry, including the areas of music publishing and instrument making. This thesis examines the lives and careers of women at the head of two such firms who were leaders in their respective fields: the piano maker Nannette Streicher-Stein (1769–1833) and the sisters Marie-Françoise Marcoux Bonnemaïson (1777–1851) and Catherine-Barbe Marcoux Delahante (1779–1815) of the Mesdemoiselles (Mlles) Erard music publishing company. These women worked in the economic centers for their professions (Vienna and Paris respectively) and interacted with music as artisans, businesspeople, patrons, and performers, forming social and professional networks through music and economically supporting themselves and their families. Bringing feminist theory and historical understandings of gender to bear on these figures for the first time, this research draws on a wealth of primary documents (such as letters, marriage contracts, and financial records) to explore how gender, labour, class, family, legal conditions, and music interacted in their lives and businesses. It presents in-depth biographies of Streicher-Stein and the Marcoux sisters and explores how collaboration with family members and the development of shared, professional networks was essential to their work as musical businesswomen. This project considers the musical products made by Streicher-Stein and the Marcoux—sheet music and pianos—and examines how they used these objects, print culture, and musical performance to negotiate their public personas as prominent women in the music industry. Presenting these women as multifaceted musical and social actors, this research helps reframe women’s musical work in this period by revealing the variety and extent of their labour.

Résumé

Les femmes et leur travail ont joué un rôle essentiel dans l'industrie européenne de la musique des XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, notamment dans l'édition musicale et la fabrication d'instruments. La présente thèse se penche sur la vie et la carrière de femmes à la tête de deux de ces entreprises qui se sont trouvées à l'avant-garde de leur domaine respectif : Nannette Streicher-Stein (1769–1833), factrice de pianos, ainsi que les sœurs Marie-Françoise Marcoux Bonnemaïson (1777–1851) et Catherine-Barbe Marcoux Delahante (1779–1815) de la maison d'édition musicale Mesdemoiselles Érard. Ces femmes ont travaillé dans les capitales économiques de leur profession (Vienne et Paris, respectivement) et se sont impliquées dans l'industrie de la musique en tant qu'artisans, femmes d'affaires, mécènes et interprètes, tissant des réseaux sociaux et professionnels par la musique et subvenant financièrement à leurs besoins et à ceux de leur famille. Étudiant pour la première fois ces personnalités à la lumière de la théorie féministe et de la compréhension historique des genres, cette recherche s'appuie sur une multitude de documents primaires (comme des lettres, des contrats de mariage et des registres financiers) pour explorer les interactions entre le genre, le travail, la classe, la famille, les conditions juridiques et la musique dans leur vie et leurs affaires. Elle présente des biographies détaillées de Streicher-Stein et des sœurs Marcoux et examine la façon dont la collaboration de membres de leur famille et le développement de réseaux professionnels communs se sont avérés essentiels à leur travail en tant que femmes d'affaires du domaine musical. Ce projet étudie les produits musicaux créés par Streicher-Stein et les sœurs Marcoux, des partitions et des pianos, et la façon dont ces femmes se sont servies de ces objets, de la culture de l'impression et des prestations musicales pour négocier leur personnage public de femmes majeures de l'industrie de la musique. Présentant ces femmes comme des figures sociales et musicales aux multiples facettes, la recherche aide à redéfinir l'œuvre musicale des femmes à cette époque en jetant la lumière sur la variété et l'ampleur de leur travail.

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Introduction

The idealised image of an upper-class white woman at a piano dominates our perception of women's musical activities in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. She typically sits with a companion, her hands draped over the keys (see Figure 0.1), or poses surrounded by her family in an opulent setting (Figure 0.2), by turns entertaining, soothing, or irritating her friends and relatives through her playing.¹ What we the viewers are certain of is that she is an amateur, meaning she does not receive financial compensation for her musical work (though she might well be as skilled as the male keyboardists who earn their living through performance). A substantial and ever-growing number of women and girls were engaging in music during this period—especially as pianists and singers—but the ubiquity of the upper-class amateur in visual culture and fiction of the era has narrowed the scope of what we deem to have been possible for those historical women and music.² In reality, this leisured musical stereotype applied to only a small segment of wealthy, white, middle- and upper-class European and American women: poor

¹ The classic references on gender and music iconography in this period, which also explores women and/at pianos, are by Richard Leppert. See Richard D. Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology, and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Richard D. Leppert, "Sexual Identity, Death, and the Family Piano," *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 2 (1992). For his discussion of music and the paintings of Johann Zoffany specifically, see Richard D. Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 70–77.

² This is apparent when, for example, Nicolas Salway writes that in London during this period, "a career as a pianist was virtually impossible for women, because of the clear restrictions placed upon them by the rigid conventions of late eighteenth-century society," or when Simon Fleming renders professional women musicians as exceptional: "Most female musicians, especially those of an upper or middling social status, had to be content with making music at home or in that of an acquaintance. There were of course exceptions to this rule, such as female organists or theatrical singers, but female performers often appear to have given up public music making once they were married." Nicholas Salway, "Women Pianists in Late Eighteenth-Century London," in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 273–274; Simon D. I. Fleming, "The Gender of Subscribers to Eighteenth-Century Music Publications," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 50 (2019): 103. Many other writings relating to gender and music in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries focus almost exclusively on women as non-professional musicians. See, for example, James Parakilas and Gretchen A. Wheelock, "1770s to 1820s: The Piano Revolution in the Age of Revolutions," in *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, CT: Yale Nota Bene, 2002), 75–80; Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 66–70. On the other hand, scholarship that challenges this exclusion of working women in music include Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England: Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Burlington; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Elizabeth Morgan, "Pertinacious Industry: The Keyboard Etude and the Female Amateur in England, 1804–20," in *Crafting the Woman Professional in the Long Nineteenth Century: Artistry and Industry in Britain*, ed. Kyriaki Hadjiafxendi and Patricia Zakreski (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013); Candace Bailey, *Unbinding Gentility: Women Making Music in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2021).

women, and many middle-class women and women of colour in these societies have always had to work for survival or under threat of violence.³ Focusing on the musical practices of an elite few rather than considering the variability of women's experiences distorts our ability to understand the work of all contributors to the music industry. Furthermore, there is overwhelming primary evidence that many middle- and lower-class women worked for pay as singers, composers, instrumentalists, educators, publishers, and instrument makers.



Left: Figure 0.1, Georg Friedrich Kersting, *Mädchen am Flügel* (ca. 1800). Public domain.

Right: Figure 0.2, Johan Zoffany, *Colonel Blair with his Family and an Indian Ayah* (1786), Tate Britain, London, T12610. Creative Commons.

This dissertation begins with the assumption that women and their labour were essential to all areas of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music industry, and it takes as its focus the contributions of women to the businesses of instrument making and music publishing. Specifically, I examine the lives and careers of women at the head of two leading European firms: the piano maker Maria Anna “Nannette” Streicher-Stein (1769–1833) and the sisters Marie-Françoise Marcoux Bonnemaison (1777–1851) and Catherine-Barbe Marcoux Delahante (1779–1815) of the Mesdemoiselles (Mlles) Erard music publishing company.⁴ These women

³ See Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989), 132.

⁴ Some notes regarding names: “Nannette” is sometimes spelt “Nanette”—I favour the first option as this is the spelling she often used in her own letters. Because of the importance of Nannette’s family to her biography and the

worked in the economic centres for their professions—Vienna and Paris respectively—and interacted with music as artisans, businesspeople, patrons, and performers, forming social and professional networks through music and economically supporting themselves and their families. Nannette Streicher-Stein’s company was consistently described as one of the most important in Vienna and across Europe: she made grand pianos (*Hammerflügel*) for the upper classes and loaned instruments to figures like Beethoven, working in succession with her father, brother, husband, and son. She is the “notorious lady” (*berüchtigte Dame*) of this dissertation’s title.⁵ The “charming daughters” (*liebenswürdige Töchter*) in my title refers to the Marcoux sisters. Their company Mlles Erard was also highly successful in its time.⁶ Established by the piano makers Sébastien and Jean-Baptiste Erard, it was run by their nieces the Marcoux sisters for over thirty years, and specialized in opera, piano, and harp music by composers including François-Adrien Boieldieu, Daniel Steibelt, and Nicolas-Charles Bochsa.

In the years that I have been researching Nannette, Marie-Françoise, and Catherine-Barbe and presenting my work at academic conferences and in public contexts, audience members frequently express surprise that historical women made pianos and published music. They are often excited about encountering Nannette or the Marcoux sisters for the first time—undoubtedly a rewarding and heartening response to hear about one’s research—but this encouraging reaction also gives me pause. The unspoken message is that, by default, we expect women to be absent from the history of music and the history of labour. It speaks to the limitations of recuperation and inclusion as models for redressing the imbalance of gender (as well as race, sexual identity,

history of her piano company, I employ first names to avoid confusion between the Steins and Streichers that feature in this thesis. I refer to her business as the “Streicher-Stein company” (or similar) following the public name of the firm under her leadership between 1802 and 1833, which was “Nannette Streicher, née Stein.” And I refer to the “Streicher-Stein couple” when discussing Nannette and her husband Andreas Streicher to emphasize the collaborative nature of their partnership in both life and work. For the Marcoux sisters, I use that shared name to refer to Marie-Françoise Bonnemaïson née Marcoux and Catherine-Barbe Delahante née Marcoux collectively. For clarity and brevity, I use their first names (Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe) when discussing them as individuals and “Mlles Erard” to refer to the music publishing business.

⁵ Upon visiting Nannette, Andreas, and the piano workshop in 1816, Carl Bursy described her as follows: “Nannette Streicher, née Stein, a notorious lady, has always interested me, young, but still very lively and talkative. She may not be vain either, her dress had neatly tamped tears and holes in several places.” (My translation: *Nannette Streicher, née Stein, eine berüchtigte Dame, hat mich seit jeher sehr interessiert, jung, aber noch sehr lebhaft und geschwätzig. Eitel mag sie auch nicht sien, den ihr Kleid hatte an mehreren Stellen reinlich zugestopfte Risse und Löcher*). Carl Bursy quoted in Otto Clemen, “Andreas Streicher in Wien,” *Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch* 4 (1930): 111.

⁶ My translation. I discuss this quote further in Chapter One. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe aus Paris geschrieben in den Jahren 1802 und 1803*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: B.G. Hoffmann, 1804), 153.

and ability) in both scholarly and popular understandings of the musical past and present.⁷ Indeed, if we are surprised by each individual woman we encounter in music history, it means that our fundamental perception of women's participation in musical and broader life has yet to change.

Though figures like Clara Wieck-Schumann, Fanny Mendelssohn-Hensel, and increasingly, Amy Beach and Cécile Chaminade, have been absorbed into the music theory classroom and mainstream performance culture, they appear often to have been adopted under the guise of “great (wo)men.” Narratives of exceptionalism continue to dominate popular perception, despite over thirty years of rigorous feminist scholarship on the complexities of gender, class, family, and religion regarding at least the first two of these figures.⁸ It can feel as though, while they have made it into the canon, each subsequent woman musician who is dragged out of the archive continues to be isolated in her own lonely, exceptional bubble.⁹ But these narratives have more to say about how we today view the past than they do about how contemporaries and historical women themselves perceived their work. Our perception of women, gender, and work is often filtered through the anomaly that was the post-war period of the twentieth century, where in relation to the idealised, white, male breadwinner-led, and

⁷ Many feminist musicologists have discussed this problem, including Marcia J. Citron, who—citing Karin Pendle—calls this the “add-and-stir” approach, in the context of appending women to existing musical canons without altering the frameworks and structures that excluded them in the first place. See Marcia J. Citron, “Women and the Western Art Canon: Where Are We Now?,” *Notes* 64, no. 2 (2007): 210–211. Sherrie Tucker also considers this issue in relation to the “visibilizing” of Black women in jazz history, see Sherrie Tucker, “Big Ears: Listening for Gender in Jazz Studies,” *Current Musicology*, no. 71–73 (Spring 2001): 76–78; Sherrie Tucker, “Jazz History Remix: Black Women from ‘Enter’ to ‘Center’,” in *Issues in African American Music: Power, Gender, Race, Representation*, ed. Portia K. Maultsby and Mellonee V. Burnim (New York: Routledge, 2017).

⁸ A sample of the scholarship available on Wieck-Schumann, Mendelssohn-Hensel, and Beach includes Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Sarah Rothenberg, “‘Thus Far, but No Farther’: Fanny Mendelssohn-Hensel’s Unfinished Journey,” *The Musical Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (1993); Adrienne Fried Block, *Amy Beach, Passionate Victorian: The Life and Work of an American Composer, 1867–1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Melinda Boyd, “Gendered Voices: The ‘Liebesfrühling’ Lieder of Robert and Clara Schumann,” *19th-Century Music* 23, no. 2 (1999); Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, Rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); Marian Wilson Kimber, “The ‘Suppression’ of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography,” *19th-Century Music* 26, no. 2 (2002); Harald Krebs, “The ‘Power of Class’ in a New Perspective: A Comparison of the Compositional Careers of Fanny Hensel and Josephine Lang,” *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 4, no. 2 (2011); April L. Prince, “(Re)Considering the Priestess: Clara Schumann, Historiography, and the Visual,” *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 21, no. 1 (2017).

⁹ I draw the “exceptional woman” concept from Tucker, whose work I discuss further below; see Tucker, “Big Ears,” 384–385. This is a frequent theme in scholarship on Nannette, again discussed below.

nuclear family of North American suburbia, a white, middle-class working woman was framed as incongruous and even dangerous.¹⁰

What purpose do exceptionalism, isolation, and other related narratives regarding women's paid musical labour serve? I suggest they speak to the continued undervaluing and discursive erasure of women's work at large in the twenty-first century. We saw this acutely during the Covid-19 pandemic, where women (especially women of colour and poor women, and especially in the United States) were pushed out of the work force at much higher rates than men to care for children or relatives, and where underpaid workers in healthcare—again, predominantly women—were pushed past breaking point.¹¹ Studying women's labour in another time, place, and field will not directly solve these systemic problems of late capitalism, but it can teach us to recognize that most women in most places have always worked and supported their families and communities through that labour, both paid and unpaid. That realization can help us recognize the long-term value of and vital need for that labour. I believe this calls for continued efforts to effect a paradigm shift in our perception of gender and work in Western music history.

In light of this goal, I pay close attention to Nannette's and the Marcoux sisters' professional work in piano making and music publishing, their non- or semi-professional work as musicians, and their unpaid social work as daughters, siblings, wives, mothers, and friends. To restrict my account to their official occupations would risk reinscribing the very systems of power that have historically prioritized the work of their male relatives and contemporaries and devalued amateur and non-professional work as feminine; it would simply extend the pattern that has favoured male figures, rather than changing it. Instead, I choose to explore their lives and activities as professionals *but also* as amateur performers, musical hosts and organizers, patrons, composers, and listeners in relation to their personal and familial connections. I view the distinction between “professional” and “amateur” as primarily a matter of remuneration, rather

¹⁰ As historian of family and gender Stephanie Coontz writes, this supposedly traditional model—invented in the twentieth century—neither applied to nor worked for most members of society during the 1950s or since. Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Really Are: Coming to Terms with America's Changing Families* (New York: BasicBooks, 1997), 36–38, 41–45.

¹¹ Claire Cain, “The Pandemic Created a Child-Care Crisis. Mothers Bore the Burden,” *New York Times* May 17, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/05/17/upshot/women-workforce-employment-covid.html>; Holly McKenzie-Sutter, “Child Care Keeping Women Out of Workforce despite COVID Rebound: Report,” *BNN Bloomberg* June 6, 2023, <https://www.bnnbloomberg.ca/child-care-keeping-women-out-of-workforce-despite-covid-rebound-report-1.1929386>; Rachel Hennein et al., “Racial and Gender Discrimination Predict Mental Health Outcomes among Healthcare Workers Beyond Pandemic-Related Stressors: Findings from a Cross-Sectional Survey,” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 18, no. 17 (2021).

than one of skill, venue, or even class. In other words, if a person earns income from an activity, it can be considered professional. Neither the proficiency with which they conduct that activity nor the forum in which they do it are reliable measures, at least in relation to music in this period. For example, unpaid women pianists or composers might be considered comparable to paid musicians in terms of skill and feature alongside them in both private (invitation only) and public (open to paying audience members) performance contexts.¹² Professional and amateur can therefore be considered contingent and shifting categories, rather than discrete or fixed ones.

Above all, I seek to present Nannette and the Marcoux sisters as multifaceted musical and social actors. I do not see their paid labour as more worthwhile than their unpaid labour; I integrate their forms of work and complicate the paid/unpaid binary by considering how these different forms of labour interacted with each other, as well as with gender and class. Additionally, I use “musical labour” as an umbrella term for their paid and unpaid music-related work: I see it as encompassing any work involving or relating to the production, consumption, and dissemination of music. In this sense, I am influenced by the expansive view of musical performance encompassed by Christopher Small’s *musicking*. In place of exploring the varied contributions that coalesce around a formal or informal instance of musical performance, I consider the often temporally- and geographically separated activities, processes, and objects that bring music into being.¹³

My subjects lived and worked in a time of significant change regarding gender, labour, the family, the economy, and politics. The spread of capitalism and growth of the middle classes saw a larger group of people gain disposable income for leisure activities like music. Middle-class women were increasingly expected to emulate the disengagement from paid work modeled by established elites. In theory, they were shut out of new and established forms of work as the

¹² See Nancy B. Reich, “Women as Musicians: A Question of Class,” in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 126, 129–130. For a similar definition regarding a later period see Sophie Fuller, “Women Musicians and Professionalism in the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries,” in *The Music Profession in Britain, 1780–1920*, ed. Rosemary Golding (New York: Routledge, 2018), 149–152. Regarding class, aristocratic women such as Hélène de Montgeroult might draw income from their musical activities if their financial situation called for it, see Maria Rose, “Hélène de Montgeroult and the Art of Singing Well on the Piano,” *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 5 (2001). On the complexities of “public” and “private” in relation to musical performance in this period see Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna: Aspects of a Developing and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1989), 1–3, 35–37; Rebecca Cypess, *Women and Musical Salons in the Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022), 11–13.

¹³ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2011), 1–18.

patriarchal family with a male breadwinner came to be regarded as the foundational unit of economic and political life (though, as we will see, the idea that women withdrew from work has been contested). Alongside these perceived changes in work grew a fetishization and feminization of domestic spaces, where dominant discourses now located women firmly in the home, even if this was not necessarily the case in practice. Consumption—rather than production—of luxury goods like pianos became one of the primary means by which nineteenth-century women were expected to participate in economic life.

The importance of music publishing and piano making to music culture of the later nineteenth century has been highlighted by William Weber, who identifies these areas as key drivers of change in the music economy.¹⁴ Examining gender and class in these vital sub-industries is crucial because they provided the public with access to the material goods of music culture: the music (in the form of printed scores) and the instruments on which to play it. Publishers and piano makers were key points of mediation between composers and the buying public. As creators and distributors of musical goods, publishers and piano makers influenced—through their editorial, technical, and commercial choices—what music was produced and how it could be played. This makes the paucity of information about women contributors in modern histories of these industries appear all the more problematic, as lack of attention to gender and labour in studies of music businesses has left us with a skewed perspective of not only *who* participated in such businesses, but also *how* these firms really functioned. Attending to family, collaboration, and gender helps us better understand the internal dynamics of music businesses: how members worked together and how they interacted with larger social, legal, and economic systems. This framework also resists individualized narratives of exceptionalism and encourages us to reconsider the work of male family members.

As members of the cosmopolitan and highly mobile music community there were only two degrees of separation between Nannette and the Marcoux sisters. Acquaintances they had in common included Muzio Clementi, along with famously well-connected figures such as Johann

¹⁴ “The main sources of change came from technical advances in building pianos and printing sheet music, and from the expansion of businesses and marketing strategies by which to sell them. As pianos became [...] cheaper to obtain, the invention of lithography opened up a much bigger market for sheet music, chiefly arrangements of well-known opera pieces for amateur performance in the home or professional use in the public concert. Publication changed from gathering a list of subscribers to building a large international publishing house, and the retailing of music moved from the musician’s study to shops that offered a wide range of musical goods.” William Weber, “The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700–1914,” in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 13.

Nepomuk Hummel and the peripatetic Johann Friedrich Reichardt.¹⁵ Because of their shared connection to piano making, they may well have been aware of each other. At the very least, primary sources show that Nannette knew of the Erard family and instrument business, and the Marcoux sisters likely heard of the Streicher-Stein company through their uncles.¹⁶ Other similarities between my subjects include that the Marcoux-Erard and Streicher-Stein family stories were marked by migration and minority status in their adopted homes. They established their music businesses in cities that were at a substantial distance from where they had been born: the Marcoux sisters migrated west from Strasbourg to Paris, while Nannette travelled eastwards from Augsburg to Vienna. They were “internal” migrants—that is, they remained within broader geopolitical boundaries, namely France and the Holy Roman Empire—who moved to the major economic and political capitals of their regions.¹⁷ By migrating they became members of religious and/or linguistic minorities in their new homes: both extended families were Protestants in majority Catholic cities, and the Marcoux sisters came from a predominantly German-speaking community. Familial and professional networks were an important factor in their migratory choices. The Marcoux sisters moved to Paris with their mother to join the household of her two teenage brothers, who were already established there as instrument makers. By contrast, Nannette did not have kin in Vienna, but because of tours undertaken by her father

¹⁵ David Rowland, “Clementi’s Music Business,” in *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, ed. Michael Kassler (Milton Park: Routledge, 2016), 138. Hummel published with Mlles Erard and owned a Streicher-Stein piano and Reichardt met and wrote about all three women during his travels. Reichardt, 1, 153–154; Klaus Martin Kopitz, “Nannette Streicher,” ed. Beatrix Borchard and Nina Noeske, trans. Trevor Pichanick, *MUGI. Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen* (Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, 2018), http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/Artikel/Nannette_Streicher. 2; Peter Donhauser and Alexander Langer, *Streicher: Drei Generationen Klavierbau in Wien* (Bergheim: Verlag Dohr Köln, 2014), 359.

¹⁶ Andreas Streicher exchanged ideas with Beethoven about the latter’s 1803 Erard piano. Andreas discusses this instrument, the Erard company, and features of Erard instruments in several letters. Matthäus Stein, who was then leading his own workshop, may have been the Viennese craftsperson who made alterations to this instrument, see Tom Beghin, *Beethoven’s French Piano: A Tale of Ambition and Frustration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022), 16, 23–24, 313–315; Tilman Skowronek, “Beethoven’s Erard Piano: Its Influence on His Compositions and on Viennese Fortepiano Building,” *Early Music* 30, no. 4 (2002): 525–527. A Streicher piano is also mentioned in a letter from Pierre Erard in London to Sébastien Erard in Paris, July 29, 1824, Robert Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp in Letters and Documents, 1785–1959: Erard Family Correspondence*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 826–827; Robert Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 101.

¹⁷ Historian Paul-André Rosental notes that, while it had its dangers, migration provided women in France with significant opportunities for upward mobility, Paul-André Rosental, “Between Macro and Micro: Theorizing Agency in Nineteenth-Century French Migrations,” *French Historical Studies* 29, no. 3 (2006): 465–467, 474–475. On internal migration in the Holy Roman Empire, see Luca Scholz, *Borders and Freedom of Movement in the Holy Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 1–11, 88–89.

in which she sometimes participated, she was able to revive personal, professional, and political connections established by her father.

Though my subjects were workers and not upper-class women of leisure, it is important to acknowledge that they were white and comparatively wealthy figures from broadly middle-class trade families. William Weber, Amanda Vickery, and Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, and many others have shown that there was no unified middle-class in European societies this period; they were a geographically varied and heterogeneous assemblage of people from a variety of backgrounds and industries who were often defined against what they were not (the poor on the one hand and the upper and/or aristocratic classes on the other).¹⁸ Furthermore, class was but one factor in a person's social status. In addition to class, status involved a complex and shifting combination of many factors, including education, income and wealth, occupation, cultural capital, material signifiers, religion and religious expression, marriage status, social networks, and gender.¹⁹ Nannette and the Marcoux sisters' positions meant that they exercised not insignificant power and privilege within their families and communities. But despite this relative privilege, such middling-class women pose problems for historians: Nicola Phillips argues that they "do not fit comfortably into either the Marxist category of exploited workers or the feminist category of exploited women" and that there is a corresponding "lack of conceptual space" for analyzing these women in relation to both gender and labour.²⁰ My solutions are to consider many facets of social status—including gender, occupation, family, wealth, and marriage—together rather than in isolation, and to explore, where possible, my subjects' potential for agency.

¹⁸ See Crossick and Haupt's discussion of the *petite bourgeoisie* and their connection to small businesses; Vickery on the dominance of the terms "genteel" and "polite" as class classifiers and their interaction with gender in Regency England; and Weber (citing Robert Foster) on the confusion of defining the "middle-class" and its relationship to musical culture. Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe, 1780–1914: Enterprise, Family, and Independence* (London: Routledge, 1995), 3–9; Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 13–15; William Weber, "The Muddle of the Middle Classes," *19th-Century Music* 3, no. 2 (1979): 176–177.

¹⁹ Class itself may be nuanced by details such as birth family and the family one marries into, and wealth by how it was acquired, by whom, and in what form, such as land, capital, or trade. The concept of cultural capital comes from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, see Pierre Bourdieu, "Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986). For discussion of the ways in which gender and music operated as cultural capital in France during this period, see Rebecca Dowd Geoffroy-Schwinden, "Music as Feminine Capital in Napoleonic France: Nancy MacDonald's Musical Upbringing," *Music and Letters* 100, no. 2 (2019).

²⁰ Nicola Phillips, *Women in Business, 1700–1850* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 9.

1. Theoretical frameworks

My approach to gender in piano making and music publishing is by necessity interdisciplinary. Feminist concerns about women's history motivate both my choice of subject and several of the theories upon which I draw, namely the relationships between gender, labour, and family. I build on musicological literature regarding women, gender, and pianos, as well as scholarship on women in instrument-making hailing from organology and research on women in publishing (both of music and other subjects). I draw on the frameworks of presumption (from cultural theory) and critical approaches to music dedications in my gender-informed approach to Nannette's pianos and Mlle Erard's sheet music, and I employ scholarship from legal history and existing studies of Erard Frères sales records to interpret contracts and financial documents. Finally, feminist theory informs my methods, namely in my use of feminist-influenced close reading of historical documents, my foremost category of evidence. This section serves as an introduction to my frameworks and methods: I explore much of this literature in further detail in the core chapters.

1.1. *Gender, labour, and family*

The intersections of gender, labour, and family have been a key area of inquiry for feminist scholars since the very emergence of the field and were at least initially rooted in Marxist thought. As feminism is at its core concerned with power, economic questions of who does what, the conditions that enable them to undertake work, and how (or if) they are remunerated have ongoing relevance. To interpret Nannette's and the Marcoux sisters' work in ways that are historically appropriate, I draw on scholarship from feminist history, business history, and feminist musicology that addresses gender in relation to work.²¹

One longstanding theory that many feminist historians are now reassessing is that of the "family economy." This theory acknowledged the existence of women's labour but often restricted that labour within the boundaries of the family unit: it remained unable to explain

²¹ Though not necessarily addressed directly in this thesis, my approach to feminism and feminist musicology as both a person and a scholar is also based on the following. I follow Judith Butler's assertion that both gender and sex are socially constructed and historically contingent; I reject biological essentialism which sees gendered traits as inherent; I support a trans inclusive feminism which respects every person's right to define their own gender. My use of the terms women/men are meant to be inclusive of all people who identify with those terms; and I value an intersectional approach (which comes from the rich tradition of African-American feminisms) that calls for an understanding of not just how gender operates, but how gender interacts with race, class, ability, religion, and all elements of identity that may be relevant in a given context.

women's work that operated outside the family. The work of scholars like Daryl M. Hafter and Nina Kushner has moved beyond the family economy model and instead stresses the normativity of women's paid work in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, both within and independent from family groupings.²² These scholars emphasize women's widespread economic success (defined as the ability to support oneself financially) and locate women at the centre of economic changes like the consumer revolution. In other words, they view women as active economic agents. Furthermore, they highlight how attending to the interactions between gender and economic, political, and legal factors—such as the introduction of France's Civil Code in 1804—is crucial to understanding women's work and the ways they negotiated their livelihoods. The impact of the Civil Code on the Marcoux sisters and their marriage contracts is explored in Chapter One, and the role of “gender guardianship” (*Geschlechtsvormundschaft*) and the concept of the household in Nannette's life is considered in Chapter Two.

Though the family economy model is not sufficiently flexible for my purposes, the family as an idea is nevertheless important for understanding women's *and* men's labour in the early nineteenth century. Family relations were intimately tied to work during this period: business historians like Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt examine how the small businesses of shopkeepers and craftspeople frequently relied on the labour of immediate and extended family, a significant shift away from the master-apprentice relationships prioritized by eighteenth-century guilds.²³ Historian Suzanne Desan's working definition of the family is helpful for understanding this and other intersections: she views the family as “a socioeconomic institution, [...] a network of social relationships, [and] a group of individuals engaged in negotiation and conflict over resources, gender roles, legal identity, and domestic authority.”²⁴ Desan shows that political change in Revolutionary France resulted in legal and social developments that fundamentally affected ideas about family and how family members related to one another. For example, the introduction of divorce and inheritance laws that no longer discriminated by gender economically benefited women and reconfigured power dynamics within families (though many innovations were rolled back by the Civil Code of 1804).²⁵ Rather than accepting family units

²² Daryl M. Hafter and Nina Kushner, introduction to *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Daryl M. Hafter and Nina Kushner (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 1–15.

²³ Crossick and Haupt, 9.

²⁴ Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 5.

²⁵ Desan, 4.

and relationships as “natural,” Desan’s approach encourages critical assessment of how and why family members interacted in certain ways. Understanding the Erard-Marcoux and Streicher-Stein families as social, economic, and legal units as described by Desan enables me to develop more nuanced analyses of how gender impacted the lives and work of my subjects. The ways in which members of these families negotiated gender, work, property, and other family-related matters are explored in Chapters One and Two.

There have been major shifts in how historians studying gender, labour, and family view women’s activities in this period. In the 1930s through to the 1980s, pioneering scholars such as Ivy Pinchbeck, Joan Wallach Tilly, Louise A. Scott, and Bonnie Smith argued that industrialization in particular caused women to withdraw from work in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁶ But more recent research by the likes of business historians Béatrice Craig and B. Zorina Khan vigorously contest this argument. Their research has shown that legal and practical obstacles, combined with discursive frameworks that restricted and erased women from certain spaces and activities (like the stock exchange), did not automatically mean that real women did not in practice participate in masculinized areas like business and finance.²⁷ In addition to critiquing the much-derided notion of separate spheres, Craig argues (contra Smith) that there was no withdrawal: women continued to engage in business activities in northern France while navigating ideologies that conflated femininity, domesticity, leisure, and the private.²⁸ She also shows the variety of family- and non-family based configurations through which women could engage in business, for example as “deputy husbands,” “leading wives,” widows, in partnership with siblings, or with unrelated business partners.²⁹ In another study using quantitative data about Parisian businesswomen drawn from articles of association and

²⁶ Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850*, London School of Economics Studies in Economic and Social History, (London: Routledge, 1930); Joan W. Scott and Louise A. Tilly, “Women’s Work and the Family in Nineteenth-Century Europe,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 1 (1975); Bonnie G. Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981); Louise A. Tilly and Joan Wallach Scott, *Women, Work and Family* (New York: Routledge, 1989). For a thorough overview of this earlier stage of the field, see Phillips, 3–14.

²⁷ On women and the French stock exchange, see Alexia Yates, “The Invisible Rentière: The Problem of Women and Investment in Nineteenth-Century France,” *Entreprises et histoire* 107, no. 2 (2022).

²⁸ Béatrice Craig, *Female Enterprise behind the Discursive Veil in Nineteenth-Century Northern France* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 1–7, 10.

²⁹ See Chapter Three, “Manufacturers and Merchants in the First Half of the Nineteenth-Century,” Craig, 64–66, 71–78.

trade directories, Craig concludes decisively that “neither source supports the notion of a significant permanent female retreat from the world of business in the nineteenth century.”³⁰

Building on findings of scholars like Craig, others have explored how family businesses also provide possibilities for women that might have been otherwise unavailable. In her research on patenting practices among French and American women in the first half of the nineteenth century, B. Zorina Khan shows that family firms could be an invaluable source of support for women in business, providing them with means of navigating systems that would otherwise disadvantage them. She writes that “family-based enterprises can play a productive role by offering a conduit for the contributions of relatively disadvantaged groups, and allow women, in particular, to participate in the market economy as managers and entrepreneurs” and that these kinship networks could “compensate for lack of market access and high transactions costs, through the provision of patronage, reputation, trust, the ability to monitor group members more effectively, and by substituting the personhood of the firm for that of the individual.”³¹ The extensive literature available on women, family, business, and work from a feminist perspective to which Craig and Khan have contributed indicates that it is high time for an assessment of women’s commercial contributions to the music industry. There are clear but complex connections between family and business in my two case studies which will receive attention in the first two chapters.

Relationships and the wider networks they form have long been important areas of study in the social sciences and the humanities and have been theorized through the frameworks of social networks, actor-network theory, and other alternatives. Actor-network theory—devised by philosopher-sociologists like Bruno Latour who consider both human and non-human actors as participants in webs of connection—has been adapted by many music scholars. Its application is demonstrated, for instance, by Paul Watt’s and Sarah Collins’s introduction to a special issue of *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* on the topic of music criticism networks, where the authors consider the relationships and transfer of knowledge between European music critics the

³⁰ Béatrice Craig, “A Constant Presence: The Businesswomen of Paris, 1810–1880,” in *Female Entrepreneurs in the Long Nineteenth Century: A Global Perspective*, ed. Jennifer Aston and Catherine Bishop, Palgrave Studies in Economic History (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 120.

³¹ B. Zorina Khan, “Invisible Women: Entrepreneurship, Innovation, and Family Firms in Nineteenth-Century France,” *The Journal of Economic History* 76, no. 1 (2016): 165–166.

nineteenth century and the structures and institutions that shaped those exchanges.³² The concept of social networks, meanwhile, was first conceptualized by Jeremy Boissevain in the 1970s and adapted by scholars across disciplines, including sociolinguist Lesly Milroy.³³ In her study of language change in Belfast, Milroy analyzes human networks by considering the quality of relationships, namely their “density” (meaning how many ties a person has) and “multiplexity” (what kind of ties), as well as their “strength” or “weakness.” Social network theory provides helpful background to my discussion my subjects’ relationships, as it provides language for describing the strength and multilayered nature of the kinship and commercial ties that the Marcoux sisters and Nannette had with the relatives they worked and lived alongside, as well as with their wider musical circles. Because I will be primarily interested in the relationships themselves in Chapters One and Two, as opposed to what might be transferred through those relationships, I do not employ either actor-network theory or social network theory as key frameworks, but rather view them as part of the intellectual backdrop to my discussion of inter-personal relations.

The relationships between historical businesswomen, their customers, and the societies in which they worked have received a different kind of attention from literary scholars. Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, for example, has studied written discourse on gender, labour, and consumption in this period with a focus on the masculinization of work and business. Kowaleski-Wallace has explored how historical business texts like Daniel Defoe’s manual *The Complete English Tradesman* (1726) delineated the roles of seller and buyer by gender.³⁴ Such texts sought to apply reason and control to the act of selling and associate these concepts with the masculine, while the male shopkeeper was also characterized as the “active” party in mercantile transactions. Meanwhile, the “passive” acts of buying and consuming were associated with the woman customer whose decision-making was considered irrational and dominated by her emotions. In its application of the emerging gender binary to business history, Kowaleski-Wallace’s framework explains one of the ideologies that rendered the idea of the businesswoman

³² Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Paul Watt and Sarah Collins, “Critical Networks,” *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 14, no. 1 (2017). For an overview of the use of actor-network theory (ANT) in the field, see Benjamin Piekut, “Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques,” *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014)..

³³ Lesley Milroy, *Language and Social Networks*, vol. 2, *Language in Society*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980).

³⁴ Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 84.

contradictory, despite the widespread existence of such women across eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. Her approach provides context for the ways in which Nannette and the Marcoux sisters publicly presented themselves as musical businesswomen working in a time when their work was normative yet questioned by contemporaneous discourses about gender and work. In Chapters Three and Four, I explore how my subjects negotiated gender and public image in their respective contexts, while Chapter Three also considers women as music consumers.

The intersection of gender and labour with music is also an area of focus for feminist musicologists like Sherrie Tucker and Glenda Goodman. In her study of “all-girl” swing bands in 1940s America and across a range of jazz studies articles, Tucker has unpacked the many forms of gendered and racialized labour that women musicians in jazz undertook because of the dictates of the systems in which they worked. For example, she identifies a narrative of marginalization which casts black women in particular as exceptions who prove the rule when they manage to carve out a place in the music industry. A story of an exceptional woman can fit into a narrative dominated by men without disturbing the status quo; this trope severs women from their contexts and creates a repeatable, even ahistorical and neoliberal narrative of individual overcoming.³⁵ It also spins a tale of what Tucker calls the “perpetual phenomena phenomenon” or “perpetual emergence” where subsequent generations feel as though they are starting afresh, with little awareness that older women have already faced similar battles.³⁶ By reminding us that women’s musical activities *are labour* and providing a range of tools through which to understand that labour, Tucker models how we might tease out the interactions of gender, labour, and music in other historical periods.

In *Cultivated by Hand: Amateur Musicians in the Early American Republic*, Goodman explores themes of gender, labour, class, and material culture in relation to handmade music books created by women and girls in North America during the 1780s and 90s. She discusses what she calls “occupational and non-occupational musical labour,” highlighting music book making as non-professional and unpaid labour that should be seen as work of value and cultural significance; in so doing she “proposes to blur the gendered construction of a producer–

³⁵ Tucker, “Big Ears,” 384–385; Sherrie Tucker, “Beyond the Brass Ceiling: Dolly Jones Trumpets Modernity in Oscar Micheaux’s *Swing!*,” *Jazz Perspectives* 3, no. 1 (2009): 7.

³⁶ Sherrie Tucker, *Swing Shift: “All-Girl” Bands of the 1940s* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 330.

consumer binary.”³⁷ Goodman also provides a nuanced reading of the conditions that enabled her subjects to engage in the work of making music books and how that intersected with gender, class, and race.³⁸ She highlights her subjects’ agency, reminding us that this does not mean attempting to access their internal states (which is impossible, especially with so little evidence), but rather looking at how they might shape or present themselves to and for others through musical objects.³⁹ Goodman’s drawing together of these threads suggests a growing interest in the intersection of labour, gender, and music of the late eighteenth century and provides cogent links between these issues that serve as guidelines for my own research.

1.2. *Women, gender, and pianos*

There is a significant body of research on the topic of women and pianos, which primarily focuses on performance and composition. For example, James Parakilas’s *Piano Roles* provides an overview of piano history that is typical in its treatment of gender in relation to this instrument.⁴⁰ Parakilas’s broad goal is to explore the cultural functions of the piano in Europe and the United States since the eighteenth century. One framework he uses for approaching women and pianos is that of “accomplishment,” within which piano playing serves as feminized work that provides recreation for the patriarchal family, as well as acting as a tool of courtship and surveillance.⁴¹ The private/public divide is another framework he uses: in the chapter on piano pedagogy, Parakilas argues that learning and playing the instrument was a private activity for girls and women and that public performance was transgressive.⁴²

These themes appear frequently in scholarship on the piano. The piano as a means of control over women and their sexuality has been theorized by Richard Leppert, who sees performance of piano music as an act of “containment” and discipline for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women.⁴³ Leppert’s view has been challenged by musicologists who seek

³⁷ Glenda Goodman, *Cultivated by Hand: Amateur Musicians in the Early American Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 13–14, 18–19.

³⁸ See especially Chapter Three, “Consumerism and the Materiality of Music Books,” on family, trade, music and other luxury goods, and the economic realities of the materials they consisted of, Goodman, 103–135.

³⁹ Goodman, 8–9.

⁴⁰ James Parakilas, *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).

⁴¹ Parakilas and Wheelock, 78–79.

⁴² James Parakilas et al., “The Piano Lesson,” in *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, CT: Yale Nota Bene, 2002), 114.

⁴³ See Leppert, *Music and Image*; Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*.

approaches that allow historical women greater agency in their engagements with piano music. Prominent here is Matthew Head's research on gender in eighteenth-century north German culture, which has provided alternative ways of understanding music marketed to women (a category dominated by keyboard music).⁴⁴ Head argues that containment—often manifested in overt “easiness” and avoidance of virtuosity—is an “official” or top-down discourse on women's musical performance. He suggests that there were various avenues for resistance, including contradictions in the musical content, the multiplicity available in performance itself, and in alternative contemporary views that challenged official discourse.⁴⁵ The private/public and amateur/professional binary used by Parakilas is also commonly invoked in relation to women's musical performance but has been problematized as inflexible by scholarship on the realities of nineteenth-century concert life, not to mention by the success of professional pianists like Wieck-Schumann.⁴⁶

Links between piano playing and performance of gender is another key theme in scholarship on women and pianos. Ruth Solie's use of the concepts of gender performance and “girling” from Judith Butler is notable here.⁴⁷ Solie argues that playing the piano was one means by which girls enacted and were inculcated with bourgeois ideas of femininity: they “girled” and learnt how to become ideal women through their engagements with the instrument. Drawing more on feminist musicology than performativity, Tia DeNora also addresses performance of gender through the piano. She explores how women pianists in Vienna ca. 1800 constructed their gender through repertoire choices and technique, namely by avoiding the piano works of Beethoven and by using a “quiet” gestural vocabulary associated with Mozart and Hummel.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Matthew Head, “‘If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 2 (1999).

⁴⁵ Other scholars who address the containment/liberty discussion include Erin Helyard and Elizabeth Morgan. Erin Helyard, *Clementi and the Woman at the Piano: Virtuosity and the Marketing of Music in Eighteenth-Century London*, Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press on behalf of Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford, 2022), 73–118, 151–194; Morgan, 70–75.

⁴⁶ See Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 100–104; David Ferris, “Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara Wieck's Concerts in Berlin,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 2 (2003): 353–355.

⁴⁷ Ruth A. Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 86.

⁴⁸ Tia DeNora, “Embodiment and Opportunity: Bodily Capital, Gender, and Reputation in Beethoven's Vienna,” in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004). See also the work of Katherine Ellis, on whose research DeNora's argument draws: Katharine Ellis, “Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, no. 2/3 (1997). Tilman Skowronek, however, notes that DeNora's arguments around Beethoven's influence on piano technology are formed “on an unstable organological basis.” He refers here

Chapter Four, which considers Nannette as a pianist and piano maker, will build on this area of scholarship to interpret how reception of Nannette connected to mainstream ideas about gender and piano playing. The Marcoux sisters were also pianists, as well as harpists and singers: Chapter Three thus looks at how their musical performance intersected with their gender and their roles as professional music and dedicatees of musical works.

In terms of composition, associations of the piano (and other keyboards) with domesticity and femininity made these instruments important in the output of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women composers. But musicologists have also drawn other ties between keyboard composition and gender. In his chapter on the composer and music director Sophia Westenholz, Head links what he terms “female ascendance” in eighteenth-century musical culture to the rising prestige of the keyboard.⁴⁹ Through Westenholz’s biography and solo keyboard works Head traces changes in how women composers were received in the more explicitly “masculinist” nineteenth century. Scholarship on later composers like Wieck-Schumann and Fanny Mendelssohn-Hensel has, for example, explored relationships between gender and their compositional style. Among others, Jeffrey Kallberg has looked at ways these composers both subverted and worked with “feminine” genres like the nocturne, expressing contradiction and ambiguity in their engagements with generic features like form and harmonic tension.⁵⁰ While I do not perceive explicit engagement with gender in Nannette’s published compositions for the keyboard, Chapter Four proposes another means by which gender and piano composition might interact, in her case as part of a negotiation of public persona, piano making, and piano playing through sound.

1.3. *Prosumption*

Nannette and the Marcoux sisters inhabited multiple roles in relation to music. To account for this, I follow Emily Green’s application of the concept of “prosumption” to music publishers at the turn of the nineteenth century. Developed by the cultural theorists George Ritzer, Paul Dean,

to DeNora’s *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), which her 2004 chapter builds on to develop its reading of gender, piano technique, and repertoire. Skowronek, 536n533; Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 126–127, 129–135, 175–179.

⁴⁹ Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 161.

⁵⁰ Jeffrey Kallberg, “The Harmony of the Tea Table: Gender and Ideology in the Piano Nocturne,” *Representations*, no. 39 (1992).

and Nathan Jurgenson, prosumption collapses the false binary between production and consumption and highlights the ways that producers are also consumers and consumers can be producers. Drawing on this scholarship, Green suggests that to understand music publishers' actions we should see them as hybrid producer-consumers, or "prosumers."⁵¹ In support of this claim, she views documents like catalogues and periodical advertisements as examples of conspicuous and excessive consumption on the part of publishers. These sources show that publishers used their stock as markers of status and modeled modes of consumption for their customers.

Prosumption is a helpful framework for understanding the activities of both the Marcoux sisters and Nannette as there is ample evidence that they used their own products in ways that are significant in relation to gender. In Chapters Three and Four, I will apply prosumption in quite literal terms: the Marcoux sisters and Nannette were not only prosumers in the broad sense that they were producers as well as consumers, or that they produced and consumed musical products in general, but that they consumed *their own products*. Furthermore, their gender was a key factor in shaping their prosumption and their interaction with their own merchandise; for example, few male piano makers were also pianists, suggesting that Nannette's gender may have been significant in her becoming a pianist, and her piano playing was also an important factor in her work as a piano maker. Gender also situated my subjects in meaning-laden webs of association regarding consumption: men consumed as much as women, but women were culturally associated with consumption and men with production (see the discussion of Kowaleski-Wallace's work above). Like Goodman—though with slightly different tools—I destabilize the production-consumption dichotomy in relation musical culture and gender instead of viewing these processes in isolation, thus employing a framework that better accounts for the varied ways my subjects engaged with music and its goods as nineteenth-century women.

⁵¹ Emily H. Green, "Music's First Consumers: Publishers in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Consuming Music: Individuals, Institutions, Communities, 1730–1830*, ed. Emily H. Green and Catherine Mayes, Eastman Studies in Music (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2017), 18, 23.

2. Methodologies and approaches

2.1. Organology and historical keyboard studies

Further perspectives on pianos come from scholarship on the historical instruments made by Nannette and her family members. As much of the literature on the piano maker and her work lies in organology, I engage with elements of this research in both Chapters Two and Four. However, as a musicologist who is concerned with the social dimensions of gender, I do not engage substantively with organological debates and the specificities of instruments. This is not to say that instrument technology does not relate to gender (it certainly can), but such arguments are outside the purview of this dissertation. Organologists and historical keyboardists who have written about the Streicher-Stein family and their instruments include Michael Latham, Tilman Skowronek, Peter Donhauser, Alexander Langer, and Robin Blanton. Many of these sources also double as secondary literature on Nannette's life and relationships, so to avoid repetition, I survey this scholarship in the next section of this introduction.

Research that provides a helpful bridge between organological studies on the one hand and gender-focused research on the other is the work of Jenny Nex, who was also a co-editor of the Erard letters (see below in this Introduction).⁵² In her writings on instrument-making in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century London, Nex looks at the kinds of work women carried out in workshops and presents case studies on individual women, including Mary Shudi and Barbara Shudi Broadwood of the well-known Broadwood family of piano makers. Using sources like insurance records, probate inventories, and periodicals, Nex shows how extensive women's participation was in instrument making, despite the hidden nature of much of this work. Her research offers essential context for my work on Nannette in Chapter Two by showing not only what kinds of primary documents are useful when studying women in instrument-making, but also by demonstrating that Nannette was not the only woman who worked in this trade. Nex therefore offers an antidote to the exceptional woman trope that pervades biographies of this woman piano maker.

⁵² Jenny Nex, "Women in the Musical Instrument Trade in London, 1750–1810," in *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Roberto Illiano and Luca Sala, Ad Parnassum Studies (Bologna: UT Orpheus, 2010); Jenny Nex, "The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London" (Ph.D. diss. Goldsmiths, University of London, 2013), <http://research.gold.ac.uk/id/eprint/9606>

2.2. Music publishing, women and publishing

Like the history of instrument making, there is little published research on women in music publishing. One notable exception is Sylvette Milliot's work on the early eighteenth-century French printer-publisher Elizabeth Catherine Ballard Boivin and her husband François Boivin.⁵³ Both husband and wife were from veritable music publishing dynasties and Milliot calls the marriage "a personal success, but also certainly a professional success."⁵⁴ Using surviving documents, she details how Elizabeth continued to grow a successful business for over twenty years following François's death in 1733. The Boivin case therefore serves as a precedent for the activities of the Milles Erard as women music publishers working in Paris seventy years later.

To build a fuller picture of the context in which the Marcoux sisters worked, I turn to literature on women in printing and publishing in France and England, and general music publishing sources regarding Europe. Examples of scholarship on women and printing include contributions by historians Geraldine Sheridan and C. J. Mitchell.⁵⁵ Family, women's agency, and difficulties with visibility in the historical record are themes in both studies. Sheridan looks at a range of legal documents including police records to reveal the importance of women's work to the eighteenth-century book trade in France. She describes the specific activities women engaged in, such as working behind the counter, and the significance of family as a source of training and entry into business. She also explores how women negotiated a legal system which officially restricted and obscured their labour. Mitchell's chapter is a broader overview of women's work in the book trades and as such includes less discussion of primary sources; it also focuses on Britain. He looks at the tasks undertaken by women, emphasizes that they acted both with and independently from men, and explores differences in rights for women as daughters, wives, spinsters, and widows. The resounding message from both Mitchell and Sheridan's studies is that women participated extensively in all aspects of the book trade (which, for Mitchell, explicitly includes music) in France and Britain.⁵⁶ When viewed in relation to Anik Devriès and François Lesure's *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, which reveals that

⁵³ Sylvette Milliot, "Un couple de marchands de musique au XVIIIe siècle: Les Boivin," *Revue de musicologie* 54, no. 1 (1968).

⁵⁴ My translation: "une réussite humaine, mais, à coup sûr, une réussite professionnelle." Milliot, 107.

⁵⁵ Geraldine Sheridan, "Women in the Booktrade in Eighteenth-Century France," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 15, no. 1 (2008); C. J. Mitchell, "Women in the Eighteenth-Century Book Trades," in *Writers, Books, and Trade: An Eighteenth-Century Miscellany for William B. Todd*, ed. William B. Todd and O. M. Brack (New York: AMS Press, 1994).

⁵⁶ Mitchell, 37, 51–52.

numerous women were participating in music publishing in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France (discussed further below), the work of Milliot, Sheridan, and Mitchell show that the activities of the Marcoux sisters as women in music publishing and selling were relatively normative in their historical context; I will return to this topic in Chapter One.⁵⁷

There is a wealth of sources available on the history of music publishing, including important contributions by Rudolf Rasch.⁵⁸ Rasch's introductory volume *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900* covers topics such as printing technologies, economics, copyright law, and relationships between actors in the music market. Specific topics within this collection that are relevant to my research are the historical factors which created the publisher as a distinct role (such as the increase in demand for printed music), the activities publishers engaged in, relationships between publishers, and relationships between publishers and consumers. This professional context for the Marcoux sisters' activities is a focus of Chapter One, where I explore primary evidence of their work found in letters, financial records, and other documents.

2.3. Critical approaches to music dedications and title pages

My analysis of Mlles Erard sheet music in Chapter Three draws on Emily Green's study of dedications and title pages to explore the functions of dedications to these women music publishers. In *Dedicating Music*, Green explores what music dedications can tell us about interactions between actors like composers, publishers, patrons, and purchasers, as well as the slow development of a European market economy for music in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She sees sheet music as a "mediator" between human actors and views it as a material object whose "paratexts" and "epitexts" (related non-musical content on title pages and in advertisements and reviews) contribute greatly to our understanding of musical culture.⁵⁹ In doing so, Green also provides valuable insight into the obscured but vital and varied roles of music publishers and the music selling process. For example, dedications highlight negotiations for authorial control between publishers and composers and reveal how publishers also served as

⁵⁷ Anik Devriès and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français: des origines à environ 1820*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Geneva: Minkoff, 1979); Anik Devriès and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français: de 1820 à 1914*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Geneva: Minkoff, 1988).

⁵⁸ Rudolf Rasch, introduction to *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues Bibliography*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005); Rudolf Rasch, *The Circulation of Music in Europe 1600–1900: A Collection of Essays and Case Studies* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008).

⁵⁹ Emily H. Green, *Dedicating Music, 1785–1850* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2019), 4.

consumers. More broadly, Green thinks critically about music publishers, sheet music, and their interactions and thus provides a model for my study of Mlles Erard and their products.

Tom Beghin also explores what dedications can reveal about relationships and musical networks in the eighteenth century. In *The Virtual Haydn: Paradox of a Twenty-First Century Keyboardist*, Beghin considers Haydn's dedications of keyboard works in relation to rhetoric, performance practice, and gender, among other themes. Through two chapters—"A Composer, His Dedicatee, Her Instrument, and I," and "'Your Most Humble and Obedient Servant'"—Beghin traces the roles of the "keyboardist-orator," the dedicatee, and the possible relationships between these figures by looking at Haydn's dedications to the professional pianist Theresa Jansen (Grand Sonata in C major, Hob. XVI:50, and Sonata in E-flat major, Hob. XVI:52) and the then new member of the Esterhazy family Princess Marie Esterházy (Sonatas in G major, B-flat major, and D major, Hob. XVI:40–42), as well as the processes that went on behind works written for or dedicated to Marianne von Genzinger, Marianna and Katharina von Auenbrugger, and other women keyboardists.⁶⁰ Beghin compares the "ladies' sonata" for Marie Esterházy with the genre of letter writing to complicate this dismissive description of such pieces, considers how the roles of the keyboardist-orator and dedicatee might overlap in Jansen's case, and traces how dedications and their meaning change depending on their local context (where they take place and what actors are involved). Beghin's approach to Haydn's dedicatory practices thus demonstrates the relational nuances that can be discerned from placing dedications in dialogue with historical documents, concepts, and performance.

Inspired by Green's and Beghin's critical view of dedications and the relationships they capture, I present analyses of title pages for the self-dedicated Mlles Erard works and of treatise/user manual for Nannette's pianos, written by her husband, in Chapters Three and Four. The method I employ involves examining typography (including font, relative text size, and placement), noting the names of the actors, and identifying information like title, instrumentation, addresses, price, copyright phrases, and particularities of the dedicatory phrase, if relevant. I consider what text is printed, handwritten, or added through other methods such as

⁶⁰ Tom Beghin, *The Virtual Haydn: Paradox of a Twenty-First Century Keyboardist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 1–42, 127–167. The dedication of pieces to Jansen by Clementi, Dussek, Haydn, and Solar—as well as Jansen's own compositions—are also the subject of an article by Katelyn Clark, see Katelyn Clark, "The London Pianist: Theresa Jansen and The English Works of Haydn, Dussek, and Clementi," *Haydn: The Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America* 2, no. 1 (2012), <https://www.rit.edu/affiliate/haydn/london-pianist-theresa-jansen-and-english-works-haydn-dussek-and-clementi>.

stamping. I then compare the title pages with one another and contextualize them in their historical moment using other documents like letters, advertisements, publishers' catalogues, and financial records, to consider what they can tell us about the relationships between the actors named, or not named, on the page.

2.4. *Feminist close reading*

Analysis of a wide range of written historical documents is central to this dissertation. These documents include but are not limited to marriage and business contracts, obituaries, personal and business letters, diaries, promotional materials, periodical articles, and court cases. My analysis employs close reading informed by feminist scholarship in conjunction with secondary sources on gender and women's experiences in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gender is a foremost consideration in this form of close reading. My approach is illustrated by the following points I consider when encountering a text. First, I ask who is being represented, how they are named, the genre of the text, whether it appeared in a larger publication, and who might have read it. For more substantial texts, I look at how the person is represented, what actions they are doing, whether there are invocations of gender, gendered imagery or concepts, labour, class, and the body, and whether or how musical sound or instruments feature. The author's relationship to and attitude towards the subject is also of note. I pay particular attention to pronouns, indications of possession, whether agency is attributed to the person, and the structure or ordering of ideas. As I must translate most of my texts from German or French into English, I refer to historical dictionaries for select key terms, where appropriate. For legal documents like contracts, I explore how those documents might affect subjects differently depending on their gender and economic status—for example, there were different legal conditions placed on adult men and women; married and unmarried women; women traders and employees.

As women are often obscured in the written record, I furthermore employ “oppositional” reading for particular texts: that is, I read between the lines and consider what is conspicuously absent from documents in order to highlight the agency and activities of my chosen figures.⁶¹ A

⁶¹ Jasmina Lukić and Adelina Sánchez Espinosa, “Feminist Perspectives on Close Reading,” in *Theories and Methodologies in Postgraduate Feminist Research: Researching Differently*, ed. Rosemarie Buikema, Gabriele Griffin, and Nina Lykke (Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 109.

model of feminist close reading from within musicology is one of Suzanne Cusick's landmark articles on composer and singer Francesca Caccini.⁶² Cusick analyzes a footnote about Caccini from an oft-cited, late nineteenth-century history of Italian music by Alessandro Ademollo. In deliberate contrast to earlier biographies of Caccini, Cusick asks "different questions" about sources like Ademollo's. Rather than taking his biography of Caccini at face value, Cusick interprets the symbolic, gendered meanings of claims like "[she] died of cancer of the mouth" through an historical lens, relating this claim to contemporaneous ideas about Caccini's work as a singer. Like Cusick, I ask "different questions" of my primary sources, questions that prioritize gender and aim to provide new interpretations of historical texts about Nannette and the Marcoux sisters.

2.5. *Analyzing legal and financial documents*

To supplement my close reading methodology in Chapter One, I use secondary literature from legal history and existing studies of Erard Frères financial records to interpret the Marcoux sisters' marriage contracts, on the one hand, and Mlles Erard-related transactions, on the other. For the marriage contracts, I compare the information they contain with wealth data and specific phrases gathered by Jacques Lelièvre in his expansive study of Parisian marriage contracts before and after the Revolution, *La pratique des contrats de mariage chez les notaires au Châtelet de Paris de 1769 à 1804*.⁶³ I interpret financial elements of the contracts by using definitions provided by feminist historians like Desan and consider specific contract articles in relation to the contents of the Civil and Commercial Codes—which reformed French customary law in the first decade of the nineteenth century—with reference to studies of law, gender, and the economy by scholars including Clare Haru Crowston, Jean-Pierre Nandrin, and Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux.⁶⁴

⁶² Suzanne G. Cusick, "'Thinking from Women's Lives': Francesca Caccini after 1627," *The Musical Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (1993).

⁶³ Jacques Lelièvre, *La pratique des contrats de mariage chez les notaires au Châtelet de Paris de 1769 à 1804* (Paris: Éditions Cujas, 1959).

⁶⁴ Suzanne Desan, "'War between Brothers and Sisters': Inheritance Law and Gender Politics in Revolutionary France," *French Historical Studies* 20, no. 4 (1997); Clare Haru Crowston, *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, "Gender, Property, Economic Subsistence and Changes in Legislation in France: From Customs to Code Civil (1804)," *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014); Jean-Pierre Nandrin, "L'évolution du statut juridique de la femme indépendante," in *Hommes et normes: enjeux et débats du métier d'un historien*, ed. Pierre-Olivier De Broux, Histoire (Brussels: Presses de l'Université Saint-Louis, 2016).

Chapters One and Three also make use of entries regarding the sale of musical instruments found in the Erard Frères sales ledgers (*livres de ventes*) from between 1799 and 1833, which have been digitized and made available online by the Musée de la musique in Paris. I spent many hours combing through the digitized ledgers looking for entries relating to Mlles Erard, using key terms including titles and names for the sisters and their business (“Mlles Erard,” “Mme Bonnemaïson,” “Mme Delahante”) and more oblique references like “our nieces” (*nos nièces*) and “the music shop” (*le magasin de musique*). I also looked for mentions of the Marcoux sisters’ husbands and of any composers listed in the Mlles Erard catalogues. After transcribing these entries, I turned to the work of Robert Adelson, Beghin, and Blanton to interpret their content. Adelson has examined these records as a means of understanding Erard Frères’ business practices, while Beghin and Blanton have looked closely at entries regarding production of the *piano en forme de clavecin* to shed light on Beethoven’s acquisition of this model of Erard piano in 1803 (Adelson also addresses this in his chapter on Erard Frères’ gifts to composers).⁶⁵ Beghin and Blanton provide a primer for reading the ledgers: they cover the layout of entries (with “Doit” and “Avoir” columns indicating debit and credit) and define terms, abbreviations, and symbols used for elements such as instrument models, dates from the French Republican calendar, and actions like “owing” and “paid.” I applied the analysis modelled by Beghin and Blanton to the Mlles Erard-related transactions I identified in the ledgers to translate and decode what type of instrument was purchased, by whom, what it cost, who paid, and if any intermediaries are identified. Several of these entries had additional notes regarding Mlles Erard, and when placed in the context of connections between Mlles Erard, Erard Frères, and their composers, they revealed valuable information about the financial and social nature of those relationships.

3. Overview of secondary sources

3.1. Mlles Erard

The first of Devriès and Lesure’s two-volume *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français* contains the most comprehensive biography of the Marcoux sisters and their business to date.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Adelson, 24–45, 58–72; Tom Beghin and Robin Blanton, “Vignette 3: A Gift Not a Given,” *Beethoven’s French Piano: A Tale of Ambition and Frustration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022).

⁶⁶ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1; Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 2.

The volumes comprise an expansive reference text on publishers, printers, engravers, and sellers of music in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France. In addition to a short introduction that furnishes the reader with a basic understanding of music publishing in Paris, the first volume of this dictionary (from “origins” to ca. 1820) brings together essential biographical information on the sisters, their business, and its relationship to the Erard Frères company, as well as some interpretation of valuable primary sources from the Archives nationales in Paris, including marriage contracts and catalogues. The careful use of documents by Devriès and Lesure in this entry clarifies important dates (such as when the business was founded) and corrects the names and relationships of the sisters, which are left incomplete in sources like Cecil Hopkinson’s *A Dictionary of Parisian Music Publishers, 1700–1950*.⁶⁷ The second volume, which covers 1820 to 1914, contains an entry on the heir to the Mlles Erard business, Jules Delahante (Catherine-Barbe’s son), and provides information on what happened to the business after the elder sister Marie-Françoise retired in 1833. Devriès and Lesure also include numerous entries on other women working in the music publishing industry (I discuss this further in Chapter One) and, while they only mention gender in the context of women as music engravers in the volume one introduction, their relatively robust representation of women in the dictionary proper helps me reconstruct the gendered landscape in which Mlles Erard operated.⁶⁸

The research of Robert Adelson, Alain Roudier, Jenny Nex, Laure Barthel, and Michel Foussard on the Erard harp and piano company provides essential information on a business with which Mlles Erard was intimately associated.⁶⁹ Their English translations of surviving personal and business correspondence of the Erard company offer vital primary information about Mlles Erard, the extended Erard family, and the way family members and business associates interacted with one another. Mlles Erard grew out of the instrument-making company and shared contacts, some of whom—like the Lyonnaise music dealer Garnier—are represented in the Erard Frères correspondence. The musical networks that Adelson and his collaborators detail therefore

⁶⁷ Cecil Hopkinson, *A Dictionary of Parisian Music Publishers, 1700–1950* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), 41–42.

⁶⁸ On engravers see Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 13–14.

⁶⁹ Robert Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp in Letters and Documents, 1785–1959: Inventions, Business, Composers and Performers*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Robert Adelson, “Inside an Eighteenth-Century Instrument Builder’s Workshop: Erard’s Letter Copy Book (1791–1797),” *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 47 (2017).

shed light on those in which the Marcoux sisters were involved, including composers, music teachers, and dealers.⁷⁰

Adelson's individual research on the Erard family provides further historical context and analysis of primary sources useful for building a history of Mlles Erard. For example, his work on the Erard Frères letter copybooks explores correspondence between specific customers and the company about instruments and payment and contextualizes these sources in the logistical, financial, and political conditions of the Revolutionary period. He also notes that women have a strong presence in these records, which provides a basis from which to consider the role of women as music customers in this period.⁷¹ Adelson's monograph on the Erard family and the piano company provides deeper consideration of many of the shared relationship and primary sources found in the *Letters and Documents* project, as well as presenting new archival research based on documents from the private Erard family collections at the Château de Bourbilly. He addresses Mlles Erard in greater detail than previous studies, with particular reference to the publishing company's appearance in Erard Frères' financial records and to unpublished family letters. Without Adelson's work, it would have been considerably more difficult to reconstruct the story of the Marcoux sisters, their company, and their musical networks.

3.2. Nannette Streicher-Stein

The secondary literature on Nannette Streicher-Stein is far more substantial than that available on the Marcoux sisters, and there are several perceptible strands of scholarship: in addition to organology, Nannette features in published transcriptions of primary sources, Beethoven studies, and gender-focused research. In terms of English-language scholarship on historical keyboards, Michael Latham has been prolific, producing articles on the technical features of Nannette's instruments as well as those built by her father, Johann Andreas Stein, and her competitors in Vienna like Anton Walter.⁷² The collection of essays, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven: Change and Contrast*, includes the classic overview of the Streicher-Stein company's history,

⁷⁰ Adelson, "Erard's Letter Copy Book," 9–10.

⁷¹ Adelson, "Erard's Letter Copy Book," 12.

⁷² Michael Latham, "The Check in Some Early Pianos and the Development of Piano Technique around the Turn of the 18th Century," *Early Music* 21, no. 1 (1993); Michael Latham, "Mozart and the Pianos of Gabriel Anton Walter," *Early Music* 25, no. 3 (1997); Michael Latham, "Mozart and the Pianos of Johann Andreas Stein," *The Galpin Society Journal* 51 (1998); Michael Latham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven: Change and Contrast* (Munich: Musikverlag Bernd Katzschler, 2016).

including translations of key primary sources, and provides a thorough survey of surviving instruments, their features, and how they changed over time. Latcham discusses the roles each family member played in the business and emphasizes Nannette's leadership and active contributions to the company and piano history.

Tilman Skowroneck has also written numerous insightful publications on Nannette, Andreas, and Streicher-Stein instruments.⁷³ These cover a wide range of topics, including the couple's relationship with Beethoven and their exchanges about pianos, the correspondence between Andreas, Gottfried Christoph Härtel (1763–1827), and Georg August Griesinger (1769–1845) about piano technology and changing aesthetic preferences, the influence of French and English pianos on Streicher-Stein piano design, and the couple's interactions with customers regarding instruments, their maintenance, and capabilities. Like Latcham, Skowroneck provides technical expertise on the features of Nannette's instruments and how they changed over time, paired with musicological insight into the interactions between Viennese instruments and the pianism of composer-pianists like Beethoven. He also frequently reflects on the nature of the relationships between the human actors in these scenarios, including as it pertains to the division of labour between the Streicher-Stein couple.

The most recent large-scale study of the Streicher-Stein family and company comes from Peter Donhauser and piano maker Alexander Langer.⁷⁴ Accordingly, this study focuses on instruments and aspects of the Streicher-Stein business. Most of the book is taken up by research on the workshop, descriptions of specific instruments, and discussion of patents filed by Johann Baptist in the 1820s through 1840s. Primary documents relevant to Nannette include transcriptions of an inventory of the business upon Nannette's death in 1833, price lists, and reproductions of two portraits. Like Latcham and Skowroneck, Donhauser and Langer are

⁷³ Skowroneck's writings on the Streicher-Stein company include but are not limited to the following: Tilman Skowroneck, "Beethoven and the Orchestral Piano," in *Le pianoforte en France 1780–1820*, ed. Florence Gétéreau, Musique, images, instruments: revue française d'organologie et d'iconographie musicale (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2009); Tilman Skowroneck, *Beethoven the Pianist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Tilman Skowroneck, "A Brit in Vienna: Beethoven's Broadwood Piano," *Keyboard Perspectives* 5 (2012), <https://hdl.handle.net/1813/111267>; Tilman Skowroneck, "Andreas Streicher and Piano Building: Users, Distributors, and Invention," *Early Keyboard Journal* 30 (2013); Tilman Skowroneck, "Andreas Streichers Briefe an Gottlieb [recte: Gottfried] Härtel 1801–1810," in *Unisonus: Musikinstrumente erforschen, bewahren, sammeln*, ed. Beatrix Darmstädter and Ina Hoheisel (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2014); Tilman Skowroneck, "The Quest for 'Support Personnel': Viennese Fortepiano Maintenance for the Ladies, and by the Ladies," *Keyboard Perspectives* 9 (2016); Tilman Skowroneck, "Dorothea Krug's Streicher Piano," in *Clefs pour le piano/Keys to the Piano*, ed. Ziad Kreidy, Musiques XX–XXIe siècles (Château-Gontier: Aedam Musicae, 2018).

⁷⁴ Donhauser and Langer.

careful to attribute technical changes to both Nannette and Andreas in acknowledgement that the couple worked together, making it impossible at this distance to parse out who did what.⁷⁵

Transcriptions of primary sources appear in several publications by Uta Goebel-Streicher, a Schiller scholar who manages the Streicher family archive in Vienna.⁷⁶ Goebel-Streicher has produced editions and commentary on Nannette's *Stammbuch* (album and autograph book), Johann Baptist Streicher's *Reisetagebuch* (travel diary), and several essays on family members and instruments.⁷⁷ The catalogue and essay collection she edited for a 1999 exhibition at the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn is a particularly valuable resource as it contains transcriptions of letters with short explanatory notes.⁷⁸ The most significant among these for my purposes are Nannette's early letters to her then-fiancé Andreas, letters from the couple's friend Elisabeth (Lisette) Bernhard née von Kissow, and several other letters concerning instrument orders. These primary documents provide rare insight into Nannette as a person and provide essential biographical material for Chapters Two and Four. Preethi De Silva's English translation of Andreas Streicher's piano treatise/user manual, *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano* (1801), is another important source for my study that I draw on extensively in Chapter Four.⁷⁹ De Silva's introduction and commentary draw together diverse primary sources relating to the family and company in this period, and provide information about extant copies of *Kurze Bemerkungen*, their current locations, title pages, visual and content

⁷⁵ Donhauser and Langer, 97, 99.

⁷⁶ My thanks to Frau Goebel-Streicher for answering my questions about unpublished sources in the Streicher archive. I was unable to visit the archive in person for this project due to logistical constraints.

⁷⁷ Uta Goebel-Streicher, *Das Stammbuch der Nannette Stein (1787–1793): Streiflichter auf Kultur und Gesellschaft in Augsburg und Süddeutschland im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 2001); Uta Goebel-Streicher, "Zwei musikalische Nannetten in Augsburg. Nannette von Schaden und Nannette Streicher née Stein," in *"Ein unerschöpflicher Reichthum an Ideen...": Komponistinnen zur Zeit Mozarts*, ed. Elena Ostleitner and Gabriele Dorffner (Strasshof: Vier-Viertel-Verlag, 2006); Uta Goebel-Streicher, "Johann Baptist Streichers Reisetagebuch von 1828," in *Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850: Bericht des Symposiums "Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850" veranstaltet von der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente des Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien vom 16. bis 18. 10. 2003*, ed. Beatrix Darmstädter, Rudolf Hopfner, and Alfons Huber (Tutzing: Musikantiquariat und Verlag Hans Schneider, 2008); Johann Baptist Streicher, Uta Goebel-Streicher, and Jutta Streicher, *Das Reisetagebuch des Klavierbauers Johann Baptist Streicher 1821–1822: Text und Kommentar* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 2009); Uta Goebel-Streicher, "Fäbung, Schmelz, Schattierung oder starker Ton: Der Antagonismus zwischen Wiener und englischer Mechanik am Beispiel der Klavierbauerfamilie Streicher," in *Chopin et son temps: Actes des Rencontres Internationales harmoniques, Lausanne 2010/Chopin and His Time: Proceedings of the harmoniques International Congress, Lausanne 2010*, ed. Vanja Hug and Thomas Steiner, Publications de la Société Suisse de Musicologie. Série II (Bern: Peter Lang, 2016).

⁷⁸ Uta Goebel-Streicher et al., *"Diesem Menschen hätte ich mein ganzes Leben widmen mögen": Beethoven und die Wiener Klavierbauer Nannette und Andreas Streicher* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1999).

⁷⁹ Preethi De Silva, *The Fortepiano Writings of Streicher, Dieudonné, and the Schiedmayers: Two Manuals and a Notebook, Translated from the Original German, with Commentary* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008).

differences between them, and comparable texts on keyboard instruments. I will consider further secondary literature on *Kurze Bemerkungen* in my analysis of this document in Chapter Four.

Additional primary sources and commentary on Nannette and her company are preserved in early twentieth-century texts, as many original documents were lost during the Second World War. These include a 1927 article by Wilhelm von Lütge, which quotes or paraphrases letters between Andreas, the music publisher Härtel, and Breitkopf & Härtel's Viennese agent Griesinger; and Otto Clemen's 1930 article about visits made to the Streicher-Stein family and workshop recorded in the diary of Dr. Carl Gottlieb Bursy (1791–1870).⁸⁰ I will discuss these sources, especially Griesinger's letters, in greater depth in Chapter Two. This collection of older secondary sources frequently overlook or erase elements of Nannette's work as a piano maker: Latcham and Skowroneck note that this is a common problem across primary and secondary writings about the company.⁸¹ Other early secondary sources where this occurs include the 1903 memoir of poet, archivist, and Streicher-Stein family friend Hermann Rollett (1819–1904) and Theodor Bolte's 1917 book on the Streicher-Stein family.⁸² This omission, whether intentional or otherwise, stems in part from a similar practice of downplaying Nannette's work as a piano maker in certain primary sources, including some of Griesinger's letters and an 1809 account of Streicher-Stein pianos from Johann Friedrich Reichardt; I discuss these sources further in Chapters Two and Four.⁸³ But such omission or inattention likely also reflects the writers' own beliefs regarding gender. Downplaying or outright avoiding of Nannette's labour manifests in several ways: in references to Andreas in the singular and using he/his pronouns in relation to the company and pianos (as by Lütge, Reichardt, and Rollett); titling articles that discuss the couple and their company with only Andreas's name (Clemen, Rollett); and referring to Andreas as a piano maker but not doing so with Nannette (Clemen, Rollett).⁸⁴ When quoting primary sources,

⁸⁰ Wilhelm von Lütge, "Andreas und Nannette Streicher," *Das Bär: Jahrbuch von Breitkopf & Härtel* (1927); Clemen. Griesinger's letters are also collected in Georg August Griesinger, Gottfried Christoph Härtel, and Otto Biba, "*Eben komme ich von Haydn...*": *Georg August Griesingers Korrespondenz mit Joseph Haydns Verleger Breitkopf & Härtel, 1799–1819* (Zurich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1987).

⁸¹ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 269, 281; Skowroneck, "Andreas Streicher and Piano Building," 66–67.

⁸² Hermann Rollett, "Andreas Streicher, 1827," in *Begegnungen: Erinnerungsblätter (1819–1899)* (Vienna: C. W. Stern, 1903); Theodor Bolte, *Die Musikerfamilien Stein und Streicher*, Vienna, (Schönberger, 1917).

⁸³ For example, Reichardt writes, "Streicher has abandoned the softness, the bright, rolling and too pliant character of the other Viennese instruments and on Beethoven's advice and request has given his instruments more resistance and elasticity." Translation by Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 281.

⁸⁴ Rollett refers to Andreas as "the piano manufacturer (*der Klavierfabrikant*) and Clemen calls him "the maker/producer of pianos" (*der Hersteller des Flügels*), Rollett, 21; Lütge, 67; Bolte; Clemen, 207.

this can have a contradictory effect, with certain contemporaneous representations of Nannette and her work butting up against the author's interpretation. For example, Lütge acknowledges Nannette's labour in the workshop by quoting her 1833 obituary while at the same time sublimating her as Andreas's "supporter":

In summary, we may say that Andreas Streicher, supported by his wife, who, as it says in issue 9 of the *Allg. Ztg.* of 1802, "she herself alone undertakes the more delicate work in the fortepianos made under her supervision, which actually gives the instrument its soul and substance," worked with rare dedication and energy on the perfection of the piano. He was the undisputed head of the Viennese and thus of the German piano industry.⁸⁵

Others, like Bolte, oscillate between these two positions, sometimes acknowledging Nannette's contributions but ultimately focus on Andreas, especially when it comes to discussion of technical innovations.⁸⁶ Bolte, furthermore, invokes the exceptional woman trope and essentialist view about women as physically weak by commenting that "neither before nor after the sensitive Nanette was piano making in female hands. However, the strings were easier to tune and much more suitable for a woman's hand than they are now."⁸⁷ These choices position Andreas as the protagonist regarding the piano company, though—as I will demonstrate—it was a shared enterprise owned by Nannette. Nannette is not given an occupational noun like "piano maker" but is instead positioned as Andreas's wife and a pianist; in connection to piano making, she is framed as his point of access regarding piano making but her labour in this field is not accorded its own significance.⁸⁸ Once Andreas is initiated into the business, the authors no longer perceive a narrative need for Nannette's presence in relation to her own company.

The minimizing of Nannette's contributions and her position within the company in primary and early secondary texts is significant because they continue to serve as important, oft-

⁸⁵ My translation, "Zusammenfassend dürfen wir sagen, daß Andreas Streicher, unterstützt von seiner Frau, welche, wie es in Heft 9 der *Allg. Mus. Ztg.* vom Jahre 1802 heißt, 'die feinere Arbeit, welche eigentlich dem Instrumente seinen Geist und Gehalt gibt, ganz allein selbst' machte, mit seltener Hingabe und Tatkraft an der Vervollkommnung des Klaviers arbeitete. Er war das unbestrittene Haupt der Wiener und damit der deutschen Klavierindustrie." Lütge, 67.

⁸⁶ Bolte, 24–26.

⁸⁷ My translation, "Weder vor noch nach der zartbesaiteten Nanette war der Klavierbau in weiblichen Händen. Allerdings waren die Saitenbezüge damals leichter zu Stimmen und für eine Frauenhand bedeutend geeigneter zu behandeln als jetzt [jetzt]." Bolte, 29.

⁸⁸ Bolte, 24–25; Lütge, 55–55.

cited sources for the Streicher-Stein couple, the company, and its pianos.⁸⁹ Scholarship on Beethoven that draws on these sources has tended to compound the trend. Nannette appears frequently in this literature because she corresponded extensively with Beethoven between 1816 and 1818 and acted as his household organizer.⁹⁰ There is also a marked difference in the content of the letters Beethoven sent to Nannette and Andreas: he addressed piano matters to Andreas and domestic ones to Nannette, further minimizing her work as the piano maker. Thus, Nannette is often cast in a gendered, domestic role in secondary Beethoven literature, even if her role as a piano maker is acknowledged. For example, amongst his in-depth discussion of Streicher-Stein pianos, William Newman mentions Nannette only once by name as a recipient of a Beethoven letter.⁹¹ Maynard Solomon, meanwhile, refers to her as a “self-sacrificing mother substitute” for Beethoven, despite the fact that they were less than two years apart in age.⁹² In this literature, Nannette is a benevolent, feminized figure who is useful for what she reveals about Beethoven’s life and personality, but is rarely significant in her own right.⁹³

In contrast to the publications surveyed so far, the final group of sources on Nannette takes gender as their focus. These are distinct from those about Beethoven, her instruments, and her wider family, in that they tend to place Nannette centre stage as an individual. However, most of these pieces are introductory essays to the piano maker that provide an overview of her life and achievements and cover similar ground, rather than building on one another.⁹⁴ A shared

⁸⁹ In this vein, Skowronek cites mid-century texts like Herbert Kraft, *Andreas Streichers Schiller-Biographie*, *Forschungen zur Geschichte Mannheims und der Pfalz*, (Mannheim: Bibliographischen Institut, 1974), 187; Folker Göthel, “Streicher, Johann Andreas,” ed. Friedrich Blume, vol. 12, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964). 1515–1517. See Skowronek, “Andreas Streicher and Piano Building,” 66.

⁹⁰ Nannette was the recipient of over sixty of Beethoven’s letters, see Lütge, 59–60.

⁹¹ William S. Newman, “Beethoven’s Pianos versus His Piano Ideals,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23, no. 3 (1970): 490.

⁹² Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998), 341.

⁹³ As I discuss in relation to Griesinger’s correspondence in Chapter Two, Beethoven’s approach to letter writing likely reflects his own needs and perspective on his relationship with the Streicher-Stein couple: it is not necessarily an accurate portrait of the division of labour in the Streicher-Stein company and household.

⁹⁴ Christian Lambour, “Nannette Streicher — nicht nur Klavierbauerin,” in *Der “männliche” und der “weibliche” Beethoven: Bericht über den Internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress vom 31. Oktober bis 4. November 2001 an der Universität der Künste Berlin*, ed. Cornelia Bartsch, Beatrix Borchard, and Rainer Cadenbach, *Veröffentlichungen des Beethoven-Hauses Bonn. Reihe IV, Schriften zur Beethoven-Forschung*; Bd. 18 (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2003); Gerda Wiesbauer, “Nannette Streicher (1769–1833) – eine einzigartige Persönlichkeit der Wiener Klassik,” in *Frauen hör- und sichtbar machen...: 20 Jahre “Frau und Musik” an der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien*, ed. Sarah Chakar and Ann-Kathrin Erdélyi (Vienna: Institut für Musiksoziologie, 2010); Gabriele Fröschl et al., “Die Klavierbauerin: Maria Anna (Nannette) Streicher,” in *Wäre Ada ein Mann...: Frauen in Technik, Naturwissenschaften und Medien* (Vienna: Technisches Museum Wien, 2016); Beate Kornrter, *Frauen als Komponistinnen im Umfeld Mozarts: mit einem besonderen Augenmerk auf Maria*

goal across these essays is a desire to recover women like Nannette from music history. Gender is an impetus, but the essays usually stop short of applying a theoretical framework to Nannette's life as a nineteenth-century woman and they do not go into detail about how her identity and context may have interacted with her occupation. An exception to this tendency is Marie Gaboriaud's recent chapter, which argues that women like Nannette are used in Beethoven biography to bolster the composer's genius status.⁹⁵ She explores themes that appear in descriptions about Nannette, such as the saint/sinner dichotomy, references to her as motherly, and the popularity of framing her as primarily a helpmate. Gaboriaud prefers to see Nannette and Beethoven's relationship as a collaborative one, though she emphasizes the difficulty of doing so when gender bias means that the piano maker is underrepresented in the historical record.⁹⁶

4. Chapter summaries

Chapter One presents a comprehensive history of the Marcoux sisters—Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe—and the Mlles Erard music publishing company, as well as their enduring and multilayered connections with their maternal Erard family and the Erard Frères instrument company. This essay provides the most substantial record thus far of these two women and their work and draws on a wide array of primary documents, from marriage contracts to letters to financial records to legal proceedings, several of which are discussed here for the first time. In addition to presenting a joint biography of the Marcoux sisters and the history of their business, the chapter situates the women within the Erard family, and in relation to contemporaneous understandings of gender, class, and wealth, and to the evolving French legal framework that controlled married women's property and economic activity. The second half of the chapter draws on surviving records about Mlles Erard. It contextualizes the company in relation to the history of women in Parisian music publishing, explores their work as successful music publishers, and teases out the complex and mutually beneficial ways in which Mlles Erard and Erard Frères were tied together. This reveals that—as well as acting independently and with

Theresia Paradis (München: Akademische Verlagsgemeinschaft München, 2018); Andrea Schwab, *Außergewöhnliche Komponistinnen. Weibliches Komponieren im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Von Maria Theresia Paradis über Josepha Barbara Auernhammer bis Julie von Baroni-Cavalcabò* (Vienna: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2019).

⁹⁵ Marie Gaboriaud, "Collaborations invisibles dans le monde de l'art: Beethoven, Nannette Streicher et Bettina Brentano," in *Femmes artistes et écrivaines dans l'ombre des grands hommes*, ed. Hélène Maurel-Indart, *Masculin/féminin dans l'Europe moderne, Série XIXe siècle* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019).

⁹⁶ Gaboriaud, 123.

considerable agency over their business—the Marcoux sisters and Mlles Erard were embedded in an expansive professional network of composers, performers, publishers, and dealers shared with their Erard relatives, especially their uncles Jean-Baptist and Sébastien and their cousin Pierre. The core argument of this chapter is that family ties and cooperation were central to the operation of Mlles Erard and are therefore key to understanding the Marcoux sisters' work as women music publishers.

Chapter Two applies this family-based approach to the Streicher-Stein piano company and the relationships between Nannette and her immediate relatives. Like Chapter One, it argues that these relationships are crucial for understanding the company and Nannette's work as a piano maker and that they were significant factors in the piano firm's success. It explores several kinds of relationships in which Nannette was involved, namely the father-daughter, sibling, spousal, and mother-son relationships. These relationships prompted and were reflected in changes to the piano company's name over time, from "Jean André Stein" to "Frère et Sœur Stein" to "Nannette Streicher, née Stein" and lastly "Nannette Streicher, née Stein et fils," and I use these naming shifts as a structuring device. Each era and its corresponding relationships also produced different modes of work between the family members. I unpack the roles and division of labour between Nannette and her relatives, with a particular focus on the collaborative relationship, both personal and professional, of Nannette and her husband Andreas. Reflecting on gender, class, and age, as well as Nannette's legal and social position as a nineteenth-century woman in Augsburg and Vienna, I furthermore contextualize her work as a piano maker and businessowner and consider how this paid labour interacted with her unpaid labour as a daughter, sister, wife, and mother.

Chapter Three turns to the first group of musical objects that my subjects produced: musical scores. I look at the scores and title pages of eight "self-dedicated" pieces Mlles Erard published between 1800 and 1817, primarily for piano and/or harp, by important figures in the Parisian and London music scenes such as Daniel Steibelt and Johann Baptist Cramer. By "self-dedicated" I mean that these pieces were both published by and dedicated to the Marcoux sisters either as "Mlles Erard" or as individuals. This chapter argues that self-dedication was a gendered strategy through which the sisters negotiated their public identities as women music publishers in a city that generally accepted their labour but still viewed public women with wariness. I look at Mlles Erard, self-dedication, and gender in relation to the profession of music publishing; figures

like dedicatees and customers; and the processes of consumption and prosumption. I argue that, by standing as dedicatees and publishers, the sisters captured their own musical performance and modelled musical consumption for their mostly women customers; their intertwined roles as producers and consumers, publishers and dedicatees of piano and harp music are clearly represented on the title pages of these pieces. Through self-dedication, they tapped into existing associations of the woman dedicatee (especially for piano music), and enhanced their own social status, likely with a view to increasing sales of their merchandise.

Chapter Four, finally, employs prosumption to explore Nannette's products—her pianos—through her dual position as a piano maker and piano player, or as I term it, her “maker-player” status. That she made and used her instruments with her own hands became an important part of her public image as a woman piano maker. Section one of this chapter provides an overview of the instruments Nannette made and played, tracing technological developments at the company from the 1770s to the 1820s. It then explores accounts of Nannette as a player, often in relation to those instruments, and further develops the maker-player concept by examining how this surfaces in primary sources. Section two uses the maker-player lens to analyze the most extensive contemporaneous document about Nannette's pianos, a hybrid piano treatise and user manual written by her husband Andreas and titled *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und und Erhalten der Fortepiano* (1801). I propose we see this booklet as a collective expression of Nannette and Andreas's views about her pianos that helped present her to the musical public as a maker-player. The third and final part of the chapter applies the maker-player lens to Nannette's piano composition, *Deux Marches pour le Piano-Forte* (1817). Published and circulating after a period of significant technological changes to her instruments that began around 1805, I view these marches as a cumulative expression of Nannette as piano maker, pianist, and composer. Overall, this chapter argues that, by looking at such a diverse range of surviving sources about Nannette's pianos, Nannette as a pianist, and her own compositions, we can uncover new insight into her work as a piano maker and musical woman, even though she herself left behind few written records about her life and work.

Chapter One

Miles Erard, Family, and Networks in Music Publishing

In November 1802, while wintering in Paris, the German composer and traveler Johann Friedrich Reichardt visited Erard Frères at 37, rue du Mail.¹ His description of the Erard workshop offers a rare and evocative glimpse of the daily operations of a nineteenth-century instrument manufacturer. But there is another part of this anecdote that commentaries usually gloss over, one that describes the roles and activities of women members of the Erard family. Reichardt writes:

[The Erard brothers'] excellent sister also lives in the same house, along with her charming daughters, and runs the household; they reside in a very pleasant and elegant apartment whose main room also serves as a daily gathering place for the entire company. And a large, completely empty apartment stands at the ready to receive the frequent distinguished guests who visit this rare establishment to select instruments, and for use on holidays, when the family (who still keep the old, nearly extinct customs of French hospitality) entertain larger companies [...].

I spent a most pleasant Sunday with this excellent family at just such a domestic party, celebrating the marriage of the eldest daughter to the painter Bonnemaison, a most accomplished and charming man. To my delight I met many more good German artists there as well, such as our outstanding cellist Romberg, whose great talent we all know at home, but who has perfected his art even further here; the accomplished piano teachers and composers Adam, Wiederkehr, Pfeffinger, and others besides.

The young ladies of the house are themselves very interesting singers and pianists and have established their own music business, which has found a room also in this artful house.²

¹ An earlier version of material found in this chapter appeared in the journal *Keyboard Perspectives*. See Hester Bell Jordan, "Mesdemoiselles Erard: Gender, Music Publishing, and Self-Dedication in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Keyboard Perspectives: The Lure of Paris, 1795–1810* 13 (2021).

² Translation from Tom Beghin et al., "Vignette 2: Two Visitors in Paris," *Beethoven's French Piano: A Tale of Ambition and Frustration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022). 96–97. Original German: "Die treffliche Schwester, die mit ihren liebenswürdigen Töchtern dasselbe Haus bewohnt, und den Familienhaushalt besorgt,

The “excellent sister” of Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien Erard is Catherine-Barbe Marcoux née Erard and the “charming daughters” and “young ladies of the house” are her two children, Marie-Françoise Bonnemaïson née Marcoux and Catherine-Barbe Delahante née Marcoux. The “music business” that Reichardt notes they established is the highly successful publishing company known as Mesdemoiselles (Mlles) Erard, run by the Marcoux sisters and, after the death of Catherine-Barbe, by Marie-Françoise alone for over thirty years.³ Reichardt’s account therefore reveals the overlooked labour of women in an essential branch of the nineteenth-century music industry. This passing mention of the Marcoux sisters serves as a starting point for my exploration of how gender figured into their work as the music publishers Mlles Erard. The way in which Reichardt includes the Marcoux sisters in his description of the Erard family—connecting their music business and the feminized work of piano playing and singing—furthermore suggests that musical leisure activities could be turned to commercial ends by the women who cultivated them.

This chapter explores the lives and work of the Marcoux sisters and their company Mlles Erard as a story in which family is fundamental and where relationships reveal much about the company’s history. Because family and business are inextricably bound together, I explore their private and professional lives simultaneously as integrated parts of an inseparable whole. The organization of and interaction between family and business take quite different forms to those of Nannette and her Streicher-Stein relatives, which I explore in Chapter Two. In contrast to the direct transfer of knowledge and company from father to daughter, mother to husband, and

bewohnen auch ein sehr angenehmes zierliches Apartement, dessen Hauptzimmer zugleich zur täglichen Vereinigung der Gesellschaft dienen [...].

Ich habe mit dieser trefflichen Familie schon einen solchen häuslichen Festtag, zur Feier der Vermählung der ältern Tochter mit dem braven, liebenswürdigen Maler Bonnemaïson, am Sonntage sehr angenehm verlebt. Zu meiner Freude fand ich da auch viele brave deutsche Künstler, als unsern vortrefflichen Violoncellisten Romberg, desse großes Talent auch bei uns bekannt genug ist, und der sich hier nch sehr vervollkommnet hat; die braven Clavierlehrer und Componisten, Adam, Wiederkehr, Pfeffinger u.a.m.

Die jungen Damen des Hauses sind selbst sehr interessante Sängerinnen und Clavierspielerinnen und haben auch einen eigenen Musikhandel etablirt, der auch noch in diesem kunstvollen Hause seinen Saal gefunden hat.” Reichardt, 1, 153–154.

³ See Appendix 1 for the Erard-Marcoux family tree. To reiterate my naming choices noted in the Introduction, I use “Mlles Erard” to refer to the music publishing business, “Marcoux sisters” to refer to Marie-Françoise Bonnemaïson née Marcoux and Catherine-Barbe Delahante née Marcoux collectively, and their first names when discussing them as individuals. In addition, to distinguish between Catherine-Barbe of Mlles Erard and her mother—also named Catherine-Barbe—I call the daughter Catherine-Barbe *jeune* and the mother Catherine-Barbe *ainée*. I refer to the uncles, Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien Erard, and their cousin, Pierre Erard, using their first names and refer to their business as “Erard Frères.” Likewise, I use first names for the Marcoux sisters’ husbands, Féréol Bonnemaïson and Alexis Delahante. For all other persons mentioned, I use full names and, subsequently, surnames.

parents to son displayed in Nannette's case, the Marcoux sisters and their business relied on ties with their maternal relatives. Following their mother's separation from their father, Catherine-Barbe *âinée* and her daughters joined the household of her brothers in Paris. Her brothers supported her and her daughters, taking financial and fatherly responsibility for Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe *jeune* and setting them up with their own music publishing business. That company, Mlles Erard, continued to maintain close business ties with the piano making firm run by the two uncles for the next three decades, until it passed to a representative of the next generation, Catherine-Barbe *jeune*'s son.

There is little surviving first-hand information on the two sisters; unlike Nannette, I am aware of no personal letters penned by them. Their lives and experiences therefore have to be constructed from what does remain. Documents relating to Mlles Erard survive in the Erard Frères records in the Gaveau-Erard-Pleyel archives at Paris's Musée de la musique and at Domaine royal de Randan in Puy-de-Dôme department; the Erard family archive, housed at the Château de Bourbilly in Côte-d'Or department; and notary documents preserved in the Archives nationales in Paris. Significant publications have emerged from the first archive, such as French and English editions of the letters Erard Frères, as well as extensive research on Erard Frères undertaken by Robert Adelson and a digitization project that has made the extant Erard Frères ledgers available online.⁴

The dominance of Erard Frères materials in the history of Mlles Erard means that survivorship bias—where surviving sources have a potentially disproportionate impact on our interpretations—likely plays an outsized role. Erard Frères was much longer-lived than Mlles Erard: their records were deemed historically important and thus their familial and business archives have been preserved by institutions. This also means that surviving sources relevant to Mlles Erard likely overemphasize this connection, whereas other relationships cultivated by the publishing company that were not linked to the uncles' business are less likely to have left traces.

⁴ Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 1; Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2; Laure Barthel, Robert Adelson, and Alain Roudier, *Mon bien cher oncle: correspondance de Pierre Erard à Sébastien Erard*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Geneva: Minkoff, 2006); Laure Barthel, Robert Adelson, and Alain Roudier, *Mon bien cher oncle: correspondance de Pierre Erard à Sébastien Erard*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Étobon: Éditions Ad Libitum, 2009); Laure Barthel, Robert Adelson, and Alain Roudier, *Mon bien cher oncle: correspondance de Pierre Erard à Sébastien Erard*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Étobon: Éditions Ad Libitum, 2010); Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*. The digitized Erard workshop registers (*registres de fabrication*) and sales ledgers (*livres de ventes*) can be accessed via the Musée de la musique website: <https://archivesmusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/fonds-erard-pleyel-gaveau-acces-aux-archives.aspx>.

All this is to point out that connections shared by both Mlles Erard and Erard Frères may not have played as great a role in the daily operations of Mlles Erard as it appears from our present vantage point. Nonetheless, connections between the two companies remain a significant theme and one that merits investigation.

This chapter begins with a survey of surviving biographical information about the early lives of the Marcoux sisters and imagines what their family life may have been like in the 1790s and 1800s in the rue du Mail household. The next two sections consider the period after 1800 and trace the beginnings of Mlles Erard; this is closely tied to the sisters' marriages and involves extensive discussion of the significant documents that are their marriage contracts, as these reveal much about the company and Erard-Marcoux family relationships. Wealth, status, and husbands are the focus of the following segment: this brings us to the issue of Mlles Erard's ownership and the effects of the shifting legal institution of marriage on French women's relationships to property and engagement in business activities. The chapter then turns to the world of music publishing, contextualizing the Marcoux sisters' work and Mlles Erard as a woman-led business in that industry. It describes Mlles Erard's catalogue and specialties, their professional activities, and their engagements with composers, publishers, and dealers in France and abroad. After another biography-focused section on the sisters' later lives, it dives deeper into the triangulated relationship between Mlles Erard, Erard Frères, and a range of composers. This is combined with a survey of the tight intertwining of business and family from the commercial side and situates the Marcoux sisters within their professional and social musical network.

Though I see Mlles Erard and Erard Frères as tightly bound, I do not view Mlles Erard—the younger company run by junior women relatives—as a subsidiary of Erard Frères. Primary documents make clear that, from a legal perspective, the publishing business was an independent one that belonged to the Marcoux sisters for their own financial benefit. Conflating the two companies as operated under the umbrella of Sébastien and Jean-Baptiste Erard obscures or even erases the Marcoux sisters, their ownership, and their labour and is thus historically inaccurate. Instead, I argue that the ways in which familial interests and networks interconnected was essential to how Mlles Erard (and Erard Frères) did business. Building on existing networks and drawing on resources based on family ties enabled Mlles Erard to successfully navigate a

precarious industry. Family ties were therefore a key resource that Milles Erard drew upon as music publishers to grow and maintain their business over many years.

1. Early biography and family life

Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe were born in Strasbourg on November 29, 1777, and September 22, 1779, respectively.⁵ They were the daughters of Catherine-Barbe Erard (1754–1827, the fifth child and only surviving girl among the six Erard siblings) and her husband François-Claude Marcoux (1755–1812).⁶ Like many men in the Erard family, he was a carpenter by trade.⁷ François-Claude and Catherine-Barbe *aînée* were married at the Protestant church St-Pierre-le-Jeune in Strasbourg on January 28, 1777, but in 1802 the couple took advantage of France’s short-lived divorce laws to dissolve their union.⁸ The absence of François-Claude’s name from most subsequent sources about the Marcoux women suggests that he played little role in their later lives. By the mid-1790s, Catherine-Barbe *aînée* and her daughters had likely left Strasbourg and settled in Paris in the household of her two elder brothers. Catherine-Barbe *aînée* and her former husband must have either agreed that she would keep the children, or she was granted custody following the separation, a significant change in their family dynamic that had profound impacts on her young daughters’ lives.⁹

Aside from their dates and place of birth, we know few hard facts about Marie-Françoise’s and Catherine-Barbe’s childhoods and adolescence in Strasbourg and Paris. But by using later sources and sources about their extended family, we can glean the following information about their upbringing and education. As *Strasbourggeoises* by birth, the Marcoux sisters most likely grew up speaking the local Alsatian dialect of German, possibly learning French as a second

⁵ See Appendix 2 for a brief timeline of Milles Erard and the Erard-Marcoux family. Certified copies of the sisters’ entries in the Strasbourg birth register are included in the following notary act. Note that Marie-Françoise’s birth name was “Marie-Françoise Catherine”; that her sister was also called Catherine appears to have caused confusion regarding the former’s marriage contract. See *Notoriété rectifiant les noms des Dlls Marcoux, 7 brumaire, an XI* [October 29, 1802], MC/ET/XVIII/988, Minutes de Jean Louis Gauldrée-Boilleau, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Archives nationales, Paris.

⁶ Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, xvii–xviii.

⁷ Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 4–5.

⁸ Josiane Bran-Ricci, ed., *Le Pianoforte en France & ses descendants jusqu’aux années trente* (Paris: Agence culturelle de Paris, 1995), 70; Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 64. Archival records show that the couple divorced in Paris on November 5, 1802, see *Mariages. Marcoux, Claude François; Erhard, Cath.ne Barbe, 14 brumaire, an XI* [November 5, 1802], Box V3E/M 681, L’état civil reconstitué, Archives de Paris, Paris.

⁹ For more on divorce and custody laws during and after the Revolutionary period, see Chapter 3 “Broken Bonds: The Revolutionary Practice of Divorce” in Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 93–140.

language.¹⁰ A variant of German certainly appears to have been the first language of their uncles and, presumably, their mother: the editors of the collected Erard correspondence remark that “the Erard brothers were clearly less comfortable with French than with the German of their native Strasbourg (their contemporaries remarked that they spoke with strong accents), and they clearly struggled with writing in French.”¹¹ The Marcoux sisters’ own business correspondence, however, displays fluency in written French: moving to the capital as young women likely helped them adapt to Parisian French with greater ease than their elders.¹²

In eighteenth-century France, if middle-class girls received educational instruction, it was from a governess at home or at schools run by religious institutions.¹³ In addition to writing and reading skills, the Reichardt account and their profession indicates that the sisters took music lessons in singing, harp, and piano. As children in a mercantile family surrounded by the daily operations of an instrument-making business, equipped with its own bookkeeping and cashier’s offices, and who themselves were destined to manage a music business and start their own families, they must also have learnt how to keep both business and household accounts.¹⁴

Reichardt describes the Erard family as burghers (*Bürger*), meaning that they were of the respectable middle class, and their status and income indicate that by the 1790s they were well-off members of the artisan middle class.¹⁵ Sébastien amassed an extensive art collection and the Erard complex—including the instrument-making workshops, shopfronts, and the family’s semi-public and private apartments—covered several lots on the rue du Mail.¹⁶ The family experienced significant financial problems due to mismanagement by the brothers, but they continued to maintain a comfortable lifestyle. For example, Sébastien later purchased a chateâu

¹⁰ Alsace was part of France during the eighteenth century and underwent a “gallicization” process at the hands of the French state. Historian David A. Bell cites an 1824 survey on language in the region which concluded that only fifteen percent of children in Strasbourg spoke French. Furthermore, he notes that, “even in 1789, nearly all Alsatians of native stock still grew up speaking a Swabian German dialect, and outside of the largest towns the French language was virtually unknown.” David A. Bell, “Nation-Building and Cultural Particularism in Eighteenth-Century France: The Case of Alsace,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21, no. 4 (1988): 472–474.

¹¹ Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 1, xxiii.

¹² All extant letters I have found to and from the Marcoux sisters are in French, including those with German speakers such as Steibelt and the music publishing company B.Schott’s Söhne.

¹³ Jean Bloch, “Discourses of Female Education in the Writings of Eighteenth-Century French Women,” in *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment*, ed. Sarah Knott and Barbara April Taylor (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 243–244.

¹⁴ On the Erard Frères offices see Reichardt in Beghin, *Beethoven’s French Piano*, 90.

¹⁵ Translation from Beghin et al., 96; Reichardt, 1, 152.

¹⁶ Adelson, “Erard’s Letter Copy Book,” 20. The uncles owned substantial property in the rue du Mail, see Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 73–74, 117.

named La Muette near Passy.¹⁷ The family therefore lived in relative luxury compared to most of the Parisian population after the Revolution, and Reichardt's description of their private apartments as "elegant" supports this view.

It is unclear exactly when the Marcoux women arrived in Paris and joined the Erard household, but in 1795 the sisters were dedicatees of Ignace Pleyel's *Duo pour la harpe et piano-forte*, Op. 28, published by Pleyel in Paris; his publication may point to them being resident in Paris by that year.¹⁸ The 1790s were the era of the First Republic, and if the Marcoux women did move to the capital at this time it was either at the close of the Reign of Terror (which ended in 1794) or the dawn of the Directory (1795–99).¹⁹ Like many Parisians, the Erard brothers had run-ins with the Revolutionary police during the Terror. Due to their otherness as German-speaking Alsatians, their royalist loyalties, and their travel to and connections with England (with whom France was at war), they were denounced and searched by the authorities in September 1793.²⁰ The Erard-Marcoux family had therefore personally experienced consequences of the climate of fear cultivated by the Terror. It was undoubtedly a stressful period for all Parisians, but it was also a time of great change in terms of citizen's rights, family, gender, and the roles of women. The initial phases of the Revolution had seen mass participation by radical and moderate women's groups calling for true equity and widespread social reform, but backlash in subsequent years had rolled back many reforms and sought to cement a new concept of citizenship that consciously excluded women and reasserted patriarchal ideals.²¹ Catherine-Barbe *ainée* and her daughters thus arrived in Paris during a period in which their

¹⁷ Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 80–81.

¹⁸ See Rita Benton and Jeanne Halley, *Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions*, Thematic Catalogues, (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977), 258. It is possible that further information about the Marcoux sisters' early lives is contained in private letters preserved in the Erard family archive at the Château de Bourbilly. The archive was closed for maintenance during this project.

¹⁹ "Timeline: French Revolution, 1785–1799," *Oxford Reference* (2012), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191737800.timeline.0001>.

²⁰ Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 49–50.

²¹ Susan K. Foley, *Women in France Since 1789: The Meanings of Difference*, European Studies Series, (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 10–18. As Susan Foley and Katie Jarvis have shown, women did not, however, cease participating in political discourse and the concepts of gender and citizenship remained contested, see Katie Jarvis, *Politics in the Marketplace: Work, Gender, and Citizenship in Revolutionary France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 8–12. On the undoing of family reforms see Chapter 7 "Reconstituting the Social after the Terror: The Backlash against Family Innovations" in Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 249–282. The backlash would continue with Napoleon's Civil Code (discussed further below), see Ute Gerhard, Valentine Meunier, and Ethan Rundell, "Civil Law and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Clio. Women, Gender, History*, no. 43 (2016): 256.

gender and roles at home and in society at large were broadly contested and undergoing profound change.²²

As Sébastien remained unmarried and Jean-Baptiste's wife, Anne Boursier (born ca. 1750), had died in 1795, Catherine-Barbe *aînée* would have been the most senior woman in the Erard household and took charge of running it, as befitted that position. Letters written by her nephew Pierre indicate that she became a mother figure for himself and his sister Céleste, who were only one and five years old when their own mother died.²³ Catherine-Barbe *aînée*'s duties will have included raising her own and her brother's children, overseeing her daughters' and niece's education, hosting social occasions, managing servants and household supplies, and providing companionship to her widowed and unmarried brothers. She also frequently nursed her elder brothers through illnesses, a key role performed by women. For example, when Sébastien fell ill in 1814, Pierre wrote to him that "I am completely convinced that your speedy recovery is largely due to your strong constitution and my aunt's care; I know how much she loves you."²⁴ A few months prior, Jean-Baptiste wrote to his brother, "your illness saddened me but our sister is with you, which should give you comfort, as much morally as physically. This should greatly contribute to your speedy convalescence."²⁵ Other letters also show that Catherine-Barbe *aînée* took on an important role regarding domestic finances: she was clearly an essential member of the household.²⁶ The need for a female relative to fill the roles of mother and mistress of the house in this extended family living situation may well have motivated Catherine-Barbe *aînée* to move her own family from Strasbourg to Paris, compounded, no doubt, by her separation from her husband. The correspondence about Anne Boursier's death and the first evidence of the Marcoux women being in Paris in 1795 certainly suggests that these two events were connected.

²² This was also a time in which women were exploring what it meant to construct the gendered self through print culture and fashion, among other tools. See E. Claire Cage, "The Sartorial Self: Neoclassical Fashion and Gender Identity in France, 1797–1804," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 2 (2009): 194–195.

²³ For example, in 1814 Pierre wrote "my sister and I have always loved her as our mother." Letter from Pierre in London to Sébastien in Paris, November 16, 1814, Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 565–566.

²⁴ As above, Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 565–566.

²⁵ Letter from Jean-Baptiste in Marquise to Sébastien in Paris, September 17, 1814, Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 566, 546.

²⁶ My thanks to Robert Adelson for sharing this and other letters relating to Mlles Erard from the Erard family archives with me. Jean-Baptiste Erard in Paris to Catherine-Barbe Delahante in London, February 16, 1811, Erard Family Archives, Château de Bourbilly, Vic-de-Chassenay, France. Personal communication from Robert Adelson, November 20, 2021.

Not only did Catherine-Barbe *ânée* step in as a mother for Céleste and Pierre, but Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien appear to have acted as father figures for Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe *jeune* in the absence of their own father. This manifested in the sisters' marriage contracts and it was also apparent in family correspondence. In a letter from February 1811 in which Jean-Baptiste commiserated with Catherine-Barbe *jeune* about ill-treatment she had faced from Sébastien (possibly about financial problems), he described his brother's typical attitude towards their niece as the "benevolent and paternal feelings with which he once showered you..."²⁷ Jean-Baptiste displays his own affection for her by using her nickname, Ketel, and in his warm praise for her behaviour during the tensions with Sébastien, writing that "you have judgement as sound as your heart is pure" and that she possessed a "delicate and honest manner."²⁸ By joining their households together in the wake of death and divorce, the three Erard siblings—Jean-Baptiste, Sébastien, and Catherine-Barbe *ânée*—had re-formed a family unit in which they filled reciprocal parental roles for the four children under their care, in both practical and emotional capacities. In this context, the Marcoux sisters and their Erard uncles built strong, "multiplex" relationships, as they were connected by kinship, cohabitation, and economic ties that would become even stronger when Milles Erard was founded.²⁹

What roles did the Marcoux sisters play in this household? As young, unmarried women, they would have assisted their mother in household matters and perhaps helped care for their young cousins, thus preparing themselves for marriage and motherhood.³⁰ We know that Catherine-Barbe *jeune* fulfilled the role of housekeeper for her extended family in later years: Jean-Baptiste refers to her as the "superintendent of his [Sébastien's] house" in 1811, meaning that she managed her uncle's London house when she was in that city.³¹ Another of the sisters' gendered roles was to display their family's cultural capital through their dress, manners, conversation, polite socializing, and by cultivating certain skills; those skills—among which

²⁷ Letter from Jean-Baptiste to Catherine-Barbe, February 16, 1811.

²⁸ "Ketel" or "Kätel" is a German diminutive form of Catherine, similar to the English "Katie," letter from Jean-Baptiste to Catherine-Barbe, February 16, 1811. See also Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, xvii; Jean-Thomas de Trattner, *Nouveau dictionnaire allemand-françois, et françois-allemand à l'usage des deux nations*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Trattner, 1780), 454.

²⁹ Milroy, 2.

³⁰ Jennifer J. Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France*, *Becoming Modern*, (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008), 101–103.

³¹ My translation, "la surintendante de sa maison," letter from Jean-Baptiste to Catherine-Barbe, February 16, 1811. This letter also shows that Catherine-Barbe's affective ties and domestic obligations to her maternal family—especially her bachelor uncle—continued after marriage.

music was key—were also to serve the emotional needs of their male relatives.³² Through these means, young women like Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe *jeune* made invaluable tangible and intangible contributions to their households and families.

2. Biography after 1800 and historical overview of the Mlles Erard company

The exact founding date of Mlles Erard remains unknown, but early advertisements and documents suggest that Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien opened the publishing company in 1800. In September of that year, three advertisements appeared in the *Courrier de spectacle* and the *Journal de Paris* for a company which, from the beginning, was referred to as “Dlles Erard” or “Mlles Erard.”³³ This naming practice and a significant event which was to take place in 1802 (discussed below) indicate that it was founded expressly for the nieces to run.³⁴ The first official document relating to the company appeared the following year, and it provides insight into how the publishing house functioned behind the scenes in its early years. In early 1801, Sébastien and Jean-Baptiste signed a contract with the composer and pianist Daniel Steibelt (1765–1823) on behalf of their nieces in which they exchanged twelve compositions for the lease of an apartment in the rue du Mail, worth 2,600 francs.³⁵ Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe were not yet officially in possession of Mlles Erard, so they may have required their uncles to act for them in this legal process. The sisters’ time in Paris between the first appearance of advertisements for Mlles Erard in 1800 and their official receipt of the company 1802 may have served as a kind of apprenticeship in business management, with the quiet start to the company functioning as a “soft launch” where they continued to receive guidance and contractual assistance from their uncles.

³² Geoffroy-Schwinden, 306–308; Solie, 93–95.

³³ Devriès and Lesure claim that the first Mlles Erard advertisements appeared in the *Courrier de spectacle* on June 27, 1800 (8 *messidor*, an VIII), and July 26, 1800 (7 *thermidor*, an VIII), but the earliest entries for the company I could identify in that publication date from September 20, 21, and 22, 1800 (3, 4, and 5 *jours complémentaires*, an VIII). Similarly, they cite September 23, 1800 (1 *vendémiaire*, an IX) as the first Mlles Erard advertisement in the *Journal de Paris*, though the same notice also appeared in the issue of the previous day, September 22, 1800 (5 *jour complémentaire*, an VIII). Mlles Erard, “Musique,” *Courrier de spectacles*, no. 1295 (3 *jour complémentaire*, an VIII [September 20, 1800]): 4; Mlles Erard, “Musique,” *Courrier de spectacles*, no. 1296 (4 *jour complémentaire*, an VIII [September 21, 1800]): 4; Mlles Erard, “Musique,” *Courrier de spectacles*, no. 1297 (5 *jour complémentaire*, an VIII [September 22, 1800]): 4; Mlles Erard, “Le public est prévenu,” *Journal de Paris*, no. 1 (5 *jour complémentaire*, an VIII [September 22, 1800]): 6; Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 63.

³⁴ My point here goes a step further than Devriès and Lesure, who conclude that the 1800 advertisements show the sisters were “managing” the company by this time and that “from the creation of this shop [the uncles] entrusted the direction to their nieces.” Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 63.

³⁵ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 63; Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 69.

The next we hear of the Marcoux sisters is at a moment where their personal and professional lives became even more closely bound together. On October 4, 1802 (12 *vendémiaire*, an 11), the Erard-Marcoux family gathered to sign the marriage contract between Marie-Françoise and the art dealer and painter, Féréol Bonnemaïson (1770–1827).³⁶ It was the wedding banquet of this celebration that Reichardt described in his account of the family and their businesses. At twenty-four, Marie-Françoise was a *filles majeure* (a woman with the full rights of an adult), several years past the age of majority, and a typical age for brides of this era; her age and legal standing gave her a measure of agency when entering into marriage.³⁷ Marie-Françoise's handwritten contract provides us with the most significant document regarding Mlles Erard to date and a clear picture of her economic position as a bride-to-be. Along with the official transference of the music publishing business from Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien to their two nieces, we find attached to the contract the first list of compositions owned by Mlles Erard. The bride also received an additional sum of six thousand francs from her uncles. A little over four years later, on March 6, 1807, Catherine-Barbe *jeune* signed her own marriage contract with Féréol's business partner, Alexis Quatresolz-Delahante (1767–1837).³⁸ She was twenty-eight and, like her elder sister, a *filles majeure*. Her marriage contract shows that she received 100,000 francs from her uncles, and it includes an updated asset list for Mlles Erard.

The contracts provide essential information about the ownership of Mlles Erard as well as detailed and dateable lists of the publishing company's assets. They also provide invaluable insight into the sisters' status not only as married women but as businesswomen and people of

³⁶ Reproductions of the marriage contracts for both sisters can be found in Appendices 3 and 4. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Archives nationales de France.

Note: Féréol Bonnemaïson's given name is also spelt Ferréol or Ferriol in contemporary sources. Contrat de mariage entre Ferriol Bonnemaïson, peintre d'histoire, demeurant rue des Capucines, et Marie Françoise Marcoux, 12 *vendémiaire*, an XI [October 4, 1802], MC/ET/XVIII/987, Minutes de Jean Louis Gauldrée-Boilleau, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, 1, Archives nationales, Paris.

³⁷ According to Hafter, "For the most part, women were not considered adults in the law. Only if they survived parents or were designated by a father as *filles majeure*, an unmarried woman with adult status, or as widow standing in for her husband, were women freed from being minors." Daryl M. Hafter, *Women at Work in Preindustrial France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2007), 70. The age of majority had been lowered to twenty-one during the Revolution, see Gerhard, Meunier, and Rundell, 256. Crowston and Hufton place the average marrying age for women in the eighteenth century at twenty-five to twenty-eight, Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 349; Olwen Hufton, "Women and the Family Economy in Eighteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (1975): 7.

³⁸ Contrat de mariage entre Gédéon Alexis Quatresols-Delahante, propriétaire, et Catherine Barbe Marcoux, nièce de Jean-Baptiste et Sébastien Erard, facteurs de pianos, March 6, 1807, MC/ET/XVIII/1027, Minutes de Jean Louis Gauldrée-Boilleau, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Archives nationales, Paris.

property in early nineteenth-century France, a context which—as we shall see—saw significant changes to women’s legal rights. Because they are lengthy and detailed documents, what follows is a selective discussion: I focus on sections that have direct bearing on Mlles Erard and/or that provide pertinent contextual information about the sisters’ lives.

3. The uncles’ donation and family ties in the marriage contracts³⁹

Let us begin untangling the linguistic thicket of a nineteenth-century marriage contract by starting with the clauses most relevant to Mlles Erard: the donation of the company to Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe by Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien in the elder sister’s 1802 document. Because of their donation, the uncles receive special mention as significant third parties to the contract, alongside the betrothed and their parents. Article 4 is where their donation is outlined: here Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien give Mlles Erard to both Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe in the form of an irrevocable inter vivos gift (*donation entre-vifs*). This gift was a means of bestowing property on the nieces during the lifetime of their uncles and their uncles’ descendants, with each sister receiving one half of the company. The donation was comprised “of the music store established by the C[itiz]ens Erard, in their house, rue du Mail, together with the manuscripts, plates and other objects, without exception or reserve, composing the said store, the whole included and detailed in a deed.”⁴⁰ The deed includes a list of pieces with titles or genres and the composer’s name as well as a short furniture inventory, including an expensive bookcase, a desk, and a mahogany *secrétaire en forme d’armoire*. Each item has its value listed in the left-hand column with the combined assets valued at 75,284.08 francs in total.

In addition to Mlles Erard itself, the uncles also gave their nieces free use of two rooms, namely “the room used as a shop on the second floor and of another adjoining room overlooking the garden, all forming part of the said house on rue du Mail no. 37, valued at one hundred francs per year.”⁴¹ Figure 1.1 shows the outside of the rue du Mail site as it appears today (below).

³⁹ My thanks to Kimberley White for her help in transcribing, translating, and interpreting the text of the marriage contracts in the following sections.

⁴⁰ My translation, “Du fonds de magasin de musique établi par les Cens Erard, en leur maison, rue du Mail, ensemble les manuscrits, planches et autres objets, sans exception ni réserve, composant le dit fonds et magasin, le tout compris et détaillé en un acte.” Contrat de mariage [Bonnemaison, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 2.

⁴¹ My translation, “la pièce servant de magasin au premier étage et d’une autre pièce attenante donnant sur le jardin le tous tout faisant partie de ladite maison rue du Mail no 37 évaluer cent francs par année.” Contrat de mariage [Bonnemaison, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 3.

Figures 1.2 to 1.4 depict the interiors of book and music shops from the early nineteenth century and suggest what Mlles Erard's retail space may have looked like. The sisters' right to freely employ these rooms for the Mlles Erard shopfront would only end if they were to sell the company and were no longer occupying them personally; the sisters also agreed to keep the premises in good repair. An additional and significant condition of the donation placed on the sisters and their husbands was that they must "continue to make known the establishment under the name of Erard and that they employ and use the same name, that they will add to theirs, in all the engagements which will be contracted relative to this same establishment."⁴²



Figure 1.1, Site of Mlles Erard's former shop at 13, rue du Mail, Paris (2022). Photo by author.

⁴² My translation, "La présente donation est faite par les Cens Erard sous la condition 1^e. que les Dllles. Marcou [sic] continuent à faire, connaître l'établissement sous le nom de Erard, et qu'elles emploieront [employent] et se serviront [servent] de ce même nom, qu'elles ajouteront au leur, dans tous les engagements qui seront contractés relativement à ce même établissement à qui lesdites Dllles. Marcou et le futur époux déclarent s'obliger." Contrat de mariage [Bonnemaison, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 3.



Figure 1.2, Rudolph Ackermann, *Messrs. Lackington Allen & Co., Temple of the Muses, Finsbury Square* (1809), British Library, Maps K.Top.27.21.b. Public domain.



Figure 1.3, Theodor Hoffbauer, “Boutique de M. Dentu, libraire, dans la galerie d’Orléans, en 1829,” *Paris: Capital of the 19th Century* (1875), Brown Digital Repository. Public domain.



Figure 1.4, Franz Weigl, *Musikalienhandlung von Sigmund Anton Steiner und Tobias Haslinger in Wien* (1835/1840), Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, NE 81, Band IV, Nr. 681. Educational use.

Marie-Françoise's contract suggests a two-fold motivation for the establishment of a publishing house by her uncles. On the one hand, they clearly wished to support their nieces financially. François-Claude—the sisters' father—is conspicuously absent from both contracts. By furnishing their nieces with a business, as well as cash and trousseaus, the uncles were filling his parental role. This allowed the Marcoux sisters to support themselves financially and undoubtedly helped them secure such favourable marriages. On the other hand, a connected publishing business run by family members brought greater visibility and reach to the Erard name. The naming condition in particular ensured that Mlles Erard remained linked to Erard Frères even after it was no longer in the uncles' possession.⁴³

⁴³ This connection was reflected not just in name but in practice. I explore the interconnectedness of Mlles Erard and Erard Frères in terms of their networks, business dealings, finances, and family letters in the last section of this chapter.

Marie-Françoise's contract rendered the transfer of Mlles Erard to the sisters complete, but Catherine-Barbe's contract provides us with still further information on this point. Because her half of Mlles Erard was an important asset for her own married life, we find an updated inventory for the company from 1807. It follows the same format as the list appended to Marie-Françoise's contract but is more extensive in terms of scores, as befitted the growth Mlles Erard had seen in the previous five years: the publishing house was now worth an immense 155,881 francs.⁴⁴

The description and transference of the publishing company to the Marcoux sisters in these marriage contracts practically and symbolically intertwines family and business in several ways. First, the contracts record the financial and affective relationships between the nieces and their uncles. Bestowing property through an inter vivos gift is effectively an advanced inheritance, and it affirmed the Marcoux sisters' link to their mother's family by establishing ties of gratitude: the sisters owed their livelihood as publishers to their uncles.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the additional benefit of free rent in the rue du Mail provided a strong incentive for the Mlles Erard shop to remain on the family premises and for the sisters to live nearby (Marie-Françoise and Féréol bought a house at 59, rue Neuve-Saint-Augustin, about ten minutes' walk away).⁴⁶ Catherine-Barbe's primary marital home is unknown, but she gave her address as the rue du Mail on several occasions.⁴⁷ Familial affection occasionally peaks through the legal language of the contracts. For example, the company and dowry payments were given by the uncles to each niece as "proof" or "testimony of their attachment" (*preuves de leur attachement* and *témoignage de leur attachement*) while the donation of Mlles Erard specifically concluded with the following: "this donation is made by the said C^{ens}. Erard as is previously due, in order to give

⁴⁴ By comparison, during the Restoration (1815–30), a worker might earn around ten francs a week, see Rebecca L. Spang, *Stuff and Money in the Time of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 263.

⁴⁵ Ralph E. Giesey, "Rules of Inheritance and Strategies of Mobility in Prerevolutionary France," *The American Historical Review* 82, no. 2 (1977): 275. For further examples of inter vivos gift giving through a social lens, explored in relation to gender, see Jennifer Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century England: Engagement in the Urban Economy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 203–204; Kerrie-Rue Michahelles, "Contextualising the 1589 Inventory of Catherine de Médicis' Inter-Vivos Donation to Christine de Lorraine," *French History* 32, no. 3 (2018).

⁴⁶ See the mortgage records for this property dating from 1808 to 1822, Bonnemaison (Ferréol) et Catherine Françoise Marcoux, DQ16 5954, case no. 71, Répertoires des formalités hypothécaires, Archives de Paris, Paris.

⁴⁷ For example, see the document Catherine-Barbe signed in 1810 giving power of attorney to her uncle, Jean-Baptiste, in order to sell some of her husband's land holdings to a M. Guerin. Substitution, Mad. Delahante M. Jean Baptiste Erard, April 10, 1810, MC/ET/LXV/623, Minutes de Jean-Baptiste Sené, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Archives nationales, Paris.

their nieces proof of their attachment.”⁴⁸ More significantly, the actions effected by the contracts thus ensured that Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe would remain geographically, practically, and emotionally connected to their maternal family throughout their married and working lives.

The marriage contracts also officially affirmed Marie-Françoise’s and Catherine-Barbe’s partnership with one another. The joint donation of Mlles Erard to the sisters (referred to collectively as “Dlles Marcoux”) tied them together financially and assumed that they would operate the company as a unit. This made the sisters economically and practically reliant on each other as, for the company to succeed and for them to gain individually, they had to work together. That the value of the business grew so considerably between the two contracts—107 percent, from 75,284.08 to 155,881 francs—suggests it was an effective partnership. Because the contracts affirmed the sisters’ joint responsibility for the company, the documents also made Mlles Erard the shared concern of their new husbands and future families: the communities of each couple now stood to benefit from Mlles Erard’s profits and would be financially liable if it were to fail (thankfully, it didn’t). This reality and the contracts that made it possible underscore that marriage and family were economic undertakings, and that business issues were family ones.

4. Starting married life: Wealth, status, and husbands

The contracts show that, by the time they were married, each sister had significant wealth. Marie-Françoise’s assets totaled 45,276 francs, comprising 6,000 in furniture, effects, clothes, linens, and jewelry from her uncles; 3,000 francs in clothing from her personal wardrobe; 36,226 for her half of Mlles Erard; and 50 for her share in the rental value of the rue du Mail shop.⁴⁹ Catherine-Barbe brought even greater wealth to her marriage, a total of 187,940 francs worth. She received 100,000 francs in investments from her uncles and she herself possessed 10,000 francs in jewelry, her trousseau, and profits from Mlles Erard, in addition to her stake in the business; due to growth, her share was now worth 77,940 francs.⁵⁰ According to Jacques Lelièvre’s classic study of Parisian marriage contracts, quantities of over 40,000 *livres* amounted

⁴⁸ My translation, “cette donation est faite par lesdites C^{ens} Erard car il est ci-devant dû, afin de donner à leurs nièces des preuves de leur attachement.” Contrat de mariage [Bonnemaison, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 3, 5.

⁴⁹ See Article 4 and the Mlles Erard inventory appended to the contract, Contrat de mariage [Bonnemaison, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 2–5.

⁵⁰ See Articles 4 and 5, Contrat de mariage [Delahante, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 3–5.

to large fortunes in the post-Revolutionary period, putting both sisters in distinguished company in terms of wealth.⁵¹ Yet there is a clear imbalance between the sisters: Catherine-Barbe had greater wealth due both to the higher valuation of Mlles Erard in 1807 and the much larger donation from her uncles. (At least it appears so on paper: due to the violent economic fluctuations of the post-Revolutionary period, it is difficult to draw conclusions about relative buying power).⁵² A potential reason for this inequity was the wealth of the sisters' fiancés. Like many couples in this period, Catherine-Barbe and Marie-Françoise entered marriage with a similar wealth to their respective grooms. Presumably, for Catherine-Barbe to be considered an acceptable match by Alexis Delahante and his family, she and her uncles had to contribute a larger dowry than was provided for Marie-Françoise.

Both marriages appear to have been advantageous to the sisters. Catherine-Barbe especially was marrying up the social scale, moving from a successful artisan family into a formerly upper-class one. Alexis Delahante was born into a minor aristocratic family from Coulommiers (central northern France) in 1767; several of his relatives had been executed during the Terror but he managed to regain various family landholdings.⁵³ Fleeing Revolutionary violence, he moved to London and became an important dealer in fine art, furniture, and curios on both sides of the Channel and in Rotterdam.⁵⁴ Marie-Françoise's husband Féréol was born in Toulouse in 1770 and trained as a painter and restorer.⁵⁵ Like Alexis, he was a significant art dealer in England and France; during the Restoration, he worked as a curator for the Duchesse du Berry and became director of restoration at the Louvre in 1816.⁵⁶ Alexis and Féréol shared the Erard family's royalist leanings and—as with many marriages—they were connected to the

⁵¹ Fortunes of over 40,000 livres constituted only 3 percent of marriage contracts surveyed in Lelièvre, 62–63. A livre was a unit of money used only in accounting under the *ancien régime* and was replaced by the franc in 1803, see Spang, 11–12, 249–252.

⁵² Lelièvre, 63.

⁵³ Sylvain Cordier, “Inventer et vendre le meuble historique: le goût et la carrière d’Alexis Delahante, peintre, expert et marchand de curiosités,” *Revue de l’Art* 184 (2014): 63. For a summary of Alexis’s assets in 1807 see Article 3, Contrat de mariage [Delahante, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris.

⁵⁴ Cordier, 63; Diana Davis, *The Tastemakers: British Dealers and the Anglo-Gallic Interior, 1785–1865* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2020), 46.

⁵⁵ Davis, 46. Féréol had previously been married to an Anne Parisse, with whom he had a son. They divorced on 26 floréal, an 7 (May 15, 1799), see the preamble of Contrat de mariage [Bonnemaison, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 1.

⁵⁶ Linda Whitely, “Bonnemaison, Ferréol de, Chevalier,” *Grove Art Online* (Oxford Art Online, 2003), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T009913>; Davis, 251; Tom Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past: Collecting Culture in Post-Revolutionary Paris, c. 1790–1890* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 54.

Marcoux sisters through networks of acquaintance.⁵⁷ Marie-Françoise probably met Féréol through her uncle Sébastien—possibly while the two men were part of the London émigré community—and Catherine-Barbe most likely came to know Alexis through her sister and brother-in-law. The two men worked together extensively as dealers and Erard family letters furthermore show that they made sales and purchases of paintings for Sébastien, who had an extensive art collection.⁵⁸

Art dealing was a distinct occupation from music publishing but not an unrelated one. Publishers and dealers are essentially intermediary roles: they involve engaging and socializing with wealthy and upper-class customers and artists; they require or project the fashionable taste of the proprietor; and they are, of course, both in the creative arts. Like their wives, Féréol and Alexis frequently mixed and negotiated with French and English elites, selling them luxury goods including art works and furniture.⁵⁹ In comparison to the other couple in this larger story—Nannette and Andreas Streicher—these two couples retained distinct occupations throughout their marriages. The husbands appear to have had no intentions of taking over or participating substantially in the running of Mlles Erard. Article 5 of Catherine-Barbe’s contract contains a margin note where it is made explicit that Alexis intended to continue operating his art dealing business.⁶⁰ Historian Claire Crowston considers the advantages of spouses having separate occupations: for the couple and their family, it provided two diverse lines of income, even if the proceeds went to each individual, rather than into the community of property. For married women, operating their own business furthermore “allowed them a measure of autonomy within marriage” and “helped mitigate their husbands’ legal, economic, and social authority.”⁶¹

⁵⁷ Darius A. Spieth, *Revolutionary Paris and the Market for Netherlandish Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 91n177.

⁵⁸ For example, Bonnemaïson is mentioned in relation to the sale of Erard paintings in a letter from Pierre in London to Sébastien in Paris, April 8, 1819, Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 712; Davis, 46; Whitely.

⁵⁹ Davis, 46.

⁶⁰ My translation: “the said will of the future husband would be to continue his trade in art objects, to which he is dedicated” (*ladite volonté du futur époux serait être de continuer sa commerce d’objets d’arts auquel il fait voué*). Contrat de mariage [Delahante, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 5.

⁶¹ Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791*, 350.

5. Property, marital community, and *marchandes publiques*

Marie-Françoise's contract makes a clear statement about the ownership of Mlles Erard. In Article 4 (the section explicating Jean-Baptiste's and Sébastien's donation of the business) it reads that the "Dlles Marcoux" were each to receive one half of the company.⁶² In order to enjoy one of the additional benefits of the donation—occupation of two rooms at rue du Mail, no. 37, for their shop—it also emphasizes that the sisters were "personally" (*personnellement*) required to make use of those rooms.⁶³ The fifth and sixth articles of Catherine-Barbe's contract reassert the sisters' ownership and direct operation of Mlles Erard, stating that "the future wife will continue to execute personally & jointly with the Dame Bonnemaison her sister, the business of their establishment and music store."⁶⁴ The contracts therefore make it plain that the sisters had equal stakes in and control over the company.

It is important to consider how the Marcoux sisters' gender and legal standing impacted their control of property and that this shifted as they moved through different life stages, from unmarried *filles majeures* to married women and (in Marie-Françoise's case) into widowhood. Marriage contracts were a significant piece of this puzzle, and both Marie-Françoise's and Catherine-Barbe's contracts established community of property (*communauté des biens*) with their spouses. Lelièvre notes that this was by far the most common arrangement between Parisian couples who drew up marriage contracts.⁶⁵ Legally speaking, this meant that property held by the community was *owned* jointly but *administered* by the husband. But in both contracts there were limits to the marital communities; not all assets were to be included. In Marie-Françoise's case,

⁶² "[Les Citoyens Erard frères] font par ce présente donation entre vifs et irrévocable en la meilleure forme qu'elle puisse valoir aux d[ites] D^{lles}. Marcoux ce acceptants chacune pour moitié du fonds de magasin de musique établi par les C^{ens} Erard, en leur maison, rue du Mail, ensemble les manuscrits, planches et autres objets, sans exception ni réserve, composant le dit fonds et magasin...", Contrat de mariage [Bonnemaison, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 2.

⁶³ My translation, "For them to enjoy the said premises jointly and personally, in the event that they cease trading or sell their business, the enjoyment of the said premises will cease to belong to them and will revert to the said Cens Erard." (*Pour par elles jouir desdites lieux en commun et personnellement car dans le cas où elles viendraient à cesser leur commerce ou à vendre leur fonds, alors cette la jouissance desdites lieux cessera de leur appartenir et retournera aux dits Cens Erard*). Contrat de mariage [Bonnemaison, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 3–4.

⁶⁴ My translation, "La future épouse continuera d'exécuter personnellement & conjointement avec la D^e Bonnemaison sa sœur, le commerce de leur établissement et magasin de musique." Contrat de mariage [Delahante, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 5.

⁶⁵ Seventy percent of the 3,706 contracts Lelièvre studied from between 1769 and 1804 established a community between the couple. Another option was separation of property (*séparation de biens*), where each spouse administered their own assets. Lelièvre, 21.

she and her groom each contributed 6,000 francs to the community, while Catherine-Barbe and her husband-to-be contributed 10,000 each to their community. Catherine-Barbe's contract also notes that the 100,000-franc dowry payment from her uncles was also to be administered by Alexis. In other words, the remainder of the sisters' assets and any future assets that fell to them (such as gifts, legacies, or by inheritance) were to remain outside of the communities.⁶⁶ When taken with the husbands' maintenance of their own trades, this indicates that Mlles Erard and its management truly belonged to the Marcoux sisters in both theory and practice. Profits from the music business that were accrued during the marriage were a different matter; like their husbands' incomes, these presumably went to the community pot.⁶⁷

Marital law also impacted a married woman's ability to engage in business. On this issue, the contracts provide a unique opportunity for study: they were drawn up by the same notary (one Jean Louis Gauldrée-Boilleau) for two women from the same family and involving the same business, but they were drafted five years apart at crucial points in France's legal history. Namely, they demonstrate how the legal situation regarding married women's capacity to engage in trade changed with the implementation of the Civil and Commercial Codes in 1804 and 1807. When Marie-Françoise signed her contract in 1802 it was governed by Parisian customary law, but when Catherine-Barbe went to the altar in 1807 the conditions of her contract were dictated by the new Codes, a gargantuan legal consolidation and reform project undertaken by Napoleon and his ministers.⁶⁸

While married women had long been hampered by laws which cast them as incapacitated and dependant on their husbands, there had been a significant exemption since the Medieval period for women traders who operated businesses separately from their husbands, and who were

⁶⁶ See Article 5 of Marie-Françoise's contract and Article 7 of Catherine-Barbe's.

⁶⁷ Other significant elements of the contracts that are not especially relevant to Mlles Erard relate to the inheritance due to surviving spouse and any children. For Marie-Françoise this included a contractual dower (*douaire préfix*) of 15,000 francs and a preferential legacy (*préciput*) up to a value of 6,000 francs. A contractual dower was money for Marie-Françoise to live on if Féréol pre-deceased her, while the preferential legacy protected a set amount of property from creditors for the surviving spouse. Catherine-Barbe had no contractual dower—they were abolished by the inheritance reform of 17 nivôse, an II (January 6, 1794)—but she was entitled to a preferential legacy of up to 10,000 francs. Desan, "Inheritance Law and Gender Politics in Revolutionary France," 601–603; Fauve-Chamoux, 42–43.

⁶⁸ For the effects of the Civil Code on other women in the nineteenth-century music industry—singers at the Opéra and Opéra-Comique—see Kimberly White, "Female Singers and the *maladie morale* in Parisian Lyric Theaters, 1830–1850," *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 16 (2012): 61, 64.

known as *marchandes publiques* (also *femmes commerçantes*). Crowston writes that the *marchande publique* designation,

allowed married women financial autonomy for all business-related affairs, overriding the legal coverture ordinarily exercised by husbands over their wives. The law required no formal approval for a woman to operate as a ‘public merchant’; indeed, this category implicitly applied to any woman legitimately exercising an independent trade, whether or not she belonged to a guild.⁶⁹

Hafters expands on the woman trader’s capabilities, explaining that “she could perform all the functions necessary in business just like a man—buying, selling, making contracts, suing, being sued, and investing. Her business and her funds were separate from those of her husband, and his creditors could not accost her if his business failed.”⁷⁰ For our purposes, the important point here is that, under pre-reform Parisian law, women merchants did not require spousal permission to trade. In contrast, when we examine the Civil and Commercial Codes of the 1800s—as legal historian Jean-Pierre Nandrin explains—they newly required married women to obtain explicit or tacit authorization from their husbands in order to trade.⁷¹

This small but significant change explains a key difference between Marie-Françoise’s and Catherine-Barbe’s contracts. Catherine-Barbe’s contains wording where her future husband explicitly gives her authority to carry out necessary activities relating to the publishing business (Articles 5 and 6). Marie-Françoise’s contains no such clause. From this we can see the impact of the new Codes: Marie-Françoise had no need of authorization to operate *Mlles Erard* under customary law, while under the Codes, Catherine-Barbe required consent from her husband (here in written form) to be assured that she could operate her business as she wished. Paradoxically, Catherine-Barbe’s contract accords her considerable economic and managerial agency, though its very inclusion reflects an intentional contraction of married women’s rights. It describes in detail what she as a music publisher needed to be able to do in the course of her work:

The future wife will continue to execute personally & jointly with the Dame Bonnemaison her sister, the business of their establishment and music store. [...]

Consequently, the future husband confers upon her all necessary authorizations to [...] and administer the said business, to make all purchases and sales of goods, all

⁶⁹ Crowston, *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France*, 143.

⁷⁰ Hafters, 11.

⁷¹ See Article 4 of the Commercial Code. Nandrin, 5, 16.

treaties, agreements, contracts and negotiations, to subscribe, endorse, collect and receive or pay all bills, bills of exchange, commercial bills, to give and receive receipts, to sue all debtors, to file all legal claims, respond to those that may be filed, respond to those that may be brought before all courts, commercial courts & other competitors, to plead, oppose, appeal, elect domicile, obtain judgments, have them enforced, form all oppositions, seize registrations, give all releases, compromise, compose, make all parts and arrangements, choose all agents, grant them all necessary powers, revoke them and constitute others.⁷²

This article of Catherine-Barbe's marriage contract is a laundry list of the business activities that the Marcoux sisters needed to engage in as music publishers, including purchases and sales, negotiations, and taking legal action. As such this list lays out both the day-to-day and extraordinary parameters of Parisian music publishers' work in general. Milles Erard's male competitors required no such permission from their spouses; the gendered conditions the Marcoux sisters faced in this instance have therefore preserved information about the nineteenth-century music industry which, in relation to male music publishers, would otherwise be only available in diffuse sources. Catherine-Barbe's contract thus provides us with an enlightening and efficient summary of her own labour, that of her sister, and of her peers.

The expansive wording of this section of Catherine-Barbe's marriage contract suggests that she would not have needed to request additional permission from her husband to undertake a wide range of business activities. No doubt this was a more convenient process for all involved: having to apply to her husband for permission to contract or sign a every bill would have been cumbersome for both spouses. Later documents suggest that Marie-Françoise did, however, require her husband's permission for business contracts. For example, the preamble from an 1817 contract states that it was between composer, pianist, and publisher Clementi and "Mme Françoise Catherine Marcoux, wife of M. Féréol Bonnemaïson, authorized by her husband,

⁷² My translation. "La future épouse continuera d'exécuter personnellement & conjointement avec la D.^e Bonnemaïson sa sœur, le commerce de leur établissement et magasin de musique [...]. En conséquence le futur époux lui confère autant que besoin est toutes autorisations nécessaires pour [?] et administrer lad.t [ladite] commerce, faire tous achats et ventes de marchandises, toutes traités, accords, conventions et négociations, souscrire, endosser, toucher et recevoir ou payer tous billets, lettres de change, effets de commerce, donner et recevoir quittances, poursuivre tout débiteurs, former toutes demandes en justice, répondre à celles qui seraient installées suivre par-devant tous tribunaux de paix, de commerce & autres compéteurs [compétiteurs], plaider, opposer, appeler, élire domicile, obtenir jugements, les faire exécuter, former toutes oppositions, saisir inscriptions, donner toutes mainlevées, transiger composer, faire tout parts et arrangements, choisir tous mandataires, leur conférer tout pouvoir nécessaire, les révoquer et constituer d'autres." Contrat de mariage [Delahante, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 5–6.

present, for the following purposes...”⁷³ This may have been the Bonnemaïsons’ practice throughout their marriage or one they adopted because of the Codes (specifically, the stipulation that a married woman could not enter into a contract without her husband’s permission).

It is important to note that while France’s legal restrictions on the status and property rights of married women made some aspects of trade more difficult, it did not impede the Marcoux sisters from carrying out essential tasks like corresponding with composers, instructing employees, and managing the retail shop. And despite the gendered restrictions they faced, their marriage contracts and their subsequent actions as successful music publishers suggest they possessed significant economic and commercial agency, while at the same time strengthening and maintaining familial and economic bonds between the sisters and with their maternal family members.

6. Women in Parisian music publishing

Mlles Erard was one of several women-led music publishing houses in Paris at the turn of the nineteenth century. Their contemporaries included Jeanne-Élisabeth Duhan (*Madame Duhan*), Barbe-Rose Courtois-Naderman (*Madame* or *Veuve Naderman*, widow of the publisher and harp maker Jean-Henri Naderman), and Élisabeth-Élénore de La Chevardière (who operated the De Roullède or Deroullède publishing house with her husband).⁷⁴ Women had long been prominent in French music printing and publishing. One example is Elizabeth Ballard (ca. 1708–76) of the Ballard dynasty, who married into the competing Boivin family and successfully ran *La règle d’or* for twenty years following her husband’s death.⁷⁵ Of the 220 publishers and music sellers in Paris listed by Devriès and Lesure between the late seventeenth century and 1820, 37 (or sixteen percent) were women. This gender distribution therefore exceeds that of most industries in early nineteenth-century Paris, where women ran between six and fifteen percent of businesses.⁷⁶

⁷³ My translation. “Mad.^e Françoise Catherine Marcoux, épouse de M. Féréol Bonnemaïson, de son mari présent autorisée aux effets ci-après...”, Échange entre M. Clementi et Mad. Bonnemaïson, April 24, 1817, MC/ET/LXV/652, Minutes de Jean-Baptiste Séné, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Archives nationales, Paris. This was standard language for documents involving married businesswomen; for example see the template for a “bill of exchange by a woman trader” (*Lettre de change par une femme commerçante*) in *Dictionnaire général raisonné de droit civil moderne*, vol. 8 (Brussels: Société typographique belge, Adolphe Wahlen et Cie, 1838), 242.

⁷⁴ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 30, 56–58, 60–62, 122–124.

⁷⁵ Sylvette Milliot’s research on Ballard remains one of the only publications to focus on a woman music publisher to date: Milliot.

⁷⁶ Craig, “The Businesswomen of Paris, 1810–1880,” 132.

Record-keeping practices traditionally obscure women's work, so the real number of women in music publishing is doubtless far higher.

An even greater number of women worked in the connected industry of music engraving.⁷⁷ Devriès and Lesure estimate that half of the more than 150 engravers (known as *graveuses*) active in eighteenth-century Paris were women; some of their names, such as that of the prolific Mlle Vendôme, are recorded on title pages.⁷⁸ Upon examining the labouring figures behind music publishing houses in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, we can see that many wives and daughters of printers, publishers, and music sellers engraved pieces, working together with their male relatives to produce printed music.⁷⁹ Julia Doe has explored women's work in music engraving in the eighteenth century, paying special attention to the entry on music engraving in Diderot and d'Alembert's famous *Encyclopédie* written by the engraver Mme de Lusse, the only contribution known to have been authored by a woman.⁸⁰ These examples show that an unusually large group of women were working in music publishing, printing, and engraving during this period, and would have been interacting with each other in those capacities on a regular if not daily basis. As I will explore further in Chapter Three, many if not most customers that bought the products made and sold by music publishers, printers, and engravers were also women. Together, these factors suggests that music publishing and its subsidiary industries may have been a comparatively welcoming arena for middle-class women.

In the early nineteenth century, the role of the publisher (*éditeur*) was primarily a managerial and organizational one.⁸¹ It therefore called on many skills that petit bourgeois women were already expected to possess in relation to home and family. These included

⁷⁷ According to Mark Ledbury, "By the end of the century, women outnumbered men in the profession, engraving roughly fifty-five percent of all scores, though the 'Professional' class of woman engravers (those with long careers and independent finances) was probably more like twenty-seven percent of all music engravers." Mark Ledbury, "Marie-Charlotte Vendôme, François Moria and Music Engraving in the *Choix de Chansons*," ed. Christina Clarke et al., *Choix de Chansons* (2023), <https://choixdechansons.cdhr.anu.edu.au/marie-charlotte-vendome-francois-moria-and-music-engraving-in-the-choix-de-chansons/>.

⁷⁸ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 13, 170–171.

⁷⁹ A few examples include Marie Gaveaux née Astruc and Marie-Élisabeth, wife and daughter of publisher Simon Gaveaux; Marie-Antoninette Lobry née Hyver and her daughter Élisabeth Lobry; and Marie Durameau Oger of *Au Duc de Bourgogne* whose husband was a printer, Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 73–74, 111–112, 124–125.

⁸⁰ Julia Doe, "Mystery, Music Engraving, and France's Artisanal Enlightenment" (American Musicological Society Annual Meeting, online, November 13 2020).

⁸¹ Christine Haynes, "An 'Evil Genius': The Construction of the Publisher in the Postrevolutionary Social Imaginary," *French Historical Studies* 30, no. 4 (2007): 566. For more on the broader role, perception, and political context of French publishers, see Christine Haynes, *Lost Illusions: The Politics of Publishing in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

bookkeeping; managing employees and contractors (such as printers, engravers, and shop assistants); and the ability to form polite interpersonal connections (with composers, customers) through conversation and letter writing. Musical training was also a typical skill in the middle-class woman's arsenal: music publishers often had a background in music and might do their own copyediting.⁸² As we learnt from Catherine-Barbe's marriage contract, she and her family expected that both she and her sister would also buy and sell goods, negotiate and enter into contracts, receive and provide receipts and bills of exchange, and even take business matters to court, all of which they did. I unpack evidence of Catherine-Barbe's and Marie-Françoise's specific activities as women music publishers in greater detail below, but first, let us explore the products on which their livelihoods centred.

7. Mlles Erard's catalogue

In addition to the stock lists included in Marie-Françoise's and Catherine-Barbe's marriage contracts, at least six distinct printed Mlles Erard catalogues survive.⁸³ Spanning the years between 1802 to 1833, most exist today as independent catalogues, while two are attached to compositions. Once a piece appeared in their catalogue it tended to remain there (that is, older works were not usually removed) and while these lists appear to be relatively comprehensive,

⁸² Rudolf Rasch, "Basic Concepts," in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues Bibliography*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 21.

⁸³ Mlles Erard, Catalogue de musique appartenant à Melles Erard, rue du Mail, n° 37, à Paris, ca. 1802, FOL-VM PIECE-88, Département de la Musique, Richelieu, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; Mlles Erard, Catalogue d'ariettes italiennes, provenant du fonds de feu Bailleux, appartenant à Mlles. Erard, à Paris, rue du Mail, no. 37, ca. 1802, Mus. Ab 122, Musik, Historische Drucke, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB000190C000000000>; Mlles Erard and Pierre-Jean Garat, Catalogue de musique appartenant à Melles Erard, rue du Mail, n° 37, à Paris, *Trois Romances avec Accompagnement de Piano ou Harpe, Paroles de J. H. Segur, Musique de Garat*, ca. 1803, M 1624.4 .G37 op.5 1798, International Harp Archive, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT, <https://archive.org/details/troisromancesave00gara>; Mlles Erard and Hélène de Montgeroult, "Catalogue de musique appartenant à Melles Erard, rue du Mail, n° 37, à Paris," in *Pièce pour le forte piano par Madame Hélène de Montgeroult. Oeuvre 3ème*, ca. 1804, VM12-20977, Département de la Musique, Richelieu, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b72008820/f1.item>; Mlles Erard, Catalogue de musique appartenant à Mesdemoiselles Erard, à Paris, rue du Mail, No. 13, ca. 1817, Mus. Ab 122, Musik, Historische Drucke, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001905200000000>; Jules-Sébastien Delahante, "Catalogue des ouvrages composant le fonds de musique, J. Delahante, successeur de Melles. Erard [...] à Paris, rue du Mail no. 13 [1833]," ed. François Lesure, *Cinq catalogues d'éditeurs de musique à Paris (1824–1834): Dufaut et Dubois, Petit, Frère, Delahante-Erard, Pleyel* (Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1976).

cross-referencing with periodical advertisements shows that not all published pieces appeared in the catalogues.⁸⁴

Mlles Erard was firmly focused on the contemporary Parisian musical scene. Most of their composers were based in Paris, while several were based in London (including Clementi, Cramer, John Field) or moved between London and Paris (such as François-Joseph Dizi and the Dussek couple). Others, like Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Franz Liszt, and Ferdinand Ries visited Paris on while on tour. In comparison to Pleyel's catalogue, there is only a marginal presence of works by Viennese figures like Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, and in general there are fewer Germanic composers represented (exceptions include a few works by Carl Czerny, Prince Louis Ferdinand, and Joseph Gelinek). As was typical of music publishing of the era, almost all Mlles Erard's composers were either contemporaneous or highly popular representatives of the previous generation of French or Italian music.

While most of the composers listed in Mlles Erard catalogues are identified with male or male-presenting names, I have identified thirteen women composers in the catalogues and surviving scores, most of whom have "Mme" or "Mlle" appended to their names. These include piano works by the pedagogue and one-time Conservatoire professor Hélène de Montgeroult and Alsatian composer Marie Kiéné Bigot de Morogues; romances by the famous soprano Isabella Colbran; *sonatines* for harp by singer and composer Sophia Dussek née Corri (previously attributed to her husband), and harp pieces by both Adelaide-Suzanne-Camille Delaval, née Larrivée, and her daughter Camille.⁸⁵ In contrast, women composers are not identified by

⁸⁴ Pauline Duchambge's songs, including the nocturne "Mystère" for two voices and piano, are notably absent from the catalogues. Pauline Duchambge, *Mystère. Nocturne. Paroles de M. Poisson* (Paris: Mlles Erard).

⁸⁵ Marie Kiéné Bigot de Morogues, ("Mlle Bigot," 1786–1820); Jeanne-Marguerite-Joséphine Bresson ("Mlle Bresson," 1785–1827); Mlle Canzler (unidentified); Isabella Colbran ("Colbran," 1785–1845); Adelaide-Suzanne-Camille Delaval, née Larrivée ("Mme Delaval" or "Delaval," 1763–1802); Camille Delaval ("Mlle C. Delaval, ca. 1793–?); Marie-Catherine-Césarine Duchamp ("Mme C. Duchamp," 1789–?); Sophia Dussek, née Corri ("Dussek," 1775–1857); Madame J.-D. (unidentified); Hélène de Montgeroult ("Mad. Montgeroult," 1764–1836); Marie-Charlotte Hippolyte de Campet de Saujon, Countess of Boufflers ("Mlle Saujon," 1725–1800); and Mme T. (unidentified). Hugh Macdonald, "Bigot (de Morogues) [née Kiené], Marie," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.03073>; Volker Timmermann, "Bresson, Jeanne-Marguerite," ed. Freia Hoffmann, *Instrumentalistinnen-Lexikon – Sophie Drinker Institut* (2007), <http://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/cms/index.php/bresson-jeanne-marguerite>; Elizabeth Forbes, "Colbran, Isabella [Isabel]," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06067>; Bonnie Shaljean and Jessica R. Suchy-Pilalis, "Delaval [de la Valle, Delavel, De Laval, etc.], Madame," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.42767>; "Duchamps, Marie-Catherine-Césarine," Notice de personne, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2019, <http://ark.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb14804107r>; Barbara Garvey Jackson, Howard Allen Craw, and Bonnie Shaljean, "Dussek, Sophia," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.60000200671>; Barbara Garvey Jackson, *Say Can You Deny Me: A*

honorifics in Pleyel's catalogues, despite the fact that the company did publish works by multiple women.⁸⁶ In other words, women appear to be more prominent in Mlles Erard's catalogues than in those of their competitors. What is not clear from surviving sources is whether Mlles Erard worked with a greater number of women composers because they themselves were women. It is, however, possible that some composers felt more at ease negotiating with publishers of the same gender.

Early on, Mlles Erard's catalogue featured full scores, parts, and arrangements of *opéras-comiques* by François-Adrien Boieldieu, Nicolas Dalayrac, Martin Pierre Dalvimare, Charles-Henri Plantade, and Gaspard Spontini (the future husband of Céleste Erard, the Marcoux sisters' cousin). Other large scale vocal works included dramas and tragedies by Spontini and Ferdinand Herold.⁸⁷ A substantial portion of the firm's output is made up of arrangements of overtures and arias from these theatrical productions for accompanied voice, solo piano, harp, guitar, flute, clarinet, *harmonie* (wind band), and orchestra. Though they published some large ensemble works, symphonies are noticeably absent from their collection. After about 1809, Mlles Erard primarily published instrumental and chamber pieces and small-scale vocal works. There are a small number of concerti, duets, trios etc. for strings (most by the Romberg cousins) and woodwind (dominated by André-Frédéric Eler and flutist Étienne-François Gebauer), plus chamber works by composers including Louis Ferdinand, Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, Giovanni Battista Viotti, and Joseph Woelfl. The catalogues include extensive lists of individual French songs, varied airs, Italian songs, nocturnes, and romances, alongside romance collections by Boieldieu, Louis-Emmanuel Jadin, Louis-Barthélémy Pradher, and Matteo Antonio Babbini.

Guide to Surviving Music by Women from the 16th through the 18th Centuries (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 148; Julie Anne Sadie, "Montgeroult, Hélène Antoinette-Marie de Nervo de," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43106>; Fournutée B. Briquet, *Dictionnaire historique, littéraire et bibliographique des Françaises, et des étrangères naturalisées en France* (Paris: Gillé, 1804), 59, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k997019p>.

⁸⁶ For example, Amélie-Julie Candelle (1767–1834), Françoise Elisabeth Desfossez (1743–1823), Pauline Duchambge, and Henriette-Sophie Georgeon (1779–?), see Rita Benton and Jeanne Halley, *Pleyel as Music Publisher: A Documentary Sourcebook of Early 19th-Century Music*, Annotated Reference Tools in Music, (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1990), 64, 98, 208, 333, 347.

⁸⁷ Boieldieu's *Beniowsky, ou les exiles du Kamchattka* (1800) and *Le Calife de Bagdad* (1800); Dalayrac's *L'héman ou la tour de Neustadt* (1801), *La Boucle de cheveux* (1803), and *Gulistan ou le Hulla de Samarcande* (1805); Dalvimare's *Le mariage par imprudence* (1809); Plantade's *Zoë, ou la Pauvre petite* (1800); and Spontini's *Milton* (1804) and *Julie ou le pot de fleurs* (1805). All these productions premiered at the Opéra Comique. Mlles Erard also published three Spontini works for the Paris Opéra, *La vestale* (1807), *Fernand Cortez* (1809), and *Olimpie* (1819), followed by Herold's *L'illusion* (1829), and individual arias from Martini's *Annette et Lubin* (1789); Tarchi's *D'Auberge en auberge ou les prétentions* (1800); and Kreutzer's *Astianax* (1801).

Mlles Erard also acquired and continued the subscription publication *Journal d'ariettes italiennes* (founded by publisher Antoine Bailleux) in 1802, which substantially expanded their stock.⁸⁸

At the core of Mlles Erard's business throughout its existence was music for piano and harp. A catalogue from around 1817 (see Figure 1.5) shows that among 863 entries by over one hundred composers, 209 feature piano as a primary instrument—including sonatas, concertos, fantasies, and chamber works—and 47 feature harp: nine of those works are duets for piano and harp.⁸⁹ The numbers are even more impressive if we include the 221 individual songs and 39 romance collections that call for piano or harp accompaniment, including many works by Spontini and Dalayrac. In addition to Cramer, Steibelt, Henri-Jean Rigel, and Jadin, the composers of piano music include stalwarts of the Parisian and London scenes such as Clementi, Jan Ladislav Dussek, Friedrich Kalkbrenner, and de Montgeroult, while important harp composers include Dalvimare, Camille Delaval, Dizi, and Dussek.⁹⁰ Multiple works are listed as appropriate for either piano or harp and, in addition to sonatas and concerti, the genres represented include pot-pourris, duos, four-hand piano works, *airs variés*, fantasies, preludes, rondos, waltzes and contredanses.

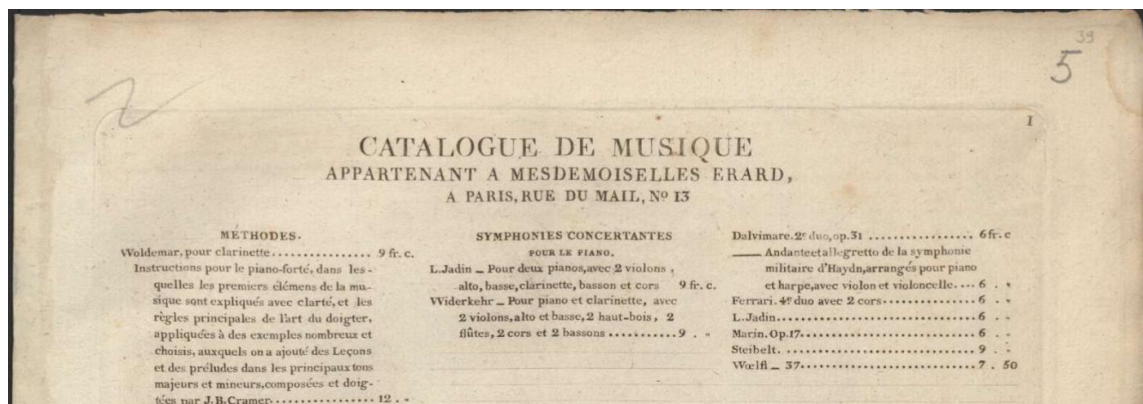


Figure 1.5, Heading and entries in a Mlles Erard catalogue (ca. 1817), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Mus. Ab 122. Public domain.

⁸⁸ Ann Griffiths and Richard Macnutt, “Erard,” *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.42471>.

⁸⁹ “Catalogue de musique appartenant à Mesdemoiselles Erard,” ca. 1817, Mus. Ab 122, Historische Drucke, Musik, Unter den Linden, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001905200000000>.

⁹⁰ Erin Heylard points out that, in the early 1830s, *Le Pianiste* viewed Clementi, Steibelt, Cramer, and Dussek as the four “founding fathers” of French pianism. See Erin Heylard, “Muzio Clementi: The Father (Also) of French Pianism,” *Keyboard Perspectives: The Lure of Paris, 1795–1810* 13 (2022): 39.

Mlles Erard made a number of significant contributions to music history with their publications. They were a major publisher of Spontini's operas, proponents of influential piano methods and exercise collections by Cramer and Clementi, and the first to publish the works of Field (the popularizer of the nocturne) in France.⁹¹ They also illegally published the first French translation and arrangement of Haydn's *Creation*, undertaken by Steibelt and librettist J.-A. Ségur, much to the chagrin of Haydn and his associates.⁹²

8. Professional activities: Interactions with composers and other publishers

Various primary sources, including letters, contracts, bills, and a court case survive to attest to some of the Marcoux sisters' professional activities as Mlles Erard. These preserve details of their interactions with composers, publishers, and music dealers alike, and provide insight into how they operated in terms of securing new compositions, establishing local and international distribution networks, and defending their property against copyright infringement. (Their activities also extended to hosting salons and engaging in their own musical performances, which I explore in Chapter Three).

On at least two occasions, Mlles Erard negotiated contracts with composer-publishers based in London to exchange publication rights. On April 24, 1817, Marie-Françoise signed a contract with Clementi while he was visiting Paris. This contract gave him the right to publish Cramer's Op. 57, 58, and 59 sonatas in London in exchange for giving Mlles Erard the right to publish Clementi's own *Gradus ad Parnassum* and August Alexander Klengel's *Quinze leçons pour le piano-forte*, Op. 21 in Paris.⁹³ In other words, Clementi would receive the exclusive right to publish Cramer's sonatas in England, while Mlles Erard would receive the same rights to publish Klengel and Clementi's pieces in France. Clementi's and Cramer's works were deemed to be of equal value (1,200 francs) so this was an outright exchange. Marie-Françoise then paid Clementi for Klengel's piece in scores of his choosing from her shop to the tune of 720 francs; Mlles Erard published both works in 1817.⁹⁴ Klengel was an important participant in the

⁹¹ Fionnuala Moynihan, "Considerations for a Modern Performance of John Field's Piano Sonata Op. 1 No. 1 in E flat Major" (D.Mus. Perf. diss. Royal Irish Academy of Music, 2016), 4, <http://hdl.handle.net/2262/78264>.

⁹² Beghin, *Beethoven's French Piano*, 127–131.

⁹³ Échange, Minutier central des notaires de Paris.

⁹⁴ Klengel's work appears in the 'Methods' section in Mlles Erard's ca. 1817 catalogue as *Quinze leçons progressives pour le piano-forte*, Erard, Catalogue de musique, Historische Drucke, Musik: 1; Muzio Clementi, *Gradus ad Parnassum ou l'art de jouer le piano-forte, démontré par des exercices dans le style sévère et dans le*

negotiations leading up to this contract. In 1816 he wrote to Clementi: “I hope Mr Clementi has got my letter from Paris, as well as the Catalogues of Mme Bonnemaïson’s music shop, which I sent you by two different travelers, who were returning to London. Mme Bonnemaïson accepted Mr Clementis [*sic*] proposal and my work has been published on the 1 October.”⁹⁵ He followed up the next month, writing:

The second volume of my work Op. 21 whose first part is your property, is already considerably advanced; therefore, should you be inclined to accept my proposals, this work would be a very good thing for you amongst some other manuscripts that I am preparing. Besides this, you would find another advantage by ceding the Copy-right for the publication of those works to Mme Bonnemaïson or any other music seller in France, as you did with my last work.⁹⁶

Clementi himself then travelled to Paris to bring *Gradus ad Parnassum* to Marie-Françoise for it to be published simultaneously with the London and Leipzig imprints.⁹⁷ The contract and the exchanges that preceded it thus provide insight into how music publishers like Mlles Erard negotiated deals, learnt about each other’s stock, and acquired pieces from foreign markets.

A second example of an international contract was signed between Cramer and the Marcoux sisters in London on January 10, 1804. In this instance, Mlles Erard received the rights to publish the first book of Cramer’s *Étude pour le piano-forté en quarante-deux exercices*, Op. 39, in Paris while the composer would simultaneously publish the work in London.⁹⁸ The details of this contract are preserved in a court case the sisters fought against rival publisher Jean-Georges Sieber in 1809 for infringing on their copyright when he published a pirated version of the études in 1805.⁹⁹ Mlles Erard had the offending stock seized from Sieber in 1808 and the ensuing litigation raised impactful questions about France’s landmark copyright law of July 19,

style élégant, composé et dédié à Madame la Princesse Wolkonsky, 2me livre (Paris: Mlles Erard, 1817), <https://doi.org/https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9701271k>.

⁹⁵ The letter is undated but was written in October or November of 1816, see Muzio Clementi and David Rowland, *The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi*, vol. 14, Opera omnia: Edizione nazionale italiana / Muzio Clementi, (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2010), 239–240.

⁹⁶ Clementi and Rowland, 14, 240.

⁹⁷ Clementi and Rowland, 14, 243.

⁹⁸ Johann Baptist Cramer, *Étude pour le piano-forte en quarante deux exercices dans les différents tons: calculés pour faciliter les progrès de ceux qui se proposent d’étudier cet instrument à fond, 1er livre* (Paris: Mlles Erard, 1817). <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k97499290>.

⁹⁹ Philippe-Antoine Merlin, *Recueil alphabétique des questions de droit, qui se présentent le plus fréquemment dans les tribunaux*, 4 ed., vol. 6 (Paris: Remoissenet, 1829), 491–499.

1793.¹⁰⁰ The case was so significant that it warranted inclusion in an important text on French jurisprudence as a case study regarding the following points: “1. Can foreign authors who publish works in France [that are] not yet published in a foreign country, like national authors, sue the counterfeiters of these works in our courts? 2. In this respect, what is the condition of French assignees of foreign authors?”¹⁰¹

In a musical twist, part of Marie-Françoise’s and Catherine-Barbe’s case against Sieber hinged on the fact that he had copied the fingerings in their Parisian publication. The English version employed fingerings “in the English style,” indicating the use of the thumb was a cross (+), while in the French version, Cramer had followed local practice and used the numeral “1.”

¹⁰² Sieber claimed to have copied a Leipzig version of the piece, but his use of the French fingerings found in the earlier Mlles Erard publication put the lie to that assertion. The result of the case—which the sisters won on appeal in March 1810—was that a French assignee (someone to whom copyright had been transferred by the composer or author) retained exclusive copyright as long as they published the work before it appeared outside of France.¹⁰³

This court case confirms not only that the Marcoux sisters organized multiple copyright exchanges with international colleagues, but also that they were well aware of and determined to defend their legal rights at home. Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe (referred to as “les demoiselles Erard, femmes Lahante et Bonnemaïson” or “les dames Bonnemaïson et Lahante”) personally featured in the case against Sieber; their husbands are mentioned once, presumably because their authorization for their wives to participate was required by law.¹⁰⁴ The sisters were the copyright holders and plaintiffs, gave testimony in court, and drew on their musical

¹⁰⁰ Rebecca Dowd Geoffroy-Schwinden explores the significance of these reforms in Chapter Three of her book, “Private Property: Music and Authorship.” Several of Mlles Erard’s key composers were signatories of a petition by composers to the government in 1791, including Dalayrac, L. Jadin, Steibelt, and Rigel. Rebecca Dowd Geoffroy-Schwinden, *From Servant to Savant: Musical Privilege, Property, and the French Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), 79–111, 199, 104. On the broader significance of French copyright law during the Revolution see Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1810*, Reprint 2020 ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

¹⁰¹ My translation, “1^o: Les auteurs étrangers qui publient en France des ouvrages non encore publiés en pays étranger, peuvent-ils, comme les auteurs nationaux, poursuivre devant nos tribunaux les contrefacteurs de ces ouvrages? 2^o. Quelle est, à cet égard, la condition des cessionnaires français d’auteurs étrangers?” Merlin, 6, 491.

¹⁰² Merlin, 6, 491, 493.

¹⁰³ Merlin, 6, 499; Joseph J. Darlington, *A Treatise on the Law of Personal Property* (Philadelphia: T. & J. W. Johnson & Company, 1891), 270.

¹⁰⁴ My translation, “Bonnemaïson, Lahante and their wives” (*les sieurs Bonnemaïson, Lahante et leurs épouses*), Merlin, 6, 493; Craig, *Female Enterprise*, 82.

knowledge as publishers to build their case. They successfully asserted their right for the law to protect them as both publishers and as French *citoyennes*.¹⁰⁵

Notably, the 1804 Cramer contract cited in the court case was not signed in Paris but in London. This highlights not only that the sisters undertook international travel, but that these trips were opportunities for them to conduct business. Evidence shows that both sisters travelled to London with their husbands in 1811, while Catherine-Barbe appears to have been particularly mobile: she was in Rotterdam in 1809 and again in London in 1812 (when her son was born) and in 1813.¹⁰⁶ Féréol Bonnemaïson made frequent journeys between Paris and London and art historian Sylvain Cordier writes that Alexis Delahante emigrated to England during the Terror, remained based outside of France during the Empire period, and returned to Paris in 1814; he also worked out of Rotterdam.¹⁰⁷ So it is possible that Catherine-Barbe may have been living with her husband in London for extended periods, not only visiting that city. For the sisters, these journeys may primarily have been about accompanying their spouses, visiting their relatives, and/or fulfilling family duties (Sébastien and Pierre were both based in London at different times). But as we have seen so often with the Marcoux sisters, familial commitments and the interests of Mlles Erard were by no means mutually exclusive. We tend to think of mobility in this period as the prerogative of men, but the Marcoux sisters' own journeys and the extensive examples of women's travel writing from the time remind us that gender and the duties of wife- and motherhood did not automatically cut women off from the wider world around them.¹⁰⁸

Mlles Erard maintained numerous relationships with local and international publishers and dealers in addition to their cross-Channel exchanges with Clementi and Cramer. Some were closer associates than others. For example, the names and addresses of three figures—the music dealer Garnier of Lyon and the publishers J.-F. Weygand of The Hague and Hans Georg Nägeli of Zurich—are printed on certain Mlles Erard title pages.¹⁰⁹ This may suggest that Mlles Erard

¹⁰⁵ Their citizenship and status as “Frenchwomen living in France” (*françaises et domiciliées en France*) is referenced several times in the proceedings, see Merlin, 6, 492, 489, 499.

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Jean-Baptiste Erard to Catherine-Barbe, February 16, 1811; Substitution, Minutier central des notaires; Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 2, 135; Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 76.

¹⁰⁷ Davis, 46; Cordier, 63–64.

¹⁰⁸ See Karen R. Lawrence, especially Chapters One and Two on the late eighteenth-century travel writings of Frances Burney and Mary Wollstonecraft. Karen R. Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), ix–xiii, 28–73, 74–102.

¹⁰⁹ Devriès and Lesure record that Garnier's name features on scores between 18011 and 1811, and Weygand between 1811 and 1814. As no contracts between Mlles Erard, Garnier, and Weygand survive, they are reluctant to draw conclusions about the nature of these relationships. Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 65.

sustained a more formal distribution relationship with these colleagues. The Garnier connection certainly grew out of one already established with Erard Frères: he was one of their major dealers, the sole distributor of Erard Frères instruments in Lyon around 1802, and features heavily in Erard correspondence.¹¹⁰ These letters show that he signed formal agreements with Erard Frères and may well have followed suit with Mlles Erard. Nägeli, too, ordered instruments from the uncles' company; he also had dealings with other figures in the Erard-Marcoux network such as Clementi.¹¹¹

A letter and two invoices from Mlles Erard (written in French) to the Mainz publisher B. Schott's Söhne also survive, providing further insight into the how Mlles Erard engaged with colleagues. The letter, dated May 13, 1825, and preserved in the digitised Schott archive at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, was probably written by Marie-Françoise.¹¹² She agrees to an unspecified deal Schott had proposed in an earlier letter (now lost) and promises to send them a manuscript by Hummel when the composer completes it. She asks them to let her know if they receive any new works by "great masters" and concludes her letter by writing "we hope that this new kind of trade will be mutually advantageous to us."¹¹³ This gives us an additional example of an exchange agreement between Mlles Erard and a foreign publisher and shows how such an agreement might arise. It also demonstrates that publishers used each other to gather information on and secure new works from specific composers beyond their own geographic area.

The second Schott document—a pair of invoices dating from August 8, 1826—records the contents and cost of six orders Schott placed with Mlles Erard between 1822 and 1826 (see

Devriès and Lesure do not mention the relationship with Nägeli (francized as "Jean George Naiguéli"), but his name can be seen on multiple extant scores, such as Bernard Romberg, *Trois duos pour deux violoncelles composés et dédiés à son ami Frédéric Rousseau par Bernard Romberg* (Paris: Mlles Erard, 1805).

https://vmirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/0/09/IMSLP733002-PMLP101371-BRomberg_3_Duos,_Op.9_Erard_monochrome.pdf.

¹¹⁰ The earliest surviving letter from Garnier to Erard Frère dates from 1788. Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 14–15, 165n141, 269n163.

¹¹¹ See letter from Erard in Paris to Nägeli in Zurich, October 16, 1797, which includes an instrument price list. Nägeli also bought a *piano en forme de clavecin* in 1805. Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 1, 212–213; Rowland, 134, 189.

¹¹² Note: the date of the letter is misrecorded as May 10. F/C Erard, Brief an B. Schott's Söhne: 10.05.1825 May 13, 1825, 55 Nachl 100/B,11880, Schott-Archiv, Musik, Nachlässe und Autographe, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Berlin, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0002597B00000000>.

¹¹³ My translation "quelques manuscrits de grand Maître" and "nous espérons que ce nouveau genre de Commerce nous sera réciproquement avantageux." As above.

Figure 1.6).¹¹⁴ They list Mlles Erard publications by Gebauer, Romberg, Cramer, Spontini, and Czerny, as well as several works from other Parisian publishers that Mlles Erard appears to have acquired at Schott's request. As of August 1826, Schott's orders totaled 134.45 francs, and the invoices show that they received a discount of forty percent for each score, as was common between publishers. Note that Schott also received two letters from Erard Frères regarding harp orders in 1826.¹¹⁵ The relationship between Schott and Mlles Erard was longlasting, continuing until at least 1837, as evidenced by reference to a preferential agreement between Delahante and Schott by Breitkopf & Härtel's Parisian agent, Heinrich Probst, in a letter from that year.¹¹⁶

Finally, a financial document from 1829 occasioned by the death of Féréol Bonnemaïson gives us an expansive view of Mlles Erard's network. This document (which I return to later in this chapter) includes a list of Mlles Erard's debtors at that time, recording debts as "recoverable," "doubtful," or otherwise.¹¹⁷ This means that there is a detailed record of publishers and dealers who had accounts with Mlles Erard, including Parisian companies like Lemoine, Janet & Cotelie, Schlesinger, and Naderman; other French businesses, such as Boisselot (Marseille) and Alquier Sœurs (Toulouse); and international actors like Boosey (London) and Simrock (Bonn).¹¹⁸ The collection of contracts, letters, scores, and financial

¹¹⁴ Dlles Erard, Rechnung über diverse Musikalien: 06.1825ff, August 8, 1826, 55 Nachl 100/B,10062, Schott-Archiv, Musik, Nachlässe und Autographe, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Berlin, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00024E2500000000>.

¹¹⁵ Erard Frères, Brief an B. Schott's Söhne: 26.02.1826, February 26, 1826, 55 Nachl 100/B,10060, Schott-Archiv, Musik, Nachlässe und Autographe, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Berlin, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00024E2300000000>; Erard Frères, Brief an B. Schott's Söhne: 06.06.1826, May 6, 1826, 55 Nachl 100/B,10061, Schott-Archiv, Musik, Nachlässe und Autographe, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Berlin, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00024E2400000000>.

¹¹⁶ Delahante "gives Schott the first right of refusal [even] when you [Breitkopf & Härtel] offer the same amount." Letter of October 26, 1837, Heinrich Probst, *Breitkopf und Härtel in Paris: The Letters of their Agent Heinrich Probst between 1833 and 1840*, ed. Hans Lenneberg, La vie musicale en France au XIXe siècle, (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1990), 26–27.

¹¹⁷ "État liquidatif de la communauté de biens qui a existé entre M^r Féréol Bonnemaïson et Mad^e Marie Françoise Catherine Marcoux, aujourd'hui sa veuve et encore de la succession du d[it]. S^r Bonnemaïson; 6^{eme} Observation. Mobilier; Section 4^{eme}. Fonds de musique," Procès-verbal d'ouverture de liquidation dressé à la requête de Marie Françoise Catherine Marcoux, veuve de Féréol Bonnemaïson, demeurant 59, rue Neuve-Saint-Augustin, comme ayant communauté avec son défunt mari, exécutrice de la communauté et donatrice de son mari pour le quart de la succession, March 11, 1829, MC/ET/LXV/705, Minutes de Pierre Charles Froger-Deschesnes, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, 48–51, Archives nationales, Paris.

¹¹⁸ Alquier Sœurs also traded with Erard Frères: there are five letters from these music dealers in the Erard archive at Domaine Royal de Randan, dating from 1832 to 1834, see Robert Adelson and Alain Roudier, *Le Fonds Gaveau-Erard-Pleyel: Inventaire sommaire/The Gaveau-Erard-Pleyel Archives: Catalogue of the Archives* (Centre Sébastien Erard - Association Ad Libitum, AXA, 2010), 52–54, 65. <https://sebastienerard.org/docs/CentreErardInventaireGEP2014.pdf>.

records my research has revealed shows that Mlles Erard was situated in a true network of musical associates from across Europe with whom they engaged in “mutually advantageous trade” (to quote Marie-Françoise), exchanging new and existing scores and binding themselves together through lending. The mutual connections perceived between Mlles Erard, Nägeli, and Clementi furthermore hint that these businesspeople gained new contacts through doing business with each other, opening new markets across national borders in the process.

55 Nachl 100/B,10062

M. 2. 208

M^{re} Schott Dada F. 119. 21
aux D^{es} Erard Libraires de Musique
à Paris

1824 Juin 25	1 flauto gamme f ^{te}	6		
	1 " " B ^{te}	6		
	1 " " B ^{te}	6		
	2 Klavier 1 ^{er} & 2 ^{es} Concerts	36		
	2 " 3 ^{es} & 4 ^{es} " "	44		
	2 " Caprice	12		
	2 " aut. p ^{re} sent	12		
	2 " Detachement	12		
	2 " Trio	10		
	2 " Duo	18		
	1 Cravat tenuille Paris	9		
		131		
	remise à 60 p ^{te}	108 60		
	1 Present des p ^{re} sents d'Erard	1 60	72 40	
	1 aut. p ^{re} sent	1 60		
		3		
	remise à 60 p ^{te}	1 60		
				73 90
De 18 Juin 1825	1 p ^{re} sent de p ^{re} sents d'Erard	72 80		
	remise à 60 p ^{te}	43 80		
			28 80	
	Tout le c ^{re} dit de p ^{re} sents (par la B ^{te} Erard)	2 75		31 55
De 25 d ^{er} Octobre	1 instruction de p ^{re} sents	12		
	remise à 60 p ^{te}	7 20		
			4 80	
	port par la poste		60	
				5 40
De 30 Janvier 1826	1 p ^{re} sents des p ^{re} sents			
	1 Billet de p ^{re} sents par B ^{te} Erard	6		2 40
De 7 Mars	1 p ^{re} sents des p ^{re} sents			
	1 p ^{re} sents de p ^{re} sents	2 60		
	1 p ^{re} sents de p ^{re} sents	4		
	1 p ^{re} sents de p ^{re} sents	9		
		16 60		
	remise à 60 p ^{te}	9 30		
				6 30
				119 45

119 45

Erard

Figure 1.6, Mlles Erard invoice to B. Schott's Söhne (1826), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 55 Nachl 100/B,10062. Creative Commons.

9. Later life: Motherhood, widowhood, retirement, and death

At the same time as they were engaging in the professional activities of music publishing, the Marcoux sisters were running their households, carrying out their duties as wives, and raising children. In 1803, Marie-Françoise gave birth to a daughter named Catherine-Françoise-Eugénie (1803–88) after herself and her mother, and five years later to a son named Jean-Baptiste-Jules-Féréol (1807–?), after his great uncle and his father.¹¹⁹ Marie-Françoise was also stepmother to Féréol's son from his previous marriage, Edouard (dates unknown).¹²⁰ Catherine-Barbe had one child, Jules-Sébastien (1812–66), named for the other Erard great uncle; he would enter music publishing like his mother and aunt.¹²¹

The only known portraits of the sisters survive from this period; today they are held in a private collection and black and white reproductions can be found in the French edition of the Erard letters (which also has matching portraits of their husbands).¹²² In her portrait, Catherine-Barbe looks to the left with her torso oriented towards the viewer; she wears a simple, pale-coloured dress and a delicate necklace. She has pronounced eyebrows, a long nose, hooded eyes that give her a serene expression, and fashionably sloping shoulders. Her long brown curls hang loosely and informally about her face and shoulders, suggesting that it was painted before her marriage and in the style of the 1790s or early 1800s (perhaps the pair of portraits of Catherine-Barbe and Alexis marked the occasion of their marriage in 1807).¹²³ Marie-Françoise is pictured with her young daughter, aged around ten or twelve, wearing Empire-line dresses with the wide, curving necklines and small puff sleeves of the 1810s.¹²⁴ Their hair is styled in high buns with middle partings and ringlets frame their faces; Marie-Françoise's coif is decorated with a pearl-encrusted band. They share a round face and Marie-Françoise's eyes and nose show a clear

¹¹⁹ Catherine-Françoise-Eugénie married the art dealer Silex Quesney-Lerouge in 1819, who worked with her father. Her own daughter, also named Eugénie, was the first wife of painter Jean-Achille Benouville. Marie-Madeleine Aubrun, *Achille Benouville, 1815–1891: catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre* (Paris: Imprimerie Chiffoleau, 1986), 15, 21; Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 64; Davis, 251.

¹²⁰ Regarding Edouard Bonnemaïson, see the preamble of Marie-Françoise's marriage contract.

¹²¹ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 2, 135.

¹²² Barthel, Adelson, and Roudier, *Mon bien cher oncle: correspondance de Pierre Erard à Sébastien Erard*, 1, 17, 25.

¹²³ Madame Pierre Sériziat wears a similar hairstyle and classically inspired dress in a 1795 painting: Jacques-Louis David, *Madame Pierre Sériziat, née Émilie Pecoul, sister of Mme David, née Marguerite-Charlotte Pécoul, and one of her sons, Émile, born in 1793* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 1282), <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010065444>

¹²⁴ A similar hairstyle and dress cuts can be seen on Joséphine de Beauharnais in a portrait from 1812: Firmin Massot, *Portrait of Joséphine de Beauharnais* (Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ГЭ-4928), https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Firmin_Massot_-_Jos%C3%A9phine_de_France_full.jpeg

family resemblance with her sister. She and her daughter are positioned in a relaxed and intimate pose: Marie-Françoise's cheek is pressed against her daughter's head with her arm around her shoulder, while Catherine-Françoise-Eugénie gazes at the viewer with her head to one side. The paintings are surrounded by oval wooden frames and resemble the portraits of Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien from around 1814 that were painted by the miniaturist specialist Jean-Urbain Guérin (1760–1836).¹²⁵ Guérin appears to have been a close family friend as he also witnessed the marriage contracts of both sisters, so it would make sense if the commission to paint other Erard-Marcoux family members was entrusted to him.¹²⁶

Catherine-Barbe is conspicuously absent from later documents relating to Mlles Erard. This is due to her sudden in London at the age of thirty-five in 1813. Devriès and Lesure speculated she may have died as late as 1815, but her burial record and family letters show that she passed away in late June or July two years prior.¹²⁷ Her cause of death is currently unknown, but it was clearly a shock to her family and friends, especially her mother, and she left behind her young son. Pierre described her passing as “the cruel event that crowns all of our misfortunes,” while composer Ferdinand Herold wrote to his own mother, “I shared your grief at the terrible news of Mme de La Hante's death. This is one of those losses that can only be described as irreparable. I hope Mme Erard [Catherine-Barbe *aînée*] will regain her courage.”¹²⁸ Marie-Françoise's own response to Catherine-Barbe's death is unrecorded, but it must have been a profound challenge to lose her sister and business partner all at once. Despite the grief and financial problems faced by the wider Erard family in 1813, to which Pierre alluded in his letter, Mlles Erard appears to have continued to prosper, and Marie-Françoise helmed the company by herself for a further twenty years.¹²⁹ The documents discussed above show that she continued to

¹²⁵ For reproductions of the uncles' portraits see Figures 12.1 and 14.1 in Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 113, 132.

¹²⁶ Contrat de mariage [Bonnemaison, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 6v; Contrat de mariage [Delahante, Marcoux], Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 6v.

¹²⁷ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 63–64. Board of Guardian Records 1834–1906 and Church of England Parish Registers 1813–2003, July 5, 1813, DL/T/066/003, London Metropolitan Archives, London, England.

¹²⁸ Translation by Adelson, “J’ai partagé ton chagrin à l’affreuse nouvelle de la mort de Mme de La Hante. Voilà une de ces pertes qu’on peut bien dire irréparables. J’espère que Mme Énard reprendra courage.” Letter from Pierre Erard in Paris to Sébastien Erard in London, August 14, 1813. The other “misfortunes” to which Pierre refers were Erard Frère's extensive financial problems, see Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 76, 74–81. Letter from Ferdinand Herold in Rome to his mother in Paris, September 11, 1813, quoted in Alexandre Dratwicky, ed., *Hérolde en Italie*, Perpetuum mobile (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), 227–228.

¹²⁹ Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 74–76.

bring in new works and engage with Mlles Erard's local and international networks, but far fewer publications were deposited (thus legally registered) at the Bibliothèque nationale than had been in the previous thirteen years.¹³⁰

Tragedy would strike the Erard-Marcoux family again in the mid-1820s, when Jean-Baptiste died suddenly in 1826, followed by Marie-Françoise's mother and husband in 1827.¹³¹ At the age of fifty, Marie-Françoise was now a widow and the most senior woman in her extended family. Historian Janine M. Lanza describes the rights and position of widows vis-à-vis single and married women: the former "had a legal status independent from that of men; they were emancipated adults. Both widows and single women could sign contracts and claim legal standing. Widows, however, controlled family assets inherited from husbands and took over their position as heads of household when they died [...] widows took on authority, responsibilities, and powers generally granted only to men; they made significant, binding decisions for themselves and for others."¹³² In short, widows—especially those with money and their own business—exerted newfound agency over their own lives and their families.

A vast set of documents from the liquidation of Féréol's estate in 1829 includes financial information about Mlles Erard, the dissolution of the Bonnemaïsons' marital community, and the relationship between the publishing company and their community.¹³³ Marie-Françoise was the executor of the estate and was given permission to administer the community's business and property until its dissolution, placing her in a position of power. Within these accounts of the community's finances, we find a new valuation for Mlles Erard—totalling 89,308.15 francs—and a summary of its assets and liabilities. In addition to the publishers and dealers discussed above, there is also a list of receivables (debts owed to a business that were considered assets) from individuals and companies closely connected to Mlles Erard, including Erard Frères, Jadin, and Spontini, amounting to 11,323.98 francs.¹³⁴ These documents show that the marital

¹³⁰ Depositing two copies with the Dépôt was required by French law and necessary if a publisher wanted to defend their exclusive copyright. Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 65; Laurent Guillo, "Legal Aspects," in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues Bibliography*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 118.

¹³¹ Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, xvii–xviii, 112–113.

¹³² Janine Marie Lanza, *From Wives to Widows in Early Modern Paris: Gender, Economy, and Law* (London: Routledge, 2016).

¹³³ "État liquidatif de la communauté de biens qui a existé entre M^r Féréol Bonnemaïson et Mad^e Marie Françoise Catherine Marcoux," Procès-verbal, Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 39–54.

¹³⁴ This subsection is titled "Situation active et passive du fonds de commerce de musique exploité par Madame Bonnemaïson et Mad^{me} C. Marcoux sa sœur au 22 août 1826 date de décès de Mons. Bonnemaïson" [Active and

community and Mlles Erard were financially tied together. Under the company's assets there is a sum of 1,978.80 francs that was drawn from the Bonnemaisons' community, while the community was also liable for Mlles Erard debts to the tune of 8,108.28 francs. That is to say, Marie-Françoise was able to draw on her community to benefit her business and reduce its debts, giving us a glimpse into her financial agency as a married and then widowed woman.

Marie-Françoise continued to work as a music publisher until 1833 when Catherine-Barbe's son Jules-Sébastien took over Mlles Erard; the catalogue he issued that year declared that the company was now led by "J. Delahante, successor of M^{lles} Erard".¹³⁵ Jules-Sébastien ran the new iteration of the publishing company until 1839, when he declared bankruptcy just six years after inheriting it from his aunt.¹³⁶ From 1833 until her death eighteen years later, Marie-Françoise then swapped music publishing for life as a *rentière*—someone who lives off investments—suggesting that she was comfortably well-off.¹³⁷ In her later years, she continued to socialize with family members, namely cousin Céleste and her husband, Spontini (who published several works with Mlles Erard). She was present at a dinner held by the Spontinis when the German historian Friedrich von Raumer visited in 1848. Raumer noted that on a previous visit she "had received me very kindly" and that by his second visit she had gone blind.¹³⁸ Marie-Françoise died at her home at 38, rue Neuve-des-Mathurins, on May 29, 1851 at the age of seventy-three; she was survived by her two adult children and her estate was valued at 18,263 francs.¹³⁹ She had led a rich life at the helm of one of France's most enduring and successful music publishing houses.

passive situation of the music business operated by Mme Bonnemaison and Mme C. Marcoux, her sister, on August 22, 1826, the date of M. Bonnemaison's death], Procès-verbal, Minutier central des notaires de Paris: 49–50.

¹³⁵ "J. Delahante, successeur [successeur] de Mlles Erard," François Lesure, *Cinq catalogues d'éditeurs de musique à Paris (1824–1834): Dufaut et Dubois, Petit, Frère, Delahante-Erard, Pleyel* (Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1976).

¹³⁶ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 2:135.

¹³⁷ See Steven Huebner's article for further discussion of the distinctions between *rentiers/rentières* and other socio-economic groups in nineteenth-century Paris: Steven Huebner, "Opera Audiences in Paris 1830–1870," *Music & Letters* 70, no. 2 (1989): 212.

¹³⁸ My translation. The full sentence reads, "A relative of Spontini, Mme Bonnemaison, who had earlier received me very kindly, was present, but [now] blind." (*Eine Verwandte der Spontini, Madame Bonnemaison, welche mich früher sehr freundlich aufgenommen hatte, war gegenwärtig, — aber erblindet.*) Letter of August 29, 1848, in Friedrich von Raumer, *Briefe aus Frankfurt und Paris 1848–1849*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1849), 178.

¹³⁹ Table alphabétique des successions et absences, Département de la Seine, 1er arrondissement, DQ8 534, Table de décès (1791–1850), Archives de Paris, Paris; Liquidation de la succession de Madame Bonnemaison, December 17, 1851, MC/ET/LXV/825 KW, Minutes de Jacques Lazare Jean-Fabien, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Archives nationales, Paris.

10. Mlles Erard and Erard Frères

During Marie-Françoise's and Catherine-Barbe's tenure at the head of Mlles Erard, it was interconnected with Erard Frères on multiple levels, especially during the first decade of the publishing company's existence. They were outwardly linked by name, shop location, and their joint speciality in pianos and harps (both the instruments and their repertoire); they were internally linked by strong family ties. That Mlles Erard matters appear at all in Erard Frères correspondence supports this view: family and business were intertwined, and therefore Mlles Erard business was, to some extent, Erard Frères business. The two companies also shared professional networks. Comparison of Mlles Erard catalogues and surviving correspondence with letters and sales ledgers for Erard Frères show significant overlap in instrument dealers, agents, and composers. Business in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was highly dependent on personal acquaintance, and tapping into existing connections formed by family members was expedient and potentially profitable. The sales ledgers and correspondence of Erard Frères furthermore show that the piano company maintained financial ties with Mlles Erard long after the sisters' marriages. The multilayered and mutually beneficial relationship between Mlles Erard and Erard Frères was based on social, financial, and commercial ties. In this section, I explore those ties in terms of brand name, a family member's view of the two companies' relationship, and Mlles Erard's catalogue; in other words, it considers the broader and more outward-facing features of this relationship. The subsequent sections of the chapter focus on specific examples of the relationship in practice through letters, contracts, and the Erard Frères' sales ledgers.

As noted earlier, a condition of the uncles' donation of the publishing company found in Marie-Françoise's marriage contract was that the business carry the name Erard: the sisters could not use their own maiden or married names. This stipulation suggests that it was important to Sébastien and Jean-Baptiste that the publishing company and its products be publicly associated with the Erard Frères brand and instruments (the Marcoux sisters' views about this arrangement are unknown). What might be the benefits of a shared name? For Mlles Erard, the value appears clear: sharing a name already established in the musical world gave them access to the aura around an existing, respected brand. This is demonstrated, for example, by the appearance of the sisters and their business in Reichardt's 1802 account; they only gained mention because the

composer was introduced to them and informed of their enterprise while visiting their uncles' famous piano workshop.

The benefits for Erard Frères are more nebulous, but they may have envisaged Mlles Erard publications as having promotional potential for Erard instruments. This function is made explicit in the case of Nicolas-Charles Bochsa's *Dix Études composées pour la Harpe à double Mouvement de Sébastien Erard*, published by Mlles Erard around 1818 (see Figure 1.7). This work's title makes a concrete connection between the publishing house and the still relatively new double-action Erard harp.¹⁴⁰ Like Andreas Streicher's 1801 pamphlet for Streicher-Stein pianos, the title and contents of this composition advertise a specific instrument produced by family members and convey a desire to control how customers interacted with that instrument. However, unlike Streicher's pamphlet—which is an instruction manual in prose—the *Dix Études* contain only the musical exercises described in the title, and they were written by a business connection and friend. Erard-Marcoux family members act as the facilitators, rather than the authors, of this promotional publication.

Erard family correspondence shows that, in the case of Bochsa's études, promotion of the Erard harp was a clear goal of its publication by Mlles Erard. A copy of the études and news of their appearance in London was conveyed to Marie-Françoise and Sébastien by Pierre in a letter to his uncle dated May 14, 1818 (original emphasis):

[Bochsa] is coming tomorrow with a lady to choose a harp! With this letter, I am sending to Mme Bonnemaïson Bochsa's exercises for your harp. They are very beautiful, will be published here by Chappell, and will be a strong rival to those by the great Dizi. It is a classic work and it should be published by our firm because it demonstrates all the advantages of your new harp.¹⁴¹

Pierre viewed the études as pieces that could display the Erard harp's superior features in a competitive market and believed it essential for his cousin to publish them under the Erard name; Marie-Françoise must have agreed. Pierre's attitude and turn of phrase here is also enlightening regarding one family member's view of the relationship between the two companies. First, he

¹⁴⁰ Erard Frères first sold their double-action harps in London in 1811 and began selling them in Paris ca. 1814, see Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 1, 32.

¹⁴¹ Translation by Adelson et al. Pierre Erard in London to Sébastien Erard in Paris, May 14, 1818, Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 681. Pierre's underlining here indicates sarcasm as he did not believe Dizi to be "great"; see letters of June 1, June 9, July 7, and July 25, 1815, for Pierre's scathing comments about Dizi and his harp model.

does not straightforwardly ask or instruct Marie-Françoise to publish the études: he feels the need to convince her and his uncle of their value, emphasizing that such decisions were not his to make. Equally, though, he conveys a belief in the interconnectedness of the two companies when he writes that they “should be published by our firm” (*qui doit paraître à la maison*)—literally, at home or by our house.¹⁴² Pierre’s statement elides the two businesses and their interests under a unified Erard brand, and the underlying factor that unites them is kinship. The sources do not reveal whether Marie-Françoise chose to publish the Bochsà études because she saw value in them for her business, or because familial ties obliged her to accept Pierre’s proposal. We can conclude that such decisions involved balancing these interests.

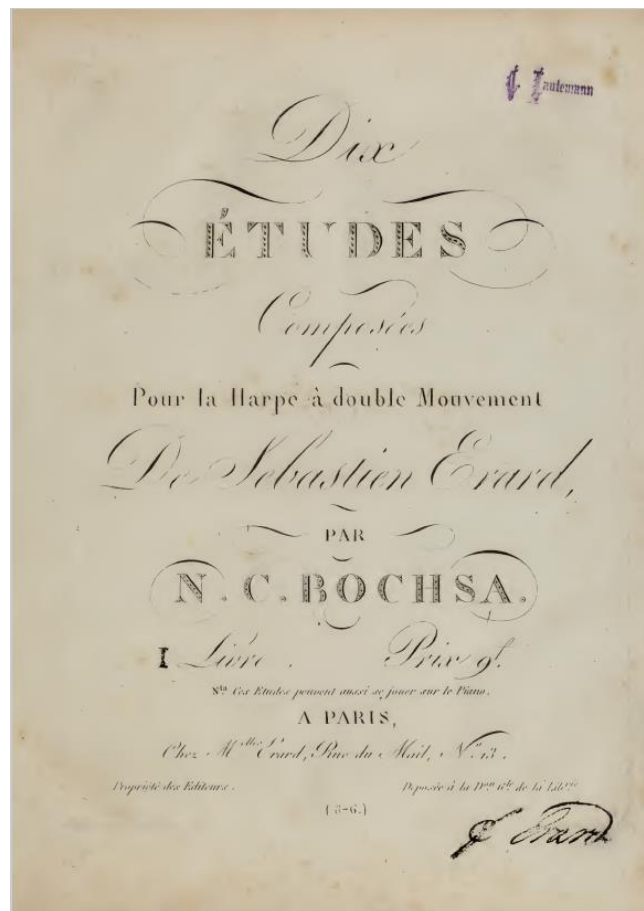


Figure 1.7, Title page of Bochsà’s *Dix Études composées pour la Harpe à double Mouvement de Sébastien Erard* (ca. 1820), International Harp Archive at Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, M 294 .M52 1820 vol.1. Public domain.

¹⁴² For the full French text of this letter, see Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 965.

A similar promotional effect is on display in piano works that Steibelt published with Mlles Erard. Several such pieces include detailed markings for various combinations of the four pedals featured on Erard Frère's *pianos en forme de clavecin*. These include the *Fantaisie avec neuf variations sur un air des Mistères d'Isis*, which employs the damper, harp, and moderator pedals, and the Sonata in G major, Op. 64, which calls for the damper, *una corda*, and moderator pedals.¹⁴³ As Charles Schrader has explored (and problematized), Steibelt is often remembered as a “charlatan” who pioneered and popularized the use of pedals.¹⁴⁴ In the same period, Erard standardized the inclusion and arrangement of those pedals on their grand pianos.¹⁴⁵ Through Steibelt's idiomatic use of pedals and communication of this through notation, the composer's scores for Mlles Erard beg to be heard on an Erard grand. The Mlles Erard customer is thus reminded both sonically and visually that they can only experience the full effect of their newly purchased piece by playing—or ideally buying—an Erard instrument.¹⁴⁶

The advertising potential of Mlles Erard scores for the Erard brand and Erard Frères instrument sales went beyond the promotional possibilities of Bochsa's étude and Steibelt's piano works and extended to the Mlles Erard catalogue at large. In a related context, Thomas Christensen has pointed to the promotional function served by four-hand piano arrangements in increasing and spreading demand for live performance, using Schubert's “Unfinished” Symphony as an example.¹⁴⁷ Christensen also explores the democratization of “public” works of visual art and music through the dissemination of cheaper, more accessible prints and arrangements.¹⁴⁸ Similar processes may have benefited the Erard family businesses. Much like the purchase of perfume and wallets encourages modern middle-class customers to participate in the consumption of luxury apparel brands, buying a romance for 1.50 francs and displaying it on

¹⁴³ The *Fantaisie* first appeared in Mlles Erard's ca. 1802 catalogue. Op. 64 was published in 1805, see Beghin, *Beethoven's French Piano*, 81.

¹⁴⁴ Charles Schrader, “Daniel Steibelt, Charlatanry, and the Technaesthetics of *bon son*,” *Keyboard Perspectives: The Lure of Paris, 1795–1810* 13 (2021).

¹⁴⁵ Beghin notes that this mechanical development went hand in hand with pedagogical standardization, including in relation to pedals, at the Conservatoire through Louis Adam's *Méthode* and teaching practice, see Beghin, *Beethoven's French Piano*, 79–81. Steibelt's own *Méthode de piano* (Paris: Imbault, ca. 1808) also championed pedal use on “modern French pianos,” which Schrader convincingly interprets as Erard *pianos en forme de clavecin*, Schrader, 169–173.

¹⁴⁶ To hear the Adagio of Op. 64 on an Erard replica, see Beghin's recording on the companion website for Schrader's article: <https://orpheusinstituut.be/en/beethovenerard/edited-volume/charles-schrader>. Schrader, 166–167.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Christensen, “Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 2 (1999): 267.

¹⁴⁸ Christensen, 277–278, 280–281.

a hand-me-down piano gave the less well-off musician access to the allure of the Erard name, even if the company's new instruments remained well beyond their means. The location of retail outlets for both Erard businesses at the rue du Mail premises meant that it could furthermore act as a one stop shop for customers: when someone came in person to look at pianos or harps, the uncles could send them next to door to Mlles Erard to buy pieces that perfectly suited their musical needs.

The dominance of music for piano and/or harp in Mlles Erard's catalogue was also likely connected to Erard Frères' own focus. Other Parisian and London firms, such as Naderman, Pleyel, and Clementi, engaged in both publishing and instrument manufacturing, but none produced score, pianos, *and* harps during the same period as the Erard family businesses. As Adelson notes, the uncles were likely the first instrument makers to undertake the unusual specialty of producing both pianos and harps.¹⁴⁹ In comparison, Naderman received a licence to manufacture harps in 1766 and a publishing licence eleven years later; from the 1780s onward they focused on music publishing and continued to make single-action harps into the 1810s and 20s.¹⁵⁰ Pleyel entered music publishing in 1795 and also acted as an instrument dealer; he only opened his piano factory in 1807 and the family did not begin to make harps until 1829.¹⁵¹ In other words, Mlles Erard and Erard Frères carved out a particular, integrated niche in the musical marketplace to which both companies contributed. It formed a virtuous circle whereby customers and composers could be brought into the fold through either company and forwarded to the other, and where developing a relationship with a composer could lead to both acquiring new pieces and making instrument sales. I expand on the further implications of Mlles Erard's particular investment in piano and harp repertoire in Chapter Three on their "self-dedicated" pieces. In the rest of this chapter, I continue unpacking the details and dynamics of relationships between the Erard-Marcoux family and several composers.

¹⁴⁹ Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 1, 27.

¹⁵⁰ "The fullest and the latest of [Naderman] catalogues that has come to light (c1795) lists about 320 publications, of which more than 200 are for harp or piano in various combinations; most of the remainder are for violin, wind instruments or wind band." Ann Griffiths and Richard Macnutt, "Naderman Family," *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19527>; Henry Spiller, "A Queer Organology of the Pedal Harp," *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 23, no. 1 (2019): 104–105.

¹⁵¹ Rita Benton, "Pleyel as Music Publisher," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 1 (1979): 130, 137.

10.1. Joint relationships with composers: Letters and contracts

Surviving letters, contracts, and the instrument company's sales ledgers show clearly that not only did Mlles Erard have a close relationship with Erard Frères, but that their relationships with composers were also bound up with their uncles' business: they were participants in a dense musical network. Mlles Erard often published composers with whom Erard Frères had connections, though whether relationships originated with the Marcoux sisters or their uncles is not always clear. In several cases, this led to enduring and multifaceted relationships between the Mlles Erard, Erard Frères, and the composer, and this is preserved in correspondence.

Procurement of compositions and negotiations between composers and Mlles Erard also sometimes took place through their uncles and cousin: male relatives served as agents and points of contact for the sisters. The Erard-Marcoux family had shared social ties with composers, a point which emphasizes the importance of sociability, family, and gender in the cultivation of musical business networks during this period. This suggests that a number of composer relationships were built and maintained not just on an individual basis but as a family unit, and that—once made—a connection could be accessed by and transferred between family members as representatives of the two companies. Being able to draw on the social capacity of multiple family members gave Mlles Erard (and Erard Frères) access to wider networks, both in and beyond Paris, and allowed Mlles Erard to acquire works that might otherwise have been less readily available.

Examples of composers engaging with Mlles Erard through their uncles include in the cases of Steibelt and Himmel. Steibelt signed the rent-for-compositions contract with the Erard brothers in 1801, before Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe were officially in possession of Mlles Erard; this is likely the reason why the contract was between the composer and their male relatives. The sisters nevertheless feature in the contract in an important capacity (my emphasis):

The said Citizen Steibelt undertakes to pay the said Citizens the Erard brothers the aforementioned sum of 2,600 francs in musical works of his own composition, that will be six sonatas and six varied airs that he will deliver, namely: three sonatas in one month, the other three sonatas in two months and the six varied airs in one and a half months, these three dates counting from this day; which works [are] to belong to the said Citizens Erard brothers *or to their nieces* in all property and to dispose of them by

engraving, selling and distributing everywhere they wish and to continue as sole owners.¹⁵²

In other words, the nieces and their uncles were to have equal ownership over the works once they were completed, emphasizing that this legal mechanism was designed to assist the young women. The exchange of rent for compositions also shows that Sébastien and Jean-Baptiste were willing to absorb certain business costs for Mlles Erard in its early years and that they had a vested familial interest in seeing the publishing company succeed. In subsequent years, Steibelt continued to correspond with the uncles about Mlles Erard business, perhaps because he had contracted with them early on in their acquaintance. For example, a little over a year after signing the lease agreement, Steibelt wrote to Sébastien requesting payment for two preludes, presumably *Trois préludes pour le forte piano*, published by Mlles Erard in 1802.¹⁵³ On another occasion, however, he wrote directly to Marie-Françoise about publishing four concert arrangements of excerpts from a ballet (possibly *La belle Latière*, the overture of which Mlles Erard published in various formats).¹⁵⁴ So Steibelt did not communicate solely with the uncles: perhaps who he chose to write to was determined in part by the subject. In the first of these two letters, writing to Sébastien may have been the composer's tactic for making sure he received timely compensation.

A composer's motivations for making contact with Mlles Erard through their uncles is made clear in several letters by Himmel. Between late 1801 and January 1802, Himmel wrote to Sébastien about publishing several pieces with Mlles Erard, including his Piano Sextet, Op. 19, and three new accompanied piano sonatas (likely Op. 17 or 18).¹⁵⁵ After describing the status of

¹⁵² My translation, "laquelle dites somme de deux mille six cents francs led. Cn Steibelt s'engage de payer auxdits Cens Erard Frères en œuvres de musique de sa composition, qui seront six sonates et six airs variés qu'il livrera, savoir : trois sonates dans un mois, les autres trois sonates dans deux mois et les six airs variés dans un mois et demi, ces trois époque à compter de ce jour; lesquels œuvres pour appartenir aux dits Cens Erard frères ou à leurs nièces en toute propriété et en disposer en les faisant graver, vendre et distributeur partout où ils voudront continue seuls propriétaires." Confirmation de bail entre les Cens Erard et Steibelt, 22 *ventôse*, an 9 [March 13, 1801], MC/ET/XVIII/976, Minutes de Jean Louis Gauldrée-Boilleau, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Archives nationales, Paris.

¹⁵³ Daniel Steibelt in Paris to Sébastien Erard in Paris, 15 *thermidor*, an 10 [August 3, 1802], MFC S818.E65, Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection, Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Music Manuscripts and Books, Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

¹⁵⁴ Daniel Steibelt to Mesdames Erard, undated, 55 Ep 635, Musik, Nachlässe und Autographe, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001E76100000000>.

¹⁵⁵ *Sextuor pour le piano forte, avec accompagnement de deux altos, deux cors, et un violoncelle*, Op. 19, and *Trois sonates pour le piano forte avec accompagnement de violon et violoncelle*, Op. 17 and 18, all listed in Mlles Erard's 1817 catalogue.

the pieces with regards to other publishers and hoping that they will “have the luck to please your *Demoiselles*,” he writes “[I] regret that my health does not allow me now to make the acquaintance of your *Dem[oiselles]* nieces.”¹⁵⁶ Himmel was already acquainted with Sébastien in 1801, and as he says he had not yet met either Marie-Françoise or Catherine-Barbe in person and was at that moment unable to do so, he smoothed the path to negotiations by contacting a relative already in his network.

Cousin Pierre also served as a go-between for Mlles Erard. As we saw in Pierre’s letter to his uncle and Marie-Françoise about the Bochsá études, he sometimes acted as an international procurement agent by finding and securing new works for Mlles Erard from London. He performed the role of liaison for Cramer, too. In a letter from October 13, 1815, Pierre proposed to Sébastien and Marie-Françoise that rights to the “sequel” for Cramer’s popular *Études pour le Piano-Forte* could be gained in exchange for thirty guineas—to be paid by Marie-Françoise—and a discount on an Erard harp for Cramer’s daughter.¹⁵⁷ Pierre writes that this came about during a social dinner he and Cramer attended, and Pierre continued to participate in the deal in the following months. In a letter from five months later, he mentions making the monetary payment to Cramer on Mlles Erard’s behalf.¹⁵⁸

The context in which Pierre set the deal with Cramer in motion highlights the importance of sociability in these relationships around music publishing, and we can see this at play in other Erard-Marcoux-composer relationships. For example, visitors like Reichardt and the Polish musician Józef Elsner (1769–1854), along with resident musicians like Steibelt, visited the Erard family at their country home in Sèvres, where the slippage between hospitality and commerce

¹⁵⁶ My translation, “wenn meine Sachen das Glück haben sollten Ihren Demoiselles <Nieces> zu gefallen” and “[Ich] bedaure daß meine Gesundheit mir nicht erlaubt jetzt die Bekanntschaft Ihrer Dem[oiselles] Nièces zu machen.” Friedrich Heinrich Himmel in Paris to Sébastien Erard in Paris, 30 *vendémiaire* (an X? [October 22, 1801?], Erard Family Archives, Château de Bourbilly, Vic-de-Chassenay, France. Two further letters about these works preserved in the Erard family archive date from November 28, 1801 (7 *firmiaire*, an X), and January 2, 1802 (12 *nivôse*, an X). Personal communication with Robert Adelson, November 20, 2021.

¹⁵⁷ Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 614–615. For discussion and analysis of Cramer’s études (better-known by their Italian title, *Studio per il Piano Forte*), their influence on nineteenth-century piano culture, and the relationship between gender and the étude genre, see Morgan, 77–85.

¹⁵⁸ Another letter from Pierre mentions awkwardness over the manner in which Mlles Erard, represented by Féréol, returned a manuscript to Cramer: “Yesterday, something very unpleasant happened to me concerning the music that Mme Bonnemaison sent back to Cramer, just as I had expected it would happen. All these gentlemen are pretentious, I realise it. But the way they sent back the manuscript was not at all polite, nor was it prudent.” Translation by Adelson et al, Pierre in London Sébastien in Paris, January 29, 1822, Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 785.

was as apparent as in the piano showroom.¹⁵⁹ Many years later in the 1820s, the young Liszt and his parents stayed with the Erards at the rue du Mail and performed on an Erard piano in Erard-organized concerts, building what Adelson describes as a “symbiotic relationship between pianist and piano maker.”¹⁶⁰ Liszt would go on to dedicate his *Étude en douze exercices*, Op. 1/S. 136, (composed the same year as his visit) to Sébastien and publish it with Mlles Erard.¹⁶¹ Further examples are the attendees of Marie-Françoise’s wedding listed by Reichardt in 1802: Andreas Romberg, Louis Adam, Philippe Jacques Pfeffinger, Jacques Widerkehr, and Reichardt himself all published with Mlles Erard and engaged with Erard Frères. It was common for business connections to be invited to wedding celebrations, a fact which reflected the economic function of marriage alliances. Furthermore, Adam, Pfeffinger, and Widerkehr were Alsations like the Erard-Marcoux family, which suggests that cultural-linguistic community building may also have guided both the guestlist and the musical networks in which the family were embedded.

The range of examples from these letters and contracts indicate that composers and the Erard-Marcoux family saw approaching Mlles Erard through their uncles and cousin as a legitimate route to a business relationship. Rather than serving as examples of male composers writing or speaking to male relatives as a gesture of politeness (because it might be inappropriate for a man to discuss business with a woman), it seems that composers like Cramer, Steibelt, and Himmel made contact with Sébastien, Jean-Baptiste, and Pierre primarily because they had established relationships with them. Marie-Françoise’s surviving correspondence, as well as letters to and from other women to Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien in the Erard Frères archive, show that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women and the men they wrote to had no such qualms about committing business matters to paper.

10.2. Shared professional networks in the Erard Frères livres de ventes

Another key group of sources in the Erard Frères archives that reveal connections between the instrument company and Mlles Erard—especially regarding financial transactions—are the *livres*

¹⁵⁹ See Elsner’s account of his visit to the Erards in Beghin, *Beethoven’s French Piano*, 97–99.

¹⁶⁰ Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 89–90.

¹⁶¹ Adam Liszt wrote two letters to Czerny about the sale of his son’s *Allegri di Bravura* to Marie-Françoise for 600 francs in 1824. Letters of September 3 and October 19, 1824, quoted in C. F. Pohl, “Incidents of Franz Liszt’s Youth. Communicated by C. F. Pohl. (Translated from the Munich Propyläen, 1869),” *Musical Monthly Record* 2 (January 1, 1872): 5–6.

de ventes (sales ledgers) covering the years 1799 to 1833.¹⁶² These ledgers support the notion suggested in the Cramer correspondence that family members and the businesses maintained direct financial ties after the Marcoux sisters married. The ledgers furthermore suggest that joining with Mlles Erard in certain transactions was viewed by the family as appropriate or even beneficial for Erard Frères, and that ties with certain composers were perceived to some extent as collective.

A plethora of names connected with Mlles Erard appear in the sales ledgers, as well as direct references to Mlles Erard and the individual sisters. In his discussion of Erard Frères' gift of a piano to Beethoven in 1803, Adelson identifies numerous composers who received partial or full payment waivers for Erard Frères instruments who also published with Mlles Erard. These included Felice Blangini, Giacomo Gotifredo, Herold, Himmel, Kalkbrenner, the Vicomte de Marin, and Spontini.¹⁶³ Building on Adelson's connected approach to the sales ledgers and the relationships between composers, Erard Frères, and Mlles Erard, I focus on transactions that explicitly mention Mlles Erard or refer to sheet music. These transactions fall into four categories. First, there are direct exchanges of pianos for compositions; second, settling of Mlles Erard debts using instruments as payment; third, transactions with music dealers; and fourth, Mlles Erard sheet music sales through Erard Frères. Of special note are the composers of the Mlles Erard self-dedicated pieces: seven of these artists (Boieldieu, Cramer, Dizi, Jadin, Plantade, Rigel, Steibelt) appear as customers in the ledgers. I discuss several examples from this group below and expand on the topic further in Chapter Three due to the distinct nature of these particular publisher-composer relationships. Overall, these varied examples from the ledgers show that Mlles Erard shared an extensive professional network with Erard Frères, made use of collective relationships with composers, and took advantage of joint financial resources during negotiations and payment.

¹⁶² There are seventy-eight sales ledgers starting in 1790 and stretching into the mid-twentieth century; I have identified entries relating to Mlles Erard in the ledgers for 1799–1802 (E.2009.5.100), 1802–06 (E.2009.5.101), 1806–09 (E.2009.5.102), 1809–16 (E.2009.5.103), and 1824–33 (E.2009.5.106). For more on the Erard ledgers and interpreting nineteenth-century account books see Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 63–64.

¹⁶³ Adelson points out that publishing with Mlles Erard is what unites this seemingly “disparate group,” Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 68–69. For an expansive discussion of the historical circumstances around this piano, Beethoven's shifting relationship with it, and the building of a modern replica, see Beghin, *Beethoven's French Piano*.

Two examples in the 1799–1802 ledger show the sisters and their uncles jointly exchanging pianos for compositions.¹⁶⁴ On 22 *ventôse, an 9* (March 13, 1801), Jadin gave Erard Frères an unspecified number of compositions in manuscript form in return for a piano valued at 840 francs.¹⁶⁵ Several pieces by Jadin appear in Mlles Erard’s ca. 1802 catalogue: his duo for piano and harp; two pot-pourris, a concerto, and a set of dances for piano; and a romance collection. Given the quantity of pieces listed within the year of the piano transaction, these may well be the collection of works for which the instrument was given in payment.¹⁶⁶ Jadin’s duo was also dedicated to Mlles Erard and receives further discussion in Chapter Three. Just under two years later, the Conservatoire professor Louis Adam paid for a *piano en forme de clavecin* (harpsichord-shaped piano, meaning a grand piano) worth 1440 francs through his work as an arranger for Mlles Erard.¹⁶⁷ Specifically, it was his arranging work for their *Journal des ariettes italiennes* between January 1802 and April 1803 that was considered sufficient labour to afford this elite instrument. The *pianos en forme de clavecin* were Erard Frères’ most technologically adventurous and expensive instruments, so owning one placed Adam in illustrious and cutting-edge company.¹⁶⁸

The sisters also used Mlles Erard and Erard Frères to clear debts by offering instruments or partial credit for instruments, as in the cases of the composer Boieldieu and the lawyer M. Harnin. Boieldieu ordered a piano worth 840 francs on 6 *pluviôse, an 10* (January 26, 1802). He paid 360 francs towards it, but the remaining amount of 480 francs was waived (indicated by an elaborate, N-shaped sign in the right-hand column) and explained by the note “charged the

¹⁶⁴ In addition to Adelson, my interpretations of the information contained in the ledgers is based on the work of Beghin and Blanton, who also provide a description of the layout and components of these sources, see Beghin and Blanton, 167–174.

¹⁶⁵ 22 *ventôse, an 9* [March 13, 1801], Livre de ventes (1799–1802), E.2009.5.100, Fonds d’archives Érard, Pleyel et Gaveau, 94, Musée de la musique, Cité de la musique—Philharmonie de Paris, Paris, <https://archivesmusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/1/livre-de-ventes-erard>; Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 69.

¹⁶⁶ For Adelson’s reflections on another Jadin transaction in the ledgers from 1802, see Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 181n165.

¹⁶⁷ My translation, “[We] have £1440 [i.e. francs], by account made this day, of works, made for the music shop over 15 months, from January 1, 1802, to April 1, 1803, for piano arrangement of Italian airs for the journal—1440 francs” (*Avoir £ 1440, par compte fait ce jour, d’ouvrages, fait pour le magasin de musique pendant 15 mois, du 1er. janvier 1802, au 1er. avril 1803, pr arrangement des airs Italiens de journal pr le piano—1440 f.* 25 *pluviôse, an 11* [February 14, 1803], Livre de ventes (1799–1802), E.2009.5.100, Fonds Érard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 99. See also Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 69. For a discussion of Adam’s activities and philosophy as an arranger see Luca Montebugnoli, “‘On the Art of Accompanying the Score’: Louis Adam’s Instructions for Arranging Orchestral Music on the Piano,” *Keyboard Perspectives: The Lure of Paris, 1795–1810* 13 (2021).

¹⁶⁸ Beghin, *Beethoven’s French Piano*, 106. Beghin explores the sonic world and technical features of the *piano en forme de clavecin* throughout this book.

balance to Dlle Erard in compensation for the debts of [Féréol] Bonnemaïson.”¹⁶⁹ Presumably, this refers to unspecified debts Marie-Françoise’s husband owed to Boieldieu. First, this entry confirms that Féréol’s and Marie-Françoise’s personal and business finances were intermingled, as the probate documents regarding Féréol’s death suggest. Second, it shows that the uncles continued to assist their nieces and their spouses financially through Erard Frères. Another case of settling debts with someone outside the music industry took place with the lawyer Harnin on July 11, 1809. Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe ordered a piano worth 1200 francs but reduced to 900 francs to be delivered to Harnin, probably to pay him for legal services (see Figure 1.8, below).¹⁷⁰ On February 23, 1813, the ledger formally transferred this debt to the Mlles Erard account. Erard Frères also paid for services with instruments, as in the example of two Parisian men named Guichard and Robillard. Adelson writes that in this case, they received a waiver because of *objets d’art* Sébastien had acquired from them.¹⁷¹

In the decade before Mlles Erard’s founding, the Erard Frères letter copybook of 1791–97 reveals that the uncles provided dealers and customers with printed music to accompany instrument orders.¹⁷² The ledgers show that this practice continued in a new form when Mlles Erard was established: on several occasions, Erard Frères sold music on behalf of Mlles Erard. I have identified six examples of customers buying sheet music through Erard Frères between 1802 and 1829, including two musicians and one dealer. Mlles Erard is named in four of these entries. These purchases varied from small orders of one or two scores to large orders of several hundred francs.

¹⁶⁹ My translation, “Porté le Solde au débit des Dlle Erard = en compensation des dt [dettes] p [pour] Bonnemaïson”, 6 *pluviôse*, an 10 [January 26, 1802], Livre de ventes (1799–1802), E.2009.5.100, Fonds Érard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 132. On the N symbol see Beghin and Blanton, 174–177.

¹⁷⁰ My translation, “Brought to their debit on 23 Feb 1813 by Dlles Erard” (*Porté à lr [leur] debit le 23 fev 1813 / par deb: [debit] dué: Dlles Erard*), July 11, 1809, Livre de ventes (1809–16), E.2009.5.103, Fonds d’archives Érard, Pleyel et Gaveau, 275, Musée de la musique, Cité de la musique—Philharmonie de Paris, Paris, <https://archivesmusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/59/livre-de-ventes-erard>.

¹⁷¹ Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 68.

¹⁷² This included unspecified scores published by Sieber, Cousineau, and Imbault; an Italian *solfège* method; Boieldieu’s Harp Concerto No. 1; and two music journal subscriptions. See Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 14.

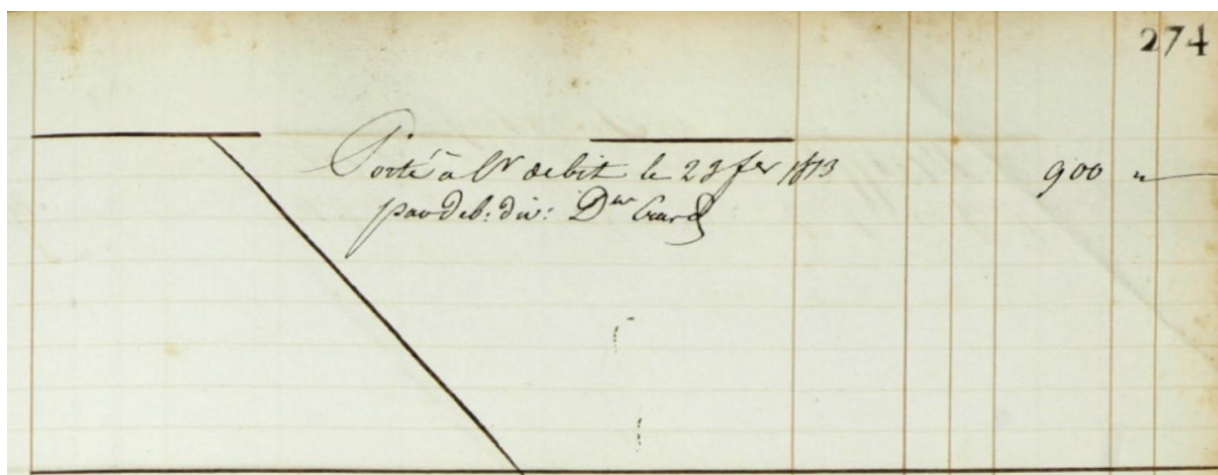
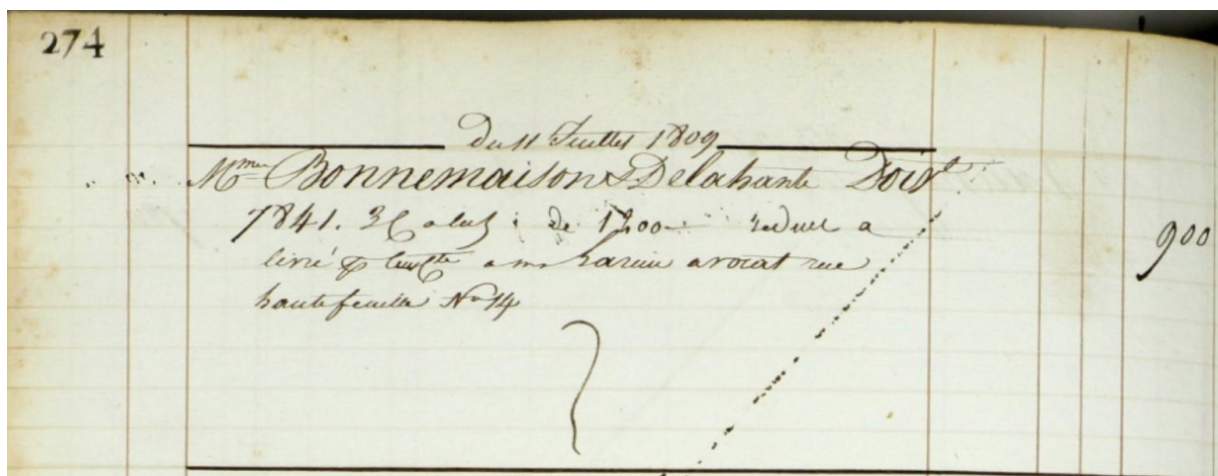


Figure 1.8, Piano order for Harnin on behalf of Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe. The “Doit” column entry is shown at top and the “Avoir” entry below (July 11, 1809), Livre de ventes (1809–16), E.2009.5.103, 275, Fonds d’archives Érard, Pleyel et Gaveau, Musée de la musique, Cité de la musique—Philharmonie de Paris, Paris. Educational use.

At the lower end is an example from the harpist, composer, and teacher François-Joseph Dizi from Namur. On February 1, 1805, he completed an order of a *piano en forme de clavecin* and a packet of harp strings by pledging to pay 6 francs “for a duet by Nadermann, composed for Mme Récamier [and] advanced to our nieces.”¹⁷³ This is the only entry to specify the composer

¹⁷³ My translation, “p^r un Duo de Nadermann, Composé pour M^{me} Récamier avancé à nos Nièces,” 12 pluviôse, an 13 [February 1, 1805], Livre de ventes (1802–06), E.2009.5.101, Fonds d’archives Érard, Pleyel et Gaveau, 185, Musée de la musique, Cité de la musique—Philharmonie de Paris, Paris, <https://archivesmusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/57/livre-de-ventes-erard>.

and title of the desired piece, which in turn suggests two possible candidates. The first option is a pot-pourri for piano and harp for Mme Récamier composed by François-Joseph Naderman, advertised in July 1802 and published by Naderman.¹⁷⁴ It was not uncommon for publishers to on-sell stock printed by competitors, so Mlles Erard may well have had this piece in their collection. However, that same year, a four-hand piano duet dedicated to Récamier by Johann David Hermann appeared in the Mlles Erard catalogue.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps the Erard Frères bookkeeper—unfamiliar with Mlles Erard’s inventory—made an error when writing down the composer’s name. A few years earlier, a M. Duvernois in Varzy paid 25.14 francs “for music from the shop of our nieces” in addition to a piano and a violin case (see Figure 1.9, below).¹⁷⁶ And in the final few years of Mlles Erard’s existence, another small sheet music order makes explicit mention of the publishing company: a M. Laplare in Lyon ordered a grey double-action harp on March 2, 1829, alongside which he bought 5 francs worth of music that was “paid to Mlles Erard.”¹⁷⁷

The largest sheet music orders through Erard Frères came from a musician and a dealer. On 3 *ventôse*, an 12 (February 23, 1804), the composer, violinist and mandolin player Alessandro Mario Antonio Fridzeri (1741–1825) owed a total of 110 francs to Erard Frères for sheet music, which was to be passed on to Mlles Erard. The *Doit* or debit column includes a note which reads as follows: “We... paid for [Fridzeri] to our nieces an invoice of music which [we] sent to Mme Nadermann yesterday for him, following his letter of 25 pluviôse / Amounting to... 110 f / M. Fridzeri returns... 2 f”.¹⁷⁸ This tells us that Fridzeri still owed 2 francs on the music

¹⁷⁴ “*Pot-Pourri* en duo, pour la harpe et le piano, composé pour madame Récamier, par F. J. Naderman.” Naderman, “*Pot-Pourri* en duo,” *Journal des débats* (18 messidor, an 10 [July 7, 1802]): 4.

¹⁷⁵ Johann David Hermann, *Duo à quatre mains pour le piano-forte* (ca. 1800), Erard, Catalogue de musique, BnF: 2.

¹⁷⁶ My translation, “p^r Musique du magasin de nos nieces [*sic*],” 24 *germinal*, an 10 [April 14, 1802], Livre de ventes (1799–1802), E.2009.5.100, Fonds Énard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 145. This could be the horn player and composer Frédéric Nicolas Duvernoy (also spelled “Duvernois”), who published several works for horn and piano with Mlles Erard, but as he was based in Paris (not Varzy, near Dijon) for most of his career this seems unlikely. For some of Duvernoy’s compositions, see Delahante, 9.

¹⁷⁷ My translation, “payé à Melles Erard la Musique.” A third example of a small sheet music order, also from within France, came from M. Nerac “à la charité sur Loire” who paid 6 francs “p^r Musique” on top of 840 francs for a piano. 8 *fructidor*, an 10 [August 26, 1802], Livre de ventes (1799–1802), E.2009.5.100, Fonds Énard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 175.

¹⁷⁸ My translation, “Nous... paye [payé?] pour lui à nos nieces / Une facture de musique quelles ont Envoyé hier pour lui / chez Made Nadermann, D’après sa lettre de 25 pluviôse / Montant à... 110 [francs] / M. Fridzeri redoit... 2 [francs]”, 3 *ventôse*, an 12 [February 23, 1804], Livre de ventes (1799–1802), E.2009.5.100, Fonds Énard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 33.

order and that he intended to collect it from the music publisher Mme Naderman. (It is also worth noting that Fridzeri does not appear to have published with Mlles Erard). Given that Mlles Erard is named in several similar entries, we can assume that the earliest and largest order for sheet music through Erard Frères was also for Mlles Erard scores. This order came from a customer named Gerthen in Hamburg on March 28, 1802: he requested 231.11 fr-worth of music to accompany a *piano en forme de clavecin orné* and two triple-strung square pianos (*pianos à 3 c à l'ut*).¹⁷⁹ The specific contents of both these large sheet music orders from Gerthen and Fridzeri are unfortunately not recorded in the ledgers.

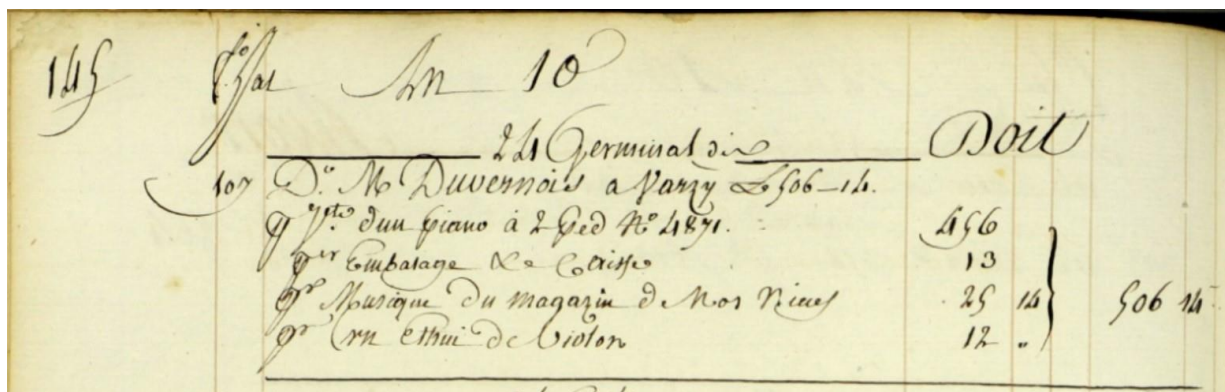


Figure 1.9, Piano and sheet music order for M. Duvernois (April 14, 1802), Livre de ventes (1799–1802), E.2009.5.100, 145, Fonds Érard-Pleyel-Gaveau. Educational use.

For the most part, these examples originate from customers based far from Paris—in Varzy and Lyon (France), Namur (Belgium), and Hamburg (northern Germany)—who therefore could not just wander down the road to Mlles Erard’s shop.¹⁸⁰ The scores are also part of relatively high-value instrument orders: for example, Gerthen paid 5,065 francs in total, while Dizi and Laplare paid 2,056 and 2,305 respectively.¹⁸¹ Gerthen and Dizi were furthermore buying one of Erard Frères’ most expensive instrument models, the *piano en forme de clavecin*. With most of the sheet music orders totalling 6 francs, we can assume that these customers were

¹⁷⁹ 7 germinal, an 10 [March 28, 1802], Livre de ventes (1799–1802), E.2009.5.100, Fonds Érard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 141.

¹⁸⁰ M. Nerac was based in La Charité-sur-Loire, while Fridzeri’s location is not recorded in the ledger: he spent a lot of time in Paris in the eighteenth-century but may have been based in Antwerp by 1804, see Frédéric Robert, “Fridzeri, Alessandro Mario Antonio,” *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10255>.

¹⁸¹ Duvernois’s and Nerac’s orders were smaller, at 506 and 846 francs respectively.

only buying individual pieces (Duvernois may have purchased around four works; there is no way of knowing how many Gerthen received in his expansive order). We can conclude, then, that recording of Mlles Erard score sales in the course of Erard Frères instrument sales tended to happen with long distance instrument purchases of a substantial size but where the customer wanted fewer than five scores. These orders were large enough to justify the additional fuss of including sheet music, and it was surely more practical to add a single score to a pre-existing shipment than for Mlles Erard to deliver it separately. The low number of such transactions may also be explained by other Erard Frères customers contacting Mlles Erard directly for scores, in which case their orders would not have been captured in these sales ledgers. Ultimately, while selling scores was a task Erard Frères was able to undertake for their partner firm, it was not a significant method through which Mlles Erard sold their products. Instead, it was an occasional opportunity provided by a handful of their uncles' high-value clients.

11. Conclusion

Mlles Erard was one of the most prolific and, in its day, well-known music publishing companies in France, and exploring the company's history and the lives and work of the Marcoux sisters sheds much needed light on the overlooked role of women in this significant industry. In addition to providing the most extensive and comprehensive biography to date of Marie-Françoise, Catherine-Barbe, and their business and presenting documents which have never previously been examined (including the letters to Mlles Erard by Cramer and Steibelt, and Mlles Erard invoices to Schott), this chapter has contextualized the sisters and their labour within the social and legal frameworks of early nineteenth-century Paris. Family support and obligation were defining features of the sisters' lives. Our story began with the sisters integrating into their uncles' household along with their mother; the financial and affective relationships they maintained with Sébastien and Jean-Baptiste from then on profoundly shaped their personal and professional lives. This was enacted and evinced by the marriage contracts which gave Mlles Erard and substantial dowry payments to the sisters via *inter vivos* gifts. The relationships were reiterated by the many documents (including letters, contracts, and ledgers) that connected Mlles Erard and Erard Frères over the next thirty-odd years.

Rather than erecting a boundary between public and private life, I have persistently considered how ostensibly "private" concerns like family, marriage, and widowhood impact and

relate to women's work but also that of their male relatives. The location of the Mlles Erard shop in the rue due Mail illustrates this fluidity. Working on the same block where their mother, their uncles, and Catherine-Barbe herself lived for much of the 1800s meant that daylight hours were not strictly divided between work and leisure. Being part of a larger family business meant both working alongside and socializing with your kin in shifting configurations throughout the day.

To speculate, we might imagine them trying out potential compositions for the shop together on the piano in the evenings, discussing the merits of each piece. Perhaps their mother dropped by the music shop to help serve customers, or to share coffee and cakes with her daughters during quiet moments. On another day, Marie-Françoise might have crossed the internal courtyard to pay her uncle Sébastien a visit and discuss deals they could strike with a piano professor newly hired at the Conservatoire: perhaps he could help sell Erard Frères instruments to his students and furnish Mlles Erard with new sonatas or song arrangements. And Catherine-Barbe might have ascended the stairs of the family's private apartments to gossip with her cousins Pierre and Céleste about visiting performers who were engaged to appear at the Erard salon that evening.

Historical particularities of gender, class, wealth, and the shifting French legal system have also been essential to my interpretation of Mlles Erard as a woman-run business. While these factors shaped how the Marcous sisters engaged in their work as music publishers, they did not prevent the sisters from doing that work. I placed Mlles Erard in relation to the Parisian music publishing community and highlighted the perhaps surprising number of women working in that industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This suggests compelling potential for future research in that area. Surviving letter, invoices, and contracts furthermore attest to the extent of Mlles Erard's local and international dealings with other publishers and music sellers and provide insight into how such relationships were built and maintained.

The day-to-day work of music publishing and the complex familial- and acquaintance-based networks in which Mlles Erard operated form the heart of the final sections of this chapter. There I looked at the deep and multilayered connections between Mlles Erard and Erard Frères, a relationship that I perceive as mutually beneficial and interdependent, rather than dependent. Mlles Erard had privileged access to Erard Frères goods at prices that go beyond the standard twenty percent discount to agents and friends. But operating two music businesses within one extended family also meant greater financial resources—as apparent in the trading of pieces for

instruments—and access to a wider pool of customers. The Erard Frères-Mlles Erard relationship radiated out and produced shared connections with composers, publishers, and music dealers that were important to the success of both companies. The Erard Frères ledgers show that the sisters and their uncles gave joint discounts to composers, exchanged instruments for new pieces, sold scores to distant customers, and settled other debts in the course of these transactions. Such deals bound composers the Erard family and brand on two levels—publication and instruments—and provided multiple ways for the family to gain from their relationships in the music industry. A composer might not need a new instrument from Erard Frères every year, but they might want to publish several pieces with Mlles Erard, thus offering more than one means of maintaining ties of mutual obligation.

What is not yet clear is whether Mlles Erard drew on family connections to a greater extent than their competitors because they were women. It does, however, seem plausible that leveraging connections already established between their male relatives and other businessmen may have opened the door to transactions more quickly or widely. The fact that Mlles Erard conducted ample business with people with whom Erard Frères had no apparent ties suggests that the Marcoux sisters' gender did not automatically hamper their ability to form connections. What seems most likely is that in this early era prior to industrialization and standardization, each music publishing company employed individual and eclectic practices. Furthermore, because it is Erard Frères' records that largely survive, rather than Mlles Erard's own, the primary sources emphasize connectivity. Though there are frustrating limits created by survivorship bias, by working with what is available I have recovered a rich assortment of information about Mlles Erard and the Marcoux sisters. This collection of documents likely constitutes the most extensive archive relating to women publishers of this period available to scholars today, and it holds much ongoing potential for study.

Chapter Two

Gender, Family, and Collaborative Relationships in the Streicher-Stein Piano Company

The working life of Nannette Streicher-Stein was thoroughly entangled with that of her family. Three generations, beginning with her father, who founded his branch of the business in 1750, followed by Nannette, her brother, her husband, and her son were all deeply involved in the company, as they no doubt expected: businesses based on family units or kinship were the norm in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ Attending to family, collaboration, and gender helps us better understand the internal dynamics of music businesses like the Streicher-Stein company: how members worked together, and how they interacted with larger social and institutional systems. This framework also helps resist individualized narratives of genius and exceptionalism, whether positive or negative, and aids in reconsidering the work of sometimes better-known male family members. This case study shows that musical family enterprises were by no means restricted to structures based on primogeniture and the privileging of father/son relationships above all others. A focus on family does not relegate Nannette to the domestic sphere but rather revalues connections between her paid labour as a businesswoman and her unpaid labour within the household. Through family and collaboration, we can also see how she worked with or around systems, like imperial privilege, and ideologies, such as those around gender and class, which impacted her work. Nannette's successful navigation of these factors confirm that we cannot view early nineteenth-century European settings as wholly oppressive for musical women.

Collaboration and family were key factors in the survival, success, and widespread fame of the Streicher-Stein piano company. This chapter focuses primarily on relationships of blood or marriage as these are the relationships for which primary evidence survives. However, it is

¹ Nannette's paternal grandfather, Johann Georg Stein (1697–1754), and several other of his sons were also instrument makers. Robin Blanton, "Johann Andreas Stein's 1781 Claviorganum and the Construction of Art in Eighteenth-Century Augsburg" (Ph.D. diss. University of Gothenburg, 2012), 48–50; Donhauser and Langer, 15–17.

important to note that “family” did not mean “nuclear family” in this period; it could encompass the entire household of individuals not related by kin, such as employees and dependants including journeymen, servants, pupils, and boarders. I therefore consider the labour and relationships of Nannette and her kin in relation to the household structure within which they lived and worked.²

This chapter approaches Nannette’s life as a series of collaborations with her close family members—her father, brother, husband, and son—and therefore presents the company’s history up to her death in 1833 through these relationships.³ This relationship-centric approach contrasts with most existing histories of the firm which center on the instruments themselves and thus focus on technical developments in piano making.⁴ It also consistently places Nannette at the heart of the narrative as she is the constant, uniting figure across the company’s history; see Figure 2.1 (below) for her portrait. This contrasts with traditional representations of the firm which, as discussed in the introduction, often obscure Nannette’s labour. My focus on relationships divides the story into four eras that are broadly reflected in the firm’s name changes: from “Jean André Stein” to “Frère et Sœur Stein” (also “Geschwister Stein”) in 1794, to “Nannette Streicher née Stein” in 1802, and to “Nannette Streicher née Stein et fils” in 1824.⁵ The first period took place in Augsburg between the 1770s and 1792 and covered Nannette’s childhood and teen years learning from and working with her father, Johann Andreas Stein. To reflect that history, I insert her into the company name during this period and title this section “Jean André Stein (et fille).” The second period began after Stein’s death in 1792 and covered the transition to Vienna (1792–1802), when Nannette worked in collaboration with her brother

² See Andrea Griesebner, “Property, Power, Gender: Conflicts and Agency of a ‘Merchantess’ in the Archduchy of Austria below the Enns in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Negotiations of Gender and Property Through Legal Regimes (14th–19th Century): Stipulating, Litigating, Mediating*, ed. Margareth Lanzinger et al., Legal History Library, 1874–1793 (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2021), 53; Allyson M. Poska, “Upending Patriarchy: Rethinking Marriage and Family in Early Modern Europe,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jane Couchman, Allyson M. Poska, and Katherine A. McIver (London: Taylor and Francis, 2016), 201; Heide Wunder, *He Is the Sun, She is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany*, trans. Thomas Dunlop (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 191–193.

³ See Appendix 5 for the Stein and Streicher family tree. I use the following names for individual family members: “Nannette” for Nannette Streicher-Stein; “Stein” for her father, Johann Andreas Stein; “Andreas” for her husband, Andreas Streicher; and “Matthäus” for her brother, Matthäus Andreas Stein. For the latter, I use Matthäus rather André (the name he used most often in later life) to avoid confusion with his father and brother-in-law. For all other persons mentioned, I use full names and, subsequently, surnames.

⁴ For example, Donhauser and Langer; Latham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*.

⁵ See Appendix 6 for a brief timeline of significant dates in the history of the Streicher-Stein family and piano company.

Matthäus Andreas (“André”) Stein, reflected in the company’s first name change. The third period began in 1802, when Nannette split from her brother and the company was renamed to include both her maiden and married names. This marks the time when Nannette’s husband Johann Andreas Streicher (called Andreas) started to work with her more fully. Because their romantic relationship began around 1792 and has significant bearing on how they collaborated in their work, I also look back to evidence about their relationship from before 1802. The fourth period began in 1824 when their son Johann Baptist joined Nannette as an official partner in the firm (resulting in yet another name change, usually written in its German form “Nannette Streicher *geborne* Stein und Sohn”) and his parents entered partial retirement until their deaths a few months apart in 1833.⁶



Figure 2.1, Anon., *Portrait of Nannette Streicher-Stein* (ca. 1810), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, SAM 734. Reproduced with permission.

⁶ Note: The four sections of this chapter are not strictly bound to the periods dictated by the company’s name changes but instead follow the relationship(s) relevant to each era; I therefore reach back and forward in time where appropriate instead of always presenting events in chronological order.

As I trace the history of the piano-making company I employ close reading to unpack the ways in which gender, labour, and relationships are used in extant primary sources about Nannette. These contemporary sources include items written by Nannette's associates (and possibly Nannette herself) for public consumption, published and unpublished accounts of her activities and her company by guests or visitors, and private correspondence between Nannette, Andreas, and other figures connected to the company. I also use these documents to tease out what we know about each family member's individual skills and contributions to the business over these three periods: appreciating what each party contributed helps us better understand the ways in which they worked together.

I compare Nannette's roles and the nature of her collaboration across the four relationship sets between daughter and father, elder sister and younger brother, wife and husband, and mother/father and son. Like the Marcoux sisters' ties with their Erard uncles, Nannette's relationships with her relatives were multiplex in that they were kin who worked and lived together. However, the balance of power played out very differently in each of the Streicher-Stein relationships. Between Nannette and her father, she was subordinate as the daughter and pupil, but as she gained experience and age, he increasingly valued her work and they entered a more collaborative dynamic. Nannette became the senior figure in the relationship with her brother Matthäus. They worked together for nearly ten years but their partnership ultimately failed in 1802 over a struggle for power: the three family members (Matthäus, Nannette, and her husband) were unable to collaborate effectively. The third, marital relationship between Nannette and Andreas was the most enduring and presents itself as a true partnership where collaboration reigned in both the household and the workshop. The last relationship—between Nannette, Andreas, and their son Johann Baptist—saw the parent/child, teacher/student dynamic between Nannette and her own father reconfigured and brought to its full potential. Johann Baptist entered adulthood under the ongoing guidance of his parents, and their company and piano-making knowledge passed smoothly him as the representative of the next generation.

1. “Jean André Stein (et fille)”: Nannette and her father in Augsburg

1.1. Nannette's early life and training

The two main sources on Nannette's early life—written retrospectively, however by figures close to her—place her entrance into her father's piano-making workshop between 1776 and

1779, when she was between seven and ten years old. The earlier date comes from a profile on Nannette and her company that appeared in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* under the guise of “news from Vienna” in November 1802, written by her then business connection Georg August Griesinger:

Already from before her seventh birthday, she was introduced to all the secrets of her trade by her father, the late organ- and instrument maker Stein of Augsburg; she was witness to the many experiments (almost completely unknown to the public) through which Stein’s work reached the high level of perfection, and she herself always had to participate hands-on thereby, which, for the practicing artist, is of the utmost importance.⁷

Griesinger’s talk of trade “secrets” (*Geheimnisse*) and witnessing “experiments” (*Versuche*) implies that Stein inducted Nannette into an exclusive, scientific, and elite level of the piano-making craft. His narrative also imbues Nannette’s work with patriarchal legitimacy. The description is at pains to convey Stein’s agency as teacher and Nannette’s special status as pupil: the father could not have approved of his daughter’s work in stronger terms. Griesinger emphasizes that Nannette received “hands-on” instruction from her father; that is, she was not only an observer but was actively trained as a practical craftsperson herself.⁸

Nannette herself was probably the source of this information as Griesinger explicitly writes of visiting the maker and “walk[ing] through her large, excellently set up workshop.” Griesinger worked in Vienna first as a tutor for the Saxon ambassador and later as a diplomat, and he served as a go-between for the Streicher-Stein company and their close trading partner, Breitkopf & Härtel.⁹ In this capacity and as a fellow Viennese resident he would have had many opportunities to talk with Nannette directly. At other times, information about Nannette was passed to Griesinger via letters from her husband.¹⁰ Because of this clear line of communication,

⁷ Translation by Preethi De Silva, “Schon von ihrem siebenten Jahre an war sie von ihrem Vater, dem verstorbenen Orgel- und Instrumentenmacher Stein zu Augsburg, in alle Geheimnisse ihres Faches eingeweiht, sie war Zeugin der vielen, im Publikum fast gar nicht bekannten Versuche, wodurch Steins Arbeiten den hohen Grad der Vollkommenheit erhielten, und sie musste, was für den praktischen Künstler das Wichtigste ist, immer selbst dabey Hand anlegen.” De Silva, 100–101.

⁸ Michael Latham concludes that Griesinger’s goal was to “establish Nannette as the successor to her father.” Latham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 231n232.

⁹ Mark Ferraguto, “Eighteenth-Century Diplomats as Musical Agents,” in *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy Sounds and Voices on the International Stage*, ed. Frédéric Ramel and Cécile Prévost-Thomas (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 50.

¹⁰ See Griesinger’s letters to Härtel of November 10, December 4, and December 8, 1802. Georg August Griesinger, “Appendix II: Excerpts from Georg August Griesinger’s Letters,” in *The Fortepiano Writings of Streicher*,

I suggest that we can view the image of Nannette presented by Griesinger as one that she had an active role in shaping.

The second document about Nannette's childhood training, though dating from thirty years later, is also close to its subject. Written by Andreas and published also in the *AmZ* on June 5, 1833, a lengthy obituary provides further details about what Nannette began to learn from her father in the 1770s, and gives an explanation for why Stein decided to teach his daughter piano making at all:

Since none of the older sisters betrayed as much talent for music as little Nannette, and since she also showed the most tender devotion to her father and teacher at every opportunity, the child became so valuable to him that she had to be his constant companion. Although she was only 10 years old, he encouraged her, kindly but seriously, first in making individual parts for the mechanism of the time, as well as eventually setting up the keyboards, tuning and completing his pianofortes entirely.¹¹

The specific tasks that Andreas tells us Nannette learnt as a child were to make elements of the action, to install keyboards, to regulate the action, and to tune the final instruments.¹² This indicates that she learnt to make components such as hammers, to insert the keys and action into the case, to fine-tune how the keys and the mechanism operated, all according to the preferences of the Stein workshop. Andreas makes a point of underlining that Nannette trained directly with her father but, given the structure of craft workshops (where workers might specialize in particular tasks) and the demands on Stein's time as the master, she likely also learnt elements of the craft from her father's journeymen. Stein's description of final part of his process to Mozart in 1777 also gives us a glimpse of the approach Nannette may have emulated. Mozart reported that "[Stein] himself told me that when he has finished making one of these claviers, he sits

Dieudonné, and the Schiedmayers: Two Manuals and a Notebook, ed. and trans. Preethi De Silva (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 96.

¹¹ Appendix 7 contains all translated sections of the obituary used in this dissertation, along with a facsimile of the original article. My translation, "Da keine der älteren Schwestern so viele Anlage zur Musik verrieth, als die kleine Nannette; sie auch die zarteste Anhänglichkeit für ihren Vater und Lehrer bey jeder Gelegenheit bewies, so wurde diesem das Kind so werth, dass es seine immerwährende Gesellschafterin seyn musste, und er sie, in ihrem 10ten Jahre schon, erst zur Verfertigung einzelner Theile der damaligen Mechanik, so wie endlich zum Einrichten der Tastaturen, zum Stimmen und gänzlicher Vollendung seiner Pianoforte mit freundlichtstem Ernste anhielt." Andreas Streicher, "Nekrolog," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 35, no. 23 (5 June 1833): 374.

¹² Latham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 81; Margaret Hood, "Nannette Streicher and her Pianos: Part I—A Brief Look at her Life," *Continuo* May (1986), <http://fortepianos.pairsite.com/continuo.html>.

down to it and tries all kinds of passages, runs and jumps, and he shaves and works away until it can do anything.”¹³

1.2. Father and daughter

Andreas attributes Stein’s decision to teach Nannette piano making to paternal affection, filial loyalty, and Nannette’s musical talent, themes that appear several times in published and private writings about Nannette’s relationship with her father.¹⁴ What is not mentioned in the obituary, nor in any other contemporary accounts of her entry into the trade, is that Stein and his wife Maria Regina had only one living son when Nannette began her training.¹⁵ She was the sixth of fifteen children, eleven of them girls, and the third eldest to survive to adulthood. If she began learning in the workshop at seven years of age, her baby brother Matthäus was still in the womb.¹⁶ It seems likely that the absence of a male child until this point was a twist of fate that encouraged Stein, in conjunction with Nannette’s prodigious musical skill and their special bond, to teach his young daughter to make pianos.¹⁷ But this reasoning is never employed in contemporary accounts. Instead, emotion and musical aptitude are the primary justifications for Nannette becoming a piano maker. In doing so, both Andreas and Griesinger attribute greater agency to Nannette in their published accounts: her becoming a piano maker is framed not as an accident of birth but the result of feeling and natural talent.

This idea may have originated with Nannette herself, as indicated by the 1816 diary of physician Carl Bursy upon his visit to the Streicher-Stein workshop in Vienna. Bursy summarizes a three-hour long conversation he had with the piano maker and her husband in June

¹³ Wolfgang Mozart made this comment in the context of praising Stein’s escapement mechanism, Wolfgang in Augsburg to Leopold in Salzburg. Quoted in Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 83; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Leopold Mozart, *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, 3rd ed., 3 vols., vol. 2, ed. Emily Anderson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 479.

¹⁴ She was also not the only daughter to learn instrument-making from her father: see the example of sisters Catherine and Ann Gedney who inherited their father’s London wind instrument business in 1769 and referred to their parental training in announcements. Nex, “The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London,” 143–144.

¹⁵ Goebel-Streicher, “Zwei musikalische Nannetten in Augsburg,” 81.

¹⁶ Nannette was born on January 2, 1769, and Matthäus on December 12, 1776.

¹⁷ That two of Stein’s three male children—Matthäus and Johann Heinrich (1780–1831)—entered piano making suggests that Stein still felt it was important for his sons to continue his legacy in addition to his daughter. Roland Hentzschel, “Die Werkstätten von Matthäus Andreas Stein und Carl Andreas Stein,” in *Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850: Bericht des Symposiums “Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850” veranstaltet von der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente des Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien vom 16. bis 18. 10. 2003*, ed. Beatrix Darmstädter, Rudolf Hopfner, and Alfons Huber (Tutzing: Musikantiquariat und Verlag Hans Schneider, 2008), 95.

of that year through what has the air of reported speech. Among other details, he heard that “she already learned to make instruments with her father in Augsburg out of sheer love of music.”¹⁸ Nannette presents herself to Bursy as a musician first and foremost, and this framing of her is supported by Griesinger’s profile and Andreas’s obituary. As Andreas presents it, Nannette’s musical inclinations and education were essential to the development of her close relationship with her father and her introduction to piano making:

Already in her first tender years, the musical talent of this daughter developed to such a degree that her father eagerly took over her lessons himself and brought her on so well that, at barely five years old, she was playing publicly in concerts. When a few years later he made a trip to Vienna to show off his new pianofortes [...] to the *Liebhabern*, he took his eight-year-old daughter with him and accustomed her to displaying the advantages of her father’s new work, just as readily before figures from the highest society as before musicians and unknown listeners. Her keen, accurate ear, which instantly distinguished the slightest deviation of tone from its required purity, prompted [Stein] to also guide her into singing, knowing well what effect an absolutely pure voice can in itself produce through just this quality.¹⁹

Nannette was thus first introduced to pianos by her father as a player, and Andreas, Griesinger, and others go on to make direct connections between her training and abilities as a pianist and those as a piano maker. Her first known piano performance in Augsburg in 1776 is proudly recorded in her father’s notebook.²⁰ Nannette’s earliest, tangible contributions to the family firm were therefore through concerts and demonstrations: she was a walking, talking, singing, and playing advertisement for Stein instruments. Her novelty as a child prodigy was likely especially advantageous in displaying and selling her father’s new inventions. Andreas later notes that Stein “knew how to make proud use of the talents of his daughter and three-fold student” (that is, as a

¹⁸ My translation, “Sie lernte schon in Augsburg bei ihrem Vater aus übergroßer Liebe zur Musik Instrumente machen.” Clemen, 111.

¹⁹ My translation, “Schon in den ersten zartesten Kindesjahren entwickelte sich das Musik-Talent dieser Tochter in so hohem Grade, dass der Vater mit allem Eifer Unterricht selbst übernahm und sie so weit brachte, um, kaum fünf Jahre alt, mit einem Concerte sich öffentlich hören lassen zu können. Als er einige Jahre später eine Reisen nach Wien machte, um seine neuen Pianoforte [...] den Liebhabern vorzuzeigen; nahm er auch die achtjährige Tochter mit sich und gewöhnte sie daran, eben so zwanglos vor den höchsten Standespersonen, wie vor Musikern und unbekannten Zuhörern, die Vorzüge der neuen Arbeiten ihres Vaters bemerklich zu machen. Ihr scharfes, richtiges Gehör, welches die kleinste Abweichung eines Tones von seiner erforderlichen Reinheit augenblicklich unterschied, bewog diesen, sie auch zum Gesange anzuleiten, wohl wissend, welche Wirkung eine ganz reine Stimme durch diese Eigenschaft allein schon hervorbringe.” Streicher, 373–374.

²⁰ See Chapter Four for further discussion of this entry. Blanton, 230.

piano maker, pianist, and singer) and that these talents were employed both at home in Augsburg and on tour.²¹ Goebel-Streicher supports this view when she states that by the late 1780s Nannette “had already become an irreplaceable colleague at the company and its most important advertising representative.”²²

Andreas continues to trace the connection between the making and playing of pianos and he uses it to emphasize the professional trust Stein placed in his daughter:

The lessons in singing and piano playing continued as well with unceasing enthusiasm, and guided by the most precise knowledge of the mechanism in eliciting the most beautiful sound from the instruments, her playing became increasingly accomplished. It attracted such favor, even compared to excellent musicians, that the father would only allow strangers to try one of his pianofortes if the daughter had first drawn from it what he or she had worked into it.²³

Making begets good playing and playing begets good making—this relationship is the focus of Chapter Four. As Nannette matures and learns from her father, Andreas casts her as so skilled as a maker and player that she becomes a proxy for Stein himself. Only she could both work the desired sound into a piano (*hineinarbeiten*) and draw it out (*ziehen*) to his standards. This shift in dynamic also suggests close collaboration between father and daughter: they had a shared aesthetic goal for their instruments that they could both produce through their chosen building techniques. Nannette’s playing is then depicted not as a separate activity but as the final stage in the building process, which realises her own and/or her father’s craftwork. Their combined efforts of construction and playing are what produce an ideal Stein instrument.

The relationship depicted between Nannette and Stein by Andreas and Griesinger is one of mutual affection and dedication, but Nannette’s commitment to her father is especially

²¹ My translation, “und dieser [Stein] mit Stolz die Talente seiner Tochter und dreyfachen Schülerin geltend zu machen wusste.” Streicher, 375. Nannette was not the only pianist among Stein’s children: her youngest brother Andreas Friedrich “Fritz” Stein (1784–1809) became a professional pianist and composer during his short life. He moved to Vienna with the newlyweds to continue lessons with his brother-in-law Andreas, returning to Augsburg in 1798 and concertizing in various German and Austrian cities, see Goebel-Streicher et al., 103–107.

²² My translation, “1788 und 1789 waren also [...] Eine Zeit, in der Nannette Stein schon zu einer unersetzbaren Mitarbeiterin des Betriebes und zu seiner wichtigsten Werbeträgerin geworden war.” Goebel-Streicher, *Das Stammbuch der Nannette Stein*, 30.

²³ My translation. “Dabey wurde der Unterricht im Gesange und Klavierspiele mit unausgesetztem Eifer fortgeführt, und durch die genaueste Kenntniss der Mechanik geleitet, dem Instrumente den schönsten Ton zu entlocken, wurde ihr Spiel immer vollkommener; es erhielt, selbst gegen ausgezeichnete Musiker gehalten, einen solchen Vorzug, dass der Vater nur dann erst dem Fremden erlaubte, eines seiner Pianoforte zu versuchen, wenn zuerst die Tochter dasjenige aus demselben gezogen, was er oder sie hineingearbeitet hatten.” Streicher, 374–375.

emphasized. This understanding of Nannette's relationship with her father was not only a matter of public image but part of how the Streicher-Stein family saw its own history, as is apparent from private correspondence between family members. For example, when Andreas wrote to their son Johann Baptist in 1823 about making the latter an official partner in the business, he first made a point of mentioning Nannette and her father. In part to explain why the business would continue to bear Nannette's name during her lifetime, Andreas tells Johann Baptist that it is "because your mother was trained for this business from her tenderest youth, made so many sacrifices for it and showed her father until his death a loyalty, attentiveness and love that cannot be thought stronger."²⁴ Both within the family and in the public sphere, core elements of Andreas's justification for Nannette's work as a piano maker are filial duty and affection. This extended to caring for her father during an extended illness and on his deathbed, as Andreas writes in her obituary ten years later:

Just as she had been her father's most faithful assistant in his difficult work for fourteen full years, she also proved herself to be the most careful daughter in the uninterrupted care of the man who devoted every hour to her moral and musical training in his long and sickly life and had thus become an object of the highest love and adoration for her. During the last years of his illness it did not seem enough to her to have completed the work ordered during the day, she also shared his sleepless nights with him and gave him comfort and encouragement when the anxiety of a dropsy caused him to despair.²⁵

Andreas makes sure to highlight that Nannette was not only a good student of and assistant to her father, but a good daughter too. Like the ideal eighteenth-century German daughter, she lived to serve her father and his legacy. Ultimately, the way Andreas frames Nannette's relationship with Stein places responsibility for her atypical occupation not in her hands but in her father's. This rhetorical strategy seeks to lessen the transgressive potential of her work as a piano maker by underscoring the ways in which she meets the feminine ideal of the dutiful daughter who follows

²⁴ My translation, "weil deine Mutter von ihrer zartesten Jugend an für dieses Geschäfte erzogen wurde, diesem so viele Opfer gebracht und ihrem Vater eine Treue, Aufmerksamkeit und Liebe bis in seinen Tod bewiesen, die nicht stärker gedacht werden kann." Donhauser and Langer, 32–33.

²⁵ My translation. "Wie sie während vierzehn vollen Jahren die treueste Gehülfin ihres Vaters bey seiner schwierigen Arbeit war, so bewies sie sich auch bey dessen lange dauernder Kränklichkeit als die sorgsamste Tochter in der ununterbrochenen Pflege des Mannes, der ihr jede Stunde widmete, um ihre sittliche und musikalische Ausbildung zu befördern und ihr dadurch ein Gegenstand der höchsten Liebe und Verehrung geworden war. Es schien ihr während der letzten Jahre seiner Krankheit nicht genug, am Tage die bestellten Arbeiten verfertigt zu haben, sie theilte auch seine schlaflosen Nächte mit ihm und sprach ihm Trost und Ermunterung zu, wenn die Beängstigungen einer Brustwassersucht ihn zur Verzweiflung bringen wollten." Streicher, 374–375.

her father's wishes and takes care of him in old age. In other words, Andreas assures the reader that Nannette's paid labour was not undertaken to the detriment of her unpaid care labour within the family.²⁶

But even in the midst of this appeal to nurturing femininity, Nannette's work as a piano maker is ever present in Andreas's account. He frames her work as a daughter-nurse not as a replacement for but as parallel to her work as an "assistant." She apparently undertook both the "day's required work" in the piano workshop and cared for her father at night over the course of several years. Latcham even argues that, based on changes in the scaling of instruments, Nannette was probably running her father's workshop by 1790, when she was twenty-one.²⁷

Lest we view their relationship too rosily, there were other less positive aspects to being a girl in a "masculine" trade. Stein's decision to teach Nannette piano making did not mean that gender was irrelevant in their pedagogical interactions, and it was sometimes invoked by Stein in negative ways. Looking back on her relationship with her father six months after his death, Nannette offered up one of her only surviving firsthand accounts in a letter to Andreas, recalling that "my father, who was always memorable to me, could not punish me more severely if sometimes I could not understand a task immediately, than when he told me: you are just a woman."²⁸ Stein called attention to his daughter's gender in order to chastise her and thus weaponized it. Within the workshop Nannette was reminded that her exceptionalized status as a woman piano maker was conditional: if she did not excel, she was capitulating to the "natural" limitations imposed by her gender. Nannette appears to have internalised this misogynist view and perhaps even used it as a source of motivation; she certainly continued to defy gendered expectations throughout her long career as one of Europe's most prominent piano makers of any gender.

Nannette's life might have looked very different if her father had not died in her youth. She might not have experienced the independence she exhibited as a businessowner and craftsperson, instead remaining her father's "assistant" by continuing to work for him and

²⁶ Though her mother and sisters were also in Augsburg during Stein's illness, they are not mentioned in relation to caring for him. This underscores the special and exclusive father/daughter relationship Andreas constructs in the obituary.

²⁷ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 241n229.

²⁸ My translation. "mein mir unvergeßlicher Vatter konte mich mit nichts härter strafen wenn ich manchmal eine Arbeit nicht gleich begreifen konte, als wenn er mir sagte = Du bist halt ein Weibsbild." Nannette to Andreas, August 31, 1792, Goebel-Streicher, "Zwei musikalische Nannetten in Augsburg," 81n42.

refraining from entering marriage. Perhaps she might have become more like the eighteenth-century “daddy’s girls” described by Kowaleski-Wallace, who views figures including the writer Frances Burney (1752–1840, eldest daughter of music historian and composer Charles Burney) through this lens. Using feminist psychoanalysis, Kowaleski-Wallace explores the dynamic of the “benevolent patriarch” and submissive daughter in which both parties become interdependent. Frances, for example, depended on her father both personally and in her literary work and expressed a lack of confidence in her writing throughout her life.²⁹ If Stein had died at a later date and Matthäus had reached adulthood while their father was still alive, perhaps the son would have inherited the business by himself, following the more traditional practice of primogeniture. Nannette might have been married to someone of higher status and become primarily a pianist, or to a fellow tradesperson whom she assisted in his work. Ironically, Stein may have died at the ideal moment in terms of Nannette’s career and life as an adult: after she had learnt from him to the point where she could run the workshop but before his needs engulfed or suppressed her own. Stein’s death also allowed her to remember him fondly and loyally, before they could come into conflict. It seems clear, then, that Stein’s death and Matthäus’s departure from the family business are key reasons why Nannette became so prominent as a woman piano maker. If her male blood relatives had remained present in her life, she might have been even more thoroughly obscured by the shadow they cast. She furthermore achieved a degree of equity in her relationships with Matthäus and Andreas that would have been impossible in her hierarchical relationship with her father.

2. “Frère et Sœur Stein”: Nannette and Matthäus in Augsburg and Vienna

2.1. After J. A. Stein’s death

When her father died in February 1792, Nannette had just turned twenty-three and was now truly at the head of the Augsburg piano workshop. A double responsibility of providing for her family and maintaining her father’s legacy rested on her shoulders, as Andreas tells us in her obituary: “Although the wound that this terrible loss caused her spirit remained deep and incurable, she did not forget that it was now her duty to take care of the well-being of her mother and six siblings

²⁹ Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, “Milton’s Daughters: The Education of Eighteenth-Century Women Writers,” *Feminist Studies* 12, no. 2 (1986): 276–277, 284.

and to do everything possible to maintain the honor which her father's name had acquired."³⁰ Andreas later explained to his son that this meant "[Nannette] worked for her siblings without payment for two years after her father's death."³¹ These sources indicate that Nannette supported her mother and all of her surviving siblings (including her elder sisters, who may have been married by this time) by giving over the profits of the company made between 1792 to 1794. By all accounts, she was the primary breadwinner for her birth family.

A letter Nannette wrote to Andreas in December 1792 suggests that she was increasingly unhappy in Augsburg by this time. Not only had she lost her father, assumed responsibility of the piano workshop, was apart from her fiancé, and keeping her engagement secret, but she no longer had the company of her closest friend, Anna "Nanette" von Schaden née von Stadler von Pranck (1763–1834).³² Nannette Stein met von Schaden—a fellow pianist—around 1779 when she was ten years old and von Schaden sixteen. The older girl had just married a court official and moved with him to the Wallerstein court, before settling in nearby Augsburg in 1786.³³ Both received piano lessons from Ignaz von Beecke (*Kapellmeister* at Wallerstein) and developed a strong friendship, as attested to by notes from von Schaden found in Nannette Stein's *Stammbuch*.³⁴ The separation of the two friends when von Schaden moved to Regensburg in 1792 deeply saddened Nannette Stein, as is apparent from a letter she wrote to Andreas: "Just think *Schazel* [sweetheart], the good woman [von Schaden] and her children will leave for Regensburg next week and it is likely that she will not be seen in Augsburg again. How this pains me! Now, I lose my only friend here, whom I have known for 14 years, and who makes my stay here bearable."³⁵

³⁰ My translation. "So tief und unheilbar auch die Wunde bleib, welche dieser schreckliche Verlust ihrem Gemüthe verursachte, so vergass sie doch nicht, dass es nun ihre Aufgabe sey, für das Wohl ihrer Mutter und sechs Geschwister zu sorgen und Alles anzuwenden, um dem Namen des Vaters die erworbene Ehre zu erhalten." Streicher, 374–375.

³¹ My translation, "[sic] auch für ihre Geschwister noch nach des Vaters Tode zwei Jahre unentgeltlich gearbeitet hat." Donhauser and Langer, 32.

³² Nannette in Augsburg to Andreas in Munich, May 31, 1792, Streicher Archive, Sign. Na 05. Translation in De Silva, 29–30. Original quoted in Goebel-Streicher et al., 60–63.

³³ Laureen L. Whitelaw, "Music Beyond Spheres: the Public Compositions of South German Female Composers of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2013), 58–60, 82, 68.

³⁴ For example, see the poem copied by von Schaden, quoted in Whitelaw, 58, 75, 81. Goebel-Streicher has written about the two women, their friendship, and their musical activities, see Goebel-Streicher, "Zwei musikalische Nannetten in Augsburg," 21, 33, 110–112, 160.

³⁵ Translation by Whitelaw, 82. "Denk nur Schazel, das gute Weibchen wird uns nächster Tagen samt ihren Kindern verlassen, sie geht nach Regensburg; [... und wird] wahrscheinlicher Weiße Augsburg nicht mehr sehen. Was das mich schmerzt! Nun verliere ich noch meine einzige Freundin hier die ich schon seit 14 Jahren kenne und die mir

It is in the context of these years of trial that Andreas and Griesinger make direct and remarkably similar comments about Nannette's work in relation to gender, recalling (though more positively) Stein's gendered method of punishment. Namely, they both view her fortitude as in some way exceeding her ascribed gender. Griesinger writes that "following the death of her father, it was possible for her to take over the making of the fortepianos herself, at an age when giddiness seldom breeds serious commitment, and for nine years, to continue it with manly spirit."³⁶ In the same vein, Andreas writes that "with the courage of a man, with the love of a daughter and a sister, she undertook—in conjunction with her brother, who was then only 16 years old—to continue the former business."³⁷ Both writers use this claim to manliness to underscore Nannette's bravery and dedication to her work, attributes which they (and perhaps Nannette herself) presumably believed to be uncommon traits in women, especially young ones. Such allusions to manly behaviour are common in nineteenth-century accounts of women deemed to be in some way exceptional.³⁸ They bestow honorary manhood upon the subject and seek to separate her from others of her gender, but they also reflect the mutability of gender in this context. Manliness was not imbued by biology and thus something simply possessed: it could instead be acquired, including by women, through extraordinary action.

2.2. *Sister and brother; Nannette's marriage*

Nannette carried significant economic and emotional responsibilities following Stein's death, but she did not continue the business alone. In addition to the journeymen that had worked for her father, her younger brother Matthäus—a minor of apprentice age at this time—had also joined the firm by this time. There is little information about the relationship between the two siblings before 1802, but snippets from Nannette's letters of the 1790s offer hints. Writing to Andreas in July 1792, she shows that Matthäus was supportive of her budding romance and was willing to

den Aufenthalt hier noch erträglich machte." Nannette to Andreas, December 21, 1792. Streicher Archive, Sign. Na_037. Original German quoted in Goebel-Streicher, "Zwei musikalische Nannetten in Augsburg," 83.

³⁶ Translation by De Silva, "So war es möglich, dass sie nach dem Tode ihres Vaters, in einem Alter wo Flattersinn den Geschmack an ernsten Beschäftigungen selten aufkommen lässt, die Bearbeitung der Fortepianos selbst übernehmen, und seit neun Jahren mit männlichem Geiste selbst fortführen konnte." De Silva, 100–101.

³⁷ My translation. "Mit dem Muthe eines Mannes, mit der Liebe einer Tochter, einer Schwester, unternahm sie es, in Verbindung mit ihrem damals erst 16 Jahre alten Bruder, das bisherige Geschäft fortzuführen." Streicher, 375.

³⁸ See Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 162; Ellis, 376.

be an ally when it came time for Nannette to tell her mother that she wanted to marry Andreas.³⁹ She later described her brother during their trip to Vienna in 1793 as generally “hard-hearted [...] or rather hard-headed” towards others, but he occasionally took a shine to people they met during their journey.⁴⁰ Overall, Nannette speaks of Matthäus affectionately and depicts the two of them as a team in the face of her mother; there are no apparent tensions between them in this period. Nannette was very much the senior party in this relationship: if Matthäus began training at the same age, she had acquired nine to twelve years of experience over her younger brother. Though gender was significant within eighteenth-century German families, factors like age often took precedence in determining which siblings had power over the others. Underscoring this idea, historian Allyson M. Poska argues that “when siblings lived together, brothers and sisters acted out gender tensions in the context of an array of other complications, including birth order, intra-familial alliances and internecine conflicts. As a result, in many cases, sisters, by virtue of their age or wealth, exerted significant influence over their brothers and younger sisters.”⁴¹

Nannette’s correspondence with Andreas from this time also gives us insight into her personality and her role within the company. The circumstances of the young couple’s first meeting are unknown, but they began writing to one another in 1792 while Andreas was living in Munich and they appear to have become engaged in June of that year (see Figure 2.2, which shows a plaster bust of Andreas).⁴² In these letters, Nannette comes across as a hard-working, sociable, and sometimes lively person. She mentions specific duties she undertook in her letters, such as receiving orders and writing to customers.⁴³ She also describes her attempts to safeguard the reputation of her company by placing notices in the press to deal with negative rumors about

³⁹ My translation, “My brother and I will do everything to win her over.” (*Doch wird mein Bruder und ich alles anwenden sie dazu zu bereden*). Nannette in Augsburg to Andreas in Munich, July 20, 1792, Streicher Archive, Sign. Na 10. Translation by De Silva, 29–30. Original in Goebel-Streicher et al., 63–64.

⁴⁰ My translation, “der hartherzige Andreas (oder vielmehr hartköpfige).” Letter from Nannette in Vienna to Andreas in Munich, October 9, 1793, Streicher Archive, Sign. Na 89, in Goebel-Streicher et al., 73.

⁴¹ Poska, 200. See also Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

⁴² Nannette’s first letter to Andreas is dated February 15, 1792; Andreas’s letters from the period remain unpublished. Christoph Öhm-Kühnle, “‘Er weiß jeden Ton singen zu lassen’: Der Musiker und Klavierbauer Johann Andreas Streicher (1761–1833) – kompositorisches Schaffen und kulturelles Wirken im biografischen Kontext” (Ph.D. diss. Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 2009), 45; Goebel-Streicher et al., 61.

⁴³ My translation. “à propos, dear, you can perhaps tell me whether there is a certain secretary Kraus in Munich who has a daughter of 10 years who plays the piano? Don’t you know this family? The father of the family has ordered an instrument from me” (*à propos, Lieber, Sie können mir vielleicht sagen, ob es in München einen gewissen geheimen Secretaire Kraus giebt der eine Tochter von 10 Jahren hat, die Clavier spielt? kennen Sie diese Familie nicht? Der Vatter [Vater] davon hat mir ein Instrument bestellt*), Nannette in Augsburg to Andreas in Munich, May 31, 1792, in Goebel-Streicher et al., 61–63.

the quality of Stein instruments under her management.⁴⁴ She writes of being “overwhelmed with work” (*mit Arbeit überhäuft*) while still making time to entertain and play for visitors and corresponding with contacts on Andreas’s behalf.⁴⁵ These letters also contain valuable information about the growing relationship between Nannette and Andreas, including their musical interactions. I return to these courtship letters in the following section on Nannette’s and Andreas’s relationship and collaboration.

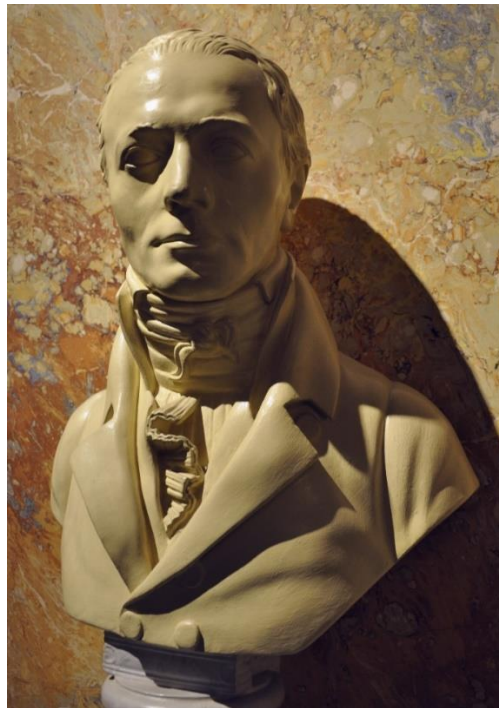


Figure 2.2, Franz Klein, *Bust of Johann Andreas Streicher (Freund Friedrich Schillers)* (1812), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, SAM 660. Public domain.

The civil ceremony between Nannette and Andreas took place on December 23, 1793, followed by their church wedding on January 7, 1794, both in Augsburg.⁴⁶ They were Protestants, specifically members of the Augsburg Confession, and married at the

⁴⁴ My translation, “Here also is an excerpt from the falsehood that an instrument maker had printed and my printed response to it.” (*Hier ist auch ein Auszug von der Lüge die ein Instrumentenmacher drucken lies und die gedruckte Antwort von mir darauf*). Nannette in Augsburg to Andreas in Munich, March 26/27, 1793, in Goebel-Streicher et al., 66–68.

⁴⁵ Goebel-Streicher et al., 61.

⁴⁶ Goebel-Streicher, “Johann Baptist Streichers Reisetagebuch von 1828,” 83; Öhm-Kühnle, 236. A record of their church marriage is preserved in the parish marriage register: Trauungsbuch der Pfarrei Barfüßer, 1794, 526, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchengemeindeamt (Registeramt), Augsburg, Germany.

Barfüßerkirche, the church where Stein had built his famous organ between 1755 and 1757, where he worked as an organist and organ inspector, and where he and Nannette's mother had their own marriage ceremony in 1760.⁴⁷ No marriage contract appears to have survived (if one was every drawn up) so unlike the Marcoux sisters, we do not know what kind of matrimonial regime governed their property.⁴⁸ Nannette entered marriage of her own accord for her own purposes. Her father had died and she chose her own husband independently, even in contradiction to her mother's wishes; this was not a case of a woman being exchanged between men. Though her marriage with Andreas was clearly one of affection and respect, it may have also been a way for Nannette to extract herself from the demands of supporting her mother and siblings. Marriage transferred her responsibilities to her husband and their new family unit and increased her social status and thus, to some extent, her power to act in the world. It also meant that she exchanged one legal state for another. Due to the legal construct of "gender guardianship" (*Geschlechtsvormundschaft*), married women in German-speaking areas were not considered full adults in the eyes of the law and required permission from their husband or another adult male who stood as their guardian (*Kriegsvogt*) to enter contracts and engage in legal proceedings.⁴⁹ But while this resulted in restrictive and even oppressive conditions for many women, in cases like Nannette's where the birth family placed undue demands on an unmarried woman, marriage to the right person could be her route to greater independence.

⁴⁷ Öhm-Kühnle, 49; Goebel-Streicher et al., 10; Rebecca Wolf, "Stein, Johann Andreas," *Neue Deutsche Biographie Online-Version* 25 (2013), <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119488051.html#ndbcontent>. For more on Stein's organ in the Barfüßerkirche see Blanton, 55–57.

⁴⁸ Unlike in France, notaries were rarely involved in marriage contracts in German-speaking areas, meaning that there was no central repository and practices varied by region, see Margareth Lanzinger, "Marriage Contracts in Various Contexts: Marital Property Rights, Sociocultural Aspects and Gender-Specific Implications. Late-Eighteenth-Century Evidence from Two Tirolean Court Districts," *Annales de démographie historique* 121, no. 1 (2011): 70–71.

⁴⁹ According to historian Sheilagh Ogilvie, *Kriegsvogt* "translates literally as 'war governor or 'war overseer.'" Ogilvie and Robert Beachy also note that gender guardianship could offer women legal protections, in contrast to similar systems like England's concept of coverture, see Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Married Women, Work and the Law: Evidence From Early Modern Germany," in *Married Women and the Law in Premodern Northwest Europe*, ed. Cordelia Beattie and Matthew Frank Stevens, Gender in the Middle Ages (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2013), 215–218; Robert Beachy, "Women without Gender: Commerce, Exchange Codes, and the Erosion of German Gender Guardianship, 1680–1830," in *Family Welfare: Gender, Property, and Inheritance Since the Seventeenth Century*, ed. David R. Green and Alastair Owens, Contributions in Family Studies (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004), 196–198.

2.3. A new household in Vienna

Nannette's new relationship would not impact only her own life, it would inevitably affect both her business and her relationship with her brother. Her marriage produced a fundamental shift in both the structure and physical location of their household: she and Andreas would form and lead a new household, separate from her maternal one. Due to Matthäus's status as an unmarried younger sibling, he would (re-)join it as a dependant.⁵⁰ According to historian Heide Wunder, unmarried individuals like Matthäus "were to be subject to the control of the pater- and materfamilias, along with all married persons of inferior legal status who lived in the house."⁵¹ As a part of married couple at the head of a household and business, Nannette would gain further power over both Matthäus's home and working life than she had previously exerted as an unmarried elder sister. Her marriage would eventually bring Andreas into the piano-making company as a third member of its leadership team. This event was also publicly cited as the reason why the workshop transferred from Augsburg to Vienna.⁵²

Transferring a piano workshop from one city in the Habsburg Empire to another was no minor undertaking in the late eighteenth century—the method the Stein siblings chose involved seeking approval and filling out paperwork at the highest level. In September of 1793, a few months before her civil wedding, Nannette and Matthäus journeyed to Vienna to secure a privilege directly from Holy Roman Emperor Franz II to establish their workshop. Nannette described their audience with the emperor to make this request (sometime in early October) in a letter to Andreas:

I was with the Emperor myself with the letter saying that we want to establish ourselves here [in Vienna]. One of our best friends from the (House of) Donnersberg side presented us, along with Andreas [i.e. Matthäus], to the good, kind Franz. [...] Our friend went ahead and said, "I present to your Majesty two children of the famous Stein who wish to

⁵⁰ There was a six-month gap between Nannette's marriage to Andreas in December 1793/January 1794 and their arrival in Vienna in July 1794. It is unclear whether they lived together in Augsburg during that time or if their first marital home was their new residence in Vienna.

⁵¹ Wunder, 78.

⁵² My translation "In order to forestall any misjudgments, [the Stein siblings] find it necessary to declare that the marriage of one of them has made this change of location necessary." (*Um schiesen Urtheilen zuvorzukommen, finden sie nöthig zu erklären: dass die Verheirathung eines von ihnen, diese Ver- [sic] Veränderung des Orts, nothwendig gemacht hat*). Nannette Streicher-Stein and Matthäus Andreas Stein, "VI. Vermischte Anzeigen. Nachrichte an die Musik-Liebhaber," *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung* (Jena), July 16 1794, https://api.digital-sammlungen.de/iiif/image/v2/bsb10501999_00472/pct:55.53333,34.08962,40.33333,32.27453/full/0/color.jpg.

live under your Majesty's sceptre and be allowed to continue the art learned from their father. Since their orders mostly come from foreign regions, they cannot harm the court instrument makers. Your Majesty will already have heard of Stein"; "I do know, I do know," was the answer, whereupon he turned to me and said "Well, that's really splendid of you to want to come here. We can help, we do have good instrument makers here, but they are not renowned." He repeated this twice and in a most courteous tone. I talked a lot more with him, [and] told him that I had already been here in 1777: "you will find a great difference now," he responded to that. In short, I was completely taken with him [...]. Almost everything is in our favour, the emperor signed the document right away and now it is with the government, but as our friend says, it can't proceed any further as long as we are here [in Vienna], and so I believe that we can't move here before spring.⁵³

The scene Nannette paints shows that she and Matthäus went to the emperor together as the Stein siblings, but it also positions Nannette herself as the primary protagonist: she was the one whom the emperor addressed and who proceeded to have a long conversation with him. This arrangement was also reflected in the legal documents that established the company in Vienna and the official structure of the firm. Nannette was the sole privilege holder for her workshop and thus legal head of the firm from 1794 to 1824, when her son Johann Baptist became an official partner.⁵⁴ Matthäus was never made a full partner or co-owner of the company; neither was Nannette's future husband.⁵⁵ Andreas's 1802 letter to Gottfried Christoph Härtel of Breitkopf & Härtel clarifies that Nannette led the conversation during the audience because of her age and seniority: "the government did not want to know anything about him" and "wanted

⁵³ My translation. "Ich war selbst mit der Schrift, daß wir uns hier etablieren wollen bei'm Kaißer, es führte uns einer unserer besten Freunde von Seiten des Donnersbergischen Haußes mit Andreas bei dem guten artigen Franz auf. [...] Unser Freund gieng voran u. sagte = ich stelle Euer Majestät hier zwei Kinder des berühmten Stein vor welche wünschten unter dem Zepter Euer Majestät zu leben u. die von ihrem Vatter erlernte Kunst fortführen zu dürfen, da ihre Bestellungen meistens aus Fremten Gegenden herkommen, so können sie denen H. Instrumentenmachern nicht schaden er. Ihro Majestät werden schon von Stein gehört haben = ich weis schon, ich weis schon, war die Antwort, darauf wande er sich zu mir u. sagte = Nun das ist recht schön von Ihnen daß Sie hier her wollen da können wir schon helfen, wir haben zwar gute Instrumentenmacher hier allein berühmt sind sie nicht, dies wiederholte er zweimal u. das mit dem Ton der allergrösten Höflichkeit; ich sprach noch viel mit ihm, erzählte daß ich 1777 schon hier war : da werden Sie ietzt einen grosen Unterschied finden antwortete er hierauf, kurz ich wurde ganz eingenomen für ihn [...]. Es nimt fast alles unsere Parthie, der Kaiser hat die Schrift gleich unterzeichnet u. ietzt ist sie bei der Regierung, allein wie unser Freund sagt so kann es nicht mehr ausgehen so lange wir hier sind, u. ich glaube daher daß wir vor dem Frühjahr nicht herkommen können." Nannette in Vienna to Andreas in Munich, October 9, 1793, in Goebel-Streicher et al., 72–73.

⁵⁴ Goebel-Streicher, "Fäbung, Schmelz, Schattierung oder starker Ton," 172n173. Nannette in Augsburg to Andreas in Munich, March 26/27, 1793, in Goebel-Streicher et al., 66–68.

⁵⁵ Latham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 260, 260n261.

to allow him to work only in community with his sister.”⁵⁶ From the authorities’ perspective, Nannette’s age (and experience) made her the only company representative with whom they would contract.

Even if they did not share the same legal standing in the eyes of the Viennese government, the piano company’s new name nevertheless communicated to the public that the enterprise was a partnership between brother and sister. While still based in Augsburg the company had continued to use the father’s name: surviving instruments from 1790 through 1793 bear “Jean André Stein” on their nameplates.⁵⁷ Following their physical move to Vienna in July 1794 (and six months after the marriage ceremony), notices referring to “the siblings Nannette and Andreas [i.e. Matthäus] Stein” (*die Geschwister Nannette und Andreas Stein*) and announcing the new location of the workshop appeared in the *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung* and *Wiener Zeitung* in July and August, while nameplates from around 1795 onward bear the inscription “Frère et Sœur Stein,” as in Figure 2.3.⁵⁸



Figure 2.3, Frère et Sœur Stein pianoforte nameplate (1794–1802), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 64.252. Public domain.

⁵⁶ For full quote and original German, see note 71. Skowronek, “Andreas Streichers Briefe,” 393.

⁵⁷ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 238, 298.

⁵⁸ Streicher-Stein and Stein; Öhm-Kühnle, 50. For a complete list of extant Geschwister Stein and Streicher-Stein nameplates, see Table 1 “The pianos of the Stein-Streicher firm, 1790–1823” in Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 298.

2.4. A new workshop in Vienna

The first major public mention of Nannette following the company's move appeared in the *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst in Wien und Prag* of 1796, written by printer and art collector Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld (1750–1821). This source is also the first to present Nannette primarily as a piano maker rather than a pianist (she received a separate entry for each role and her piano-making entry is the more substantial of the two). After discussing the instruments of Walter and Schanz, Schönfeld describes Nannette as a major figure in Vienna's piano-making industry:

The third great *Meister*, or rather *Meisterinn* is *Madame Streicherinn*. She is to be found at the Sign of the Red Rose on the *Landstrasse*. She is the daughter of the famous instrument maker Stein of Augsburg who, above all others in Germany, has made the greatest name for himself. Because this great artist would not tolerate any strange faces in his art he encouraged his children to help him in his work ever since they were young. They were thus brought up in the art. After his death, his eldest daughter married the very capable music master and composer Streicher of Munich. Taking her eldest brother with her she settled in Vienna. That is the short history of an artist who, when she once becomes known, will acquire one of the greatest names amongst us. Her instruments do not have the power of Walter's but they cannot be equalled for the balance of their sound, their purity, airiness, grace and gentleness. The sound is not offensive but melting. The touch requires a light hand, elastic finger pressure and a feeling heart. The prices of these instruments begin at 66 ducats. These three artists presented here are actually the most famous. Nevertheless we also have many others, [...]. But in general it is true that we just have two original instrument makers, namely Walter and Streicher...

Because we have two original instrument makers, we also divide our *Fortepianos* into two classes: those made in the style of Walter and those made in the style of Streicher. By close observation we can also detect two classes amongst our best pianist. One of these classes loves a great musical treat, that is, a rich feast for the ears to that end they play with a strong sound, extremely fast, study the most difficult runs and the fastest octaves. This requires authority and strength of nerve. To apply these, one is not capable of maintaining a certain restraint, and so requires a *Fortepiano* that does not break down under such trials.

For the virtuosi of this kind we recommend the Walter style of *Fortepiano*. Players of the other class seek nourishment for the soul and love playing that is not only

clear but also soft and melting. These can choose no better instruments than those of the Streicher or so-called Stein type. Those of the intermediate class of virtuosi will however not be disappointed in finding good instruments to fit every taste and every pocket.⁵⁹

Nannette's labour and agency as a piano maker are foregrounded in Schönfeld's description of the company, not least by his use of the term *Meisterin* (the feminine form of "master," archaically spelled as *Meisterinn*). This title places her on par with her male competitors and—by the end of the section—privileges her instruments alongside Walter's as one of the "two original instrument makers" in Vienna. Schönfeld furthermore calls her an "artist" destined for greatness and offers a glowing description of her instruments.⁶⁰ Eva Badura-Skoda and Latcham have noted the inaccuracies in the way Schönfeld contrasts the work of the three piano makers.⁶¹ But Latcham also pinpoints the overall goal of Schönfeld's discussion: it is not an "objective" description (though it may present itself as such) but an expression of his aesthetic preferences regarding instruments and performance style, which happen to align with those of Nannette and her husband.⁶² For my purposes, this passage serves not only as an aesthetic statement about Nannette's instruments but as a bold public declaration about the piano maker herself. It establishes her hierarchical position as the head of a workshop and positions her as the public face of the firm. In contrast to many later sources, Nannette is the unambiguous focus: Matthäus is not mentioned by name but included under "Stein's children" and referred to as the eldest of

⁵⁹ Translation by Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 241–243.

⁶⁰ There is some confusion over the relationship between J. F. R. von Schönfeld and the Countess von Schönfeld, and therefore between the former (as editor of the *Jahrbuch*) and the Streicher-Stein couple. Christoph Öhm-Kühnle, citing Ladenburger, suggests that the "Fr. Grf. [Frau Gräfin] Schöenfeld" in Andreas Streicher's student account book was the wife of J. F. R. von Schönfeld and notes that the Streicher-Stein couple were "very favorably mentioned" (*sehr vorteilhaft erwähnt wurden*) in the *Jahrbuch*, see Öhm-Kühnle, 74. However, Austrian biographical dictionaries show that Countess Ursula Viktoria von Schönfeld, née von Fries, was married to the Saxon ambassador, Count Johann Hilmar Adolph von Schönfeld, see Constantin Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Österreich*, 31 (Vienna: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1876), 156, <http://www.literature.at/alo?objid=12540>, 60. Meanwhile, J. F. R. von Schönfeld—a bookseller, art collector, and writer—was married to Johanna Löhnert (or Lehnert), daughter of a Prague bell maker, see J. Mikoletzky, "Schönfeld, Johann (Nep.) Ferdinand von (1750–1821)," ed. Ernst Bruckmüller and Christine Gruber, vol. 11, *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995). This case of mistaken identity throws into question the idea that the Streicher-Stein couple received favorable treatment from J. F. R. von Schönfeld because Andreas was his wife's piano teacher.

⁶¹ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 244–246; Eva Badura-Skoda, *The Eighteenth-Century Fortepiano Grand and its Patrons: From Scarlatti to Beethoven* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2017), 384.

⁶² Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 246–249.

her brothers. Andreas appears only as a composer and piano teacher; he also receives his own separate entry in these capacities elsewhere in the *Jahrbuch*.⁶³

2.5. Division of labour

This brings us to the issue of what Nannette's, Andreas's, and Matthäus's roles were within the company during the Frère et Sœur Stein period, the evidence for which comes primarily from private correspondence. As I have demonstrated, at the beginning of their partnership and as the elder sibling, Nannette was the privilege holder, firm owner, workshop head, and public face of the company. She was also active in the workshop itself, a fact borne out by the way she presented her story to Bursy in 1816: he wrote that, "when she married, she really was the one who actually worked in the workshop."⁶⁴

Describing Andreas's role in the company during that same period, Bursy writes that "Streicher was a piano teacher at that time and only later began to work in the production of *his* instruments" (my emphasis).⁶⁵ Andreas was apparently still primarily a piano teacher in 1799. In May of that year, Griesinger wrote to Härtel that Andreas was slow in sending him information about the firm because "the good man [...] is also so overwhelmed with lessons..."⁶⁶ By March 1801, Andreas's role in the company had grown considerably. Griesinger now describes him as "Streicher, who looks after the mercantile end in the Stein workshop" and makes clear that Andreas is the main point of contact for the firm.⁶⁷ Andreas fulfilled this role in interactions with other dealers too.⁶⁸ Corresponding with business associates involved negotiating over instrument orders, providing them with information about the firm, promotional material, and receiving customer feedback.⁶⁹ He also corresponded directly with customers and individuals who blurred the line between customer and agent. (See, for example, the oft-quoted 1796 letter from Beethoven where he jokingly tells Andreas that a Frère et Sœur Stein piano he had loaned was

⁶³ Kathrine Talbot, "A Yearbook of the Music of Vienna and Prague, 1796: Johann Ferdinand von von Schönfeld, Vienna 1796," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton University Press, 1997), 314.

⁶⁴ My translation, "[sic] war bei ihrer Verheiratung auch wirklich die eigentlich Wirkende in dier Werkstatt." Clemen, 111.

⁶⁵ My translation, "Streicher war damals Klavierlehrer und fing erst später an, mit bei der Anfertigung seiner Instrumente zu arbeiten." Clemen, 111.

⁶⁶ De Silva, 93.

⁶⁷ De Silva, 94.

⁶⁸ This included Hoffmeister & Kühnel and the Bureau de Musique; see Griesinger's letters of September 18 and December 13, 1801. De Silva, 93–94.

⁶⁹ See Griesinger's letters of September October 21, 1801, and October 23, 1802. De Silva, 94.

“too good for me”).⁷⁰ In sum, by the time the company was breaking apart in 1802, Andreas’s roles in the business involved handling much of the company’s correspondence; liaising with agents, dealers, and customers; acting as public relations manager; and perhaps also managing the accounts.

Matthäus’s position also grew over the nearly ten-year period of Frère et Sœur Stein’s existence to include liaising with customers and managing the workshop. By 1799 he was playing a significant role in negotiating with customers, as can be seen in letters from Josephine Deym (1779–1821) to her mother Anna Brunswick about the former’s visit to the Stein workshop.⁷¹ On November 6, Deym wrote that she spoke with both Nannette and Matthäus but clarifies that most of the negotiations over the piano and its price took place between Matthäus and Deym’s husband:

Today we were at Mr. Stein’s because of the fortepiano you ordered, and I spoke with him and his sister there, but he talks a bit pompously and does not want to know about the 80 # [ducats] and says that he agreed with you on 90 because you ordered [an instrument] with steel [...]. The whole thing amounts to the fact that, because he finds many buyers for his instruments, he wants to raise the price a little, for he said that he agrees to keep the fortepiano if you do not want to give the 90 #, and that there are many people that will take it first.⁷²

Less than two years later, Griesinger’s correspondence with Härtel show that Matthäus was acting as workshop manager and was responsible for production and personnel. On March 20, 1801, Griesinger explained why orders were delayed: “Due to illness and emigration of apprentices, Stein was able to finish only a few of his orders. Beginning from New Year,

⁷⁰ Skowroneck, *Beethoven the Pianist*, 73–74.

⁷¹ My thanks to Tilman Skowroneck for drawing my attention to Rita Steblin’s research on these letters (see below).

⁷² Steblin interprets the reference to “steel” (*acier*) here as relating to the strings. My translation, “Nous étions aujourd’hui, chez Mr Stein, paraport du Forte piano, que Vous avez comander, là, j’ai parlé avec lui même, et avec sa Soeur, mais il parle d’un ton un peu haut, et ne veut rien savoir, des 80 #: et dit qu’il a accorder avec Vous pour 90, parceque Vous avez commandez qu’il y soit avec d’acier [...]. Le tout en sera, comme il trouve beaucoup d’acheteurs, de ses instruments, qu’il en veut un peu monter le prix, car il a dit qu’il est d’accord de garder le Forte piano sitôt que Vous ne voulez donner les 90 #, et qu’il y a beaucoup de gens qu’il le prendrons d’abord.” Quoted in Rita Steblin, “Beethovens Beziehungen zu Wiener Klavierbauern um 1800 in Licht neuer Dokumente der Familie Brunswick,” in *Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850: Bericht des Symposiums ‘Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850’ veranstaltet von der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente des Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien vom 16. bis 18. 10. 2003*, ed. Beatrix Darmstädter, Rudolf Hopfner, and Alfons Huber (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007), 75.

Hof[f]meister should have received two per month, thus already six so far, but has as yet received no more than two.”⁷³

Like many contemporaneous workshops, then, leadership and management duties were shared among senior family members, rather than embodied in one master figure. Matthäus and Nannette were on the workshop floor, making instruments and managing production, while Andreas acted as a business manager.⁷⁴ This division of labour echoes the model employed by the uncles of the Marcoux sisters: Jean-Baptiste Erard primarily managed correspondence, accounts, and other business matters, while his brother Sébastien developed new instrument designs.⁷⁵ Tasks were not strictly divided for Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien any more than they were for the Streicher-Stein family: later evidence shows that Nannette sometimes dealt with correspondence while Andreas conducted practical experiments relating to piano production, for example with new methods for drying wood.⁷⁶

Furthermore, gender does not appear to have been a primary consideration in the division of labour within Frère et Sœur Stein. Between Nannette and Andreas, at least, typical gender roles were flipped. Jenny Nex has identified account-keeping and business management as tasks often carried out by women family members in her research on gender in the instrument-making industry in eighteenth-century London.⁷⁷ Nex gives the example of Barbara Shudi Broadwood (ca. 1748–76), daughter of harpsichord maker Burkat Shudi and wife of Shudi’s foreman John Broadwood, who recorded payments relating to instrument sales, tuning, and hiring in her rigorous household accounts.⁷⁸ If Andreas worked mostly in the office (if they had such a dedicated room) then his activities for the company aligned more closely with “women’s work.” Nannette’s physical labour in the workshop was undoubtedly considered masculine. Griesinger intimated as much in his article when he held her up as a pioneer in her profession due to her gender, writing that “the stronger sex has taken almost all the trades away from women. Madame Streicher demonstrates through her example that in the arts another wide and rarely used

⁷³ De Silva, 94.

⁷⁴ Donhauser and Langer, 25.

⁷⁵ See Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 24–45, 82.

⁷⁶ Customer Dorothea Krug corresponded with Nannette in 1810 and 1811; facsimiles appear in Goebel-Streicher and are discussed extensively by Skowroneck. Goebel-Streicher et al., 126–129; Skowroneck, “Dorothea Krug’s Streicher Piano.”; Clemen. On Andreas’s wood-drying experiment see Öhm-Kühnle, 16.

⁷⁷ Nex, “Women in the Musical Instrument Trade in London, 1750–1810,” 331, 334–335.

⁷⁸ Nex, “Women in the Musical Instrument Trade in London, 1750–1810,” 337–338.

opportunity is open to the fairer sex.”⁷⁹ Business historian Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann argues that practical considerations often overrode ideas about the gendered division of labour in family firms. She notes that “the roles ascribed to women in family firms were flexible because the point of reference for gendered role definitions and women’s tasks was the economic success of the company and not the concept of femininity.”⁸⁰ It appears that this is how work was allocated within Frère et Sœur Stein. The day-to-day division of labour depended more on a practical mix of demand, expertise, and the individual strengths of family members than it did on gender.



Figure 2.4, Ernst Rheinwald, *August von Griesinger, Sächsischer Legationsrat in Wien, Musikfreund, 1769–1845* (1799), Carl Maria von Weber Gesamtausgabe, Digital Edition. Educational use.

Much of the evidence regarding labour in the Frère et Sœur Stein partnership comes from letters between Griesinger and Härtel, but too much reliance on this correspondence risks skewing our view of work within the firm (see Figure 2.4 for a portrait of Griesinger). Despite being the owner and active in the workshop, Nannette is often entirely absent from these letters:

⁷⁹ De Silva, 100–101.

⁸⁰ Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann, “Widows and Daughters: Austrian Business Women and Their Status in Family Firms in the 19th and 20th Centuries,” *XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki* (August 20–25, 2006): 3. http://www.helsinki.fi/iehc2006/sessions1_40.html.

they are instead centered on the labour of Andreas and Matthäus. An example of how this historiographical imbalance between Nannette and Andreas plays out in the Griesinger letters appears in his note to Härtel of September 18, 1801, where Griesinger shows that he understands Matthäus and Nannette as the collective makers of their pianos, but still foregrounds her brother: “I don’t believe that any other instrument maker applies greater theory, talent, practical and mechanical artistry in building his instruments than the young Stein and his sister, who is married to Streicher.”⁸¹ On December 30, 1801, Griesinger then talks of Andreas as the sole representative of the company: “[Andreas] Streicher explained to me that he will continue the dealership of the Stein fortepianos at the Bureau de Musiq [*sic*].”⁸² As valuable as the Griesinger letters regarding the internal operations of the Streicher-Stein firm, I suggest that the absence of Nannette here should give us pause: it is not necessarily an indication of her absence from the running of the business. Instead, Griesinger’s almost exclusive reference to Matthäus and Andreas may be the outcome of several factors. Perhaps he found it easier and more efficient to refer to one maker—Matthäus may therefore stand in for himself and Nannette. Griesinger was undoubtedly also accustomed to men being leaders, in which case referring to Nannette may have felt uncomfortable or strange and he thus reverted to a more familiar way of thinking. Lastly, this may simply be a practical outcome of dealing primarily with Andreas and Matthäus and less so with Nannette.

If Nannette was in fact less present in aspects of the firm’s operations during this period, there are other familial considerations that may explain this. By the end of 1801 she had three children under the age of five. Her firstborn, Georg Friedrich, had died only fifteen months earlier, and she had just given birth to her youngest, Friedrich Karl Ludwig, in October.⁸³ It was not uncommon for women to continue working through pregnancy and while breastfeeding, but these changes doubtless impacted the extent and type of work in which Nannette was able to engage. Middle-class women often employed wetnurses and nannies for their children, so it is unlikely that she would have been taking care of all their basic needs herself, but if she was an attentive mother (as Andreas describes her) she would still have spent time with them each day.⁸⁴ As a mother, wife, and housewife, Nannette had considerable demands on her time in addition to

⁸¹ De Silva, 93.

⁸² De Silva, 93–94.

⁸³ Goebel-Streicher, “Johann Baptist Streichers Reisetagebuch von 1828,” 83.

⁸⁴ See Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Breast*, 1st ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 5; Foley, 49–50.

running the piano-making business and workshop. Matthäus's increased role as workshop manager may therefore have been necessary to ease the burden on Nannette as well as a logical evolution of the younger sibling's responsibilities.

A growing Streicher brood was one of several changes in the household during the late 1790s: Matthäus married Maria Josepha Theresia Dischler in 1796 and their first child was born the next year.⁸⁵ This meant that by 1802 Matthäus had the responsibilities of a nineteenth-century middle-class man but not necessarily the agency of one. He and his immediate family were still part of his sister and brother-in-law's household, but he was not a master or co-owner of the firm, nor was he a property owner or Viennese citizen.⁸⁶ As Matthäus was not a co-owner of the piano company he may not have shared in its profits; Nannette's and Andreas's son Johann Baptist did not begin to share profits with his parents until he became an official co-owner.⁸⁷ If this was the case for Matthäus, it is perhaps not surprising that he wanted to assert economic and personal independence from his sister and her husband.

3. "Nannette Streicher née Stein": Nannette and Andreas in Augsburg and Vienna

3.1. Frère et Sœur Stein dissolves

Though the precise origins and timeline of the tensions within Frère et Sœur Stein remain unclear, we do know that any internal attempts to resolve them had failed by September 1802; this family dispute then became alarmingly public. It was not merely a professional split but a personal one: the relationship between Nannette and Andreas on the one hand and Matthäus on the other appears to have never recovered, and Andreas was still expressing bitterness about Matthäus's treatment of Nannette in 1823.⁸⁸ Blood ties and shared experiences as sister and brother were not enough to save their relationship or their joint venture.

⁸⁵ "Stein, Matthäus Andreas," in Constantin Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Österreich*, 38 (Vienna: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1879), 43, <http://www.literature.at/alo?objid=11786>, 60; Roland Hentzschel, "Stein, Carl Andreas (1797–1863), Instrumentenbauer, Pianist und Komponist," vol. 13, *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), DOI:10.1553/0x00284de4.

⁸⁶ He gained citizenship in 1803, probably after securing property for his new business, which was a requirement for receiving the Bürgerrecht. Roland Hentzschel, "Stein, Matthäus Andreas (André) (1776–1842), Instrumentenbauer," vol. 13, *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), DOI:10.1553/0x00284df3.

⁸⁷ Donhauser and Langer, 32–33.

⁸⁸ See Donhauser and Langer, 32–33.

According to Andreas and Griesinger, the separation that resulted was due first to Matthäus's mismanagement of orders and then his attempt to take Nannette's privilege for himself. In other words, he was not fulfilling his expected role within the partnership or the household, and he eventually responded by not only leaving the company but by attempting to destroy both personal and mercantile ties with his sister. No surviving sources attest to Matthäus's personal perspective, but there are several pieces of evidence from Nannette's and Andreas's side. The first is a furious letter from Andreas to Härtel where he describes Matthäus's behaviour and character leading up to the dispute, his actions regarding the privilege, and refers to the support given to Matthäus by the music publisher and former Frère et Sœur Stein associates, Hoffmeister & Kühnel. Significantly, Andreas frames the split as being primarily between Nannette and Matthäus:

If then H[offmeister] and K[ühnel] should want to push the matter further, H[err]. Stein will not hold it against me if I, in vindication of my wife—whom I regard in every respect more highly than my own life—show the whole world by irrefutable facts that it was she alone who, through her activity and skill, prevented the name of Stein being ruined by a dissipated person for 10 years. And that even then, when her brother's incorrigibility left her no choice but to perish with him or be happy without him, this good sister was nevertheless so generous as to allow him the authorization (privilege) to work for himself alone on his own account. This was despite the fact that this person committed the outrageously base act of applying to the government to take away his sister's privilege (because she had it, the brother was only 18 years old when it was granted, and the government did not want to know anything about him)—to take it away, I say, and give it to him alone. There were about 30 people present when this request was read out, and you can't imagine what a terrible moment it was for my good wife when the city captain Baron Sala said: This is abominable! Fie! abominable! and everyone present repeated it. It would have taken only one word for this protégé of Herrn H. to have to work as a journeyman again because the government would allow him to work only in partnership with his sister. Only since to me it was important above all to be free of him, I did everything I could to get the separate permit for him....⁸⁹

⁸⁹ My translation: "Sollte alsdann H. u. K. die Sache noch weiter treiben wollen so mag H. Stein mir nicht übel nehmen, wenn ich zur Ehrenrettung meiner Frau, die ich in jeder Rücksicht höher als mein Leben selbst achte, der ganzen Welt durch unwidersprechliche Facta vor Augen lege, daß nur sie es war, welche durch ihre Thätigkeit und Geschicklichkeit 10 Jahre lang den Namen Stein durch einen zügellosen Menschen nicht verderben lies, und daß auch dann, als ihr die Unverbesserlichkeit ihres Bruders keine andere wahl ließ, als mit ihm zu Grunde zu gehen

Andreas is explicit in identifying Nannette's actions and her agency in the saga. First, it is her honor that has been slighted. Andreas is affronted because, as her husband, it is his duty to defend her name, but Matthäus's actions were still primarily aimed at her. Second, it was Nannette's own efforts ("her activities and skill") that, in Andreas's view, kept Frère et Sœur Stein afloat—the phrasing here seems to encompass her piano-making abilities and other tasks related to this business. Third, it was Nannette who worked to obtain a separate privilege for Matthäus: Andreas also notes that he himself "did everything [he] could" to help. Lastly and most notably, Nannette is the one who holds the privilege, the official document on which most of this furore centers. Nannette was the target of Matthäus's campaign because, as privilege holder, she possessed the power and the desired object. Andreas's letter furthermore emphasizes Nannette's stronger footing as the elder and more experienced sibling in the Frère et Sœur Stein partnership. He hyperbolically describes Matthäus as an apprentice and claims that "one word" (presumably from Nannette or himself) could have rendered the younger man a journeyman, that is, made him an employee of others rather than an employer and his own master.

Though his attempt to steal Nannette's privilege failed, Matthäus's goal to get a privilege succeeded; his behaviour pushed Nannette and Andreas to help him in order to salvage the original company. (Despite Andreas's claim, perhaps Nannette was unwilling to punish her brother with journeyman status). Matthäus's next move was to place notices in the *Wiener Zeitung* on October 13 and 20 announcing the separation of Frère et Sœur Stein and the founding of his own company: he instructed customers to turn to him for their instruments.⁹⁰ Scholars have been tempted to see Matthäus's transgressions against his sister as a man asserting male authority against a woman.⁹¹ It is possible that gender did play a role behind the scenes, but this is not

oder ohne ihn glücklich zu sein diese gute Schwester dennoch so großmüthig war, für ihn die Befugnis (Privilegium) auszuwerfen, daß er auf eigene Rechnung für sich allein arbeiten dürfe, ungeachtet dieser Mensch die unerhörte Niederträchtigkeit begieng, bei der Regierung darum anzusuchen, seiner Schwester das Privilegium zu nehmen (weil sie es hatte, der Bruder bei dessen Ertheilung erst 18 Jahre alt war, und die Regierung von ihm nichts wissen wollte) zu nehmen sage ich, und es ihm allein zu geben. Es waren gegen 30 Personon gegenwärtig, als dises Gesuch abgelesen wurde, und Sie können sich für meine gute Frau den Augenblick gar nicht schrecklich genug denken, als der Stadthauptmann Baron Sala sagte: Das ist abscheulich! Pfui! abscheulich! und jeder Anwesende es wiederholte. Es hätte nur ein Wort gekostet, so hätte dieser Schüzling des Herrn H. wider als Geselle arbeiten müssen, weil die Regierung ihm nur in Gemeinschaft mit seiner Schwester zu arbeiten verstaten wollte. Allein da mir alles daran gelegen war, von ihm loszukommen, so wandte ich alles an, die abgesonderte Erlaubnis für ihn auszuwerfen." Skowroneck, "Andreas Streichers Briefe," 393.

⁹⁰ Matthäus Andreas Stein, "Nachricht für Liebhaber der Steinischen Piano-Forte," *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna), October 13 and 20 1802, <https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrt&datum=18021013&seite=16&zoom=33>.

⁹¹ For example, see Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 260.

explicitly—or, in my view, implicitly—cited as a cause in extant sources. In this struggle for power, the documents point to clashes over control, age, experience, and workshop management. They also suggest that Matthäus sought greater agency and independence than was possible while living and working in his sister and brother-in-law’s household. Indeed, once he was leading his own workshop, Matthäus became highly respected as a piano maker in his own right. He sustained a long and fruitful relationship with Beethoven, supplying and servicing instruments for the composer, crafting a device to help the composer hear his Broadwood, and was subsequently described as “technically skilled” by Franz Oliva in the 1820 conversation book.⁹² Leaving the partnership with his sister thus provided him with new opportunities, underscoring that hierarchical structure of the household and the privilege system were not flexible enough to accommodate the needs and wants of all family members and were liable to fracture in the face of strong personalities with conflicting desires.

3.2. *Nannette’s public image*

After Matthäus struck out on his own, letters from Griesinger to Härtel in November and December of 1802 show that the Streicher couple were gearing up to respond to him in print. Andreas and Griesinger appear to have worked closely to produce publicity material for the *AmZ*, namely the profile of Nannette and a notice officially announcing the new iteration of her firm, which appeared on November 24 and December 29 respectively.⁹³ Andreas’s role as public relations manager took on new, personal importance at this time, as he was not only controlling the image of the firm but also attempting to defend his wife’s honor in the midst of a family drama. It is worth reiterating at this point that the *AmZ* was not a neutral source in this dispute: it was published by Breitkopf & Härtel, the firm that employed Griesinger, distributed Streicher-Stein pianos in northern Germany, and were emerging as close allies of Nannette and Andreas in their quarrel with Matthäus, who was supported by the rival house Hoffmeister & Kühnel.

The *AmZ* profile and notice were attempts by the Streicher-Stein couple and their associates to manage Nannette’s public image at a time of crisis, and to reclaim the narrative

⁹² Beghin, *Beethoven’s French Piano*, 314; Tom Beghin, “Beethoven’s Broadwood, Stein’s Hearing Machine, and a Trilogy of Sonatas,” in *Inside the Hearing Machine: Beethoven on His Broadwood – Sonatas Opus 109, 110, and 111* (Evil Penguin Records Classic, EPRC 0025, 1 compact disk, 2017), 36–39.

⁹³ See Griesinger’s letters to Härtel of November 10 and December 8, De Silva, 96.

about the split from Matthäus.⁹⁴ Notably, this was also about image control not only in Vienna but on the international stage as the *AmZ* was published in Leipzig and distributed across the German-speaking world. This control was sought in part by noting that Andreas expressly supported his wife and her company as it was again rebranded:

The undersigned hereby announces to the public that his wife, born Nannette Stein, will in future be responsible for making keyboard instruments under her own name. She believes she owes it to art and her own honor to deliver in her work the [level of] perfection that meets the strictest demands of *Kenner*. The music dealership of Messers Breitkopf and Härtel will take over as the sole agent in Leipzig for the fortepianos of Nannette Stein, and Liebhaber who are not able to contact us directly can be assured that all instruments with the inscription: *Nannette Streicher, geborne Stein* in the music dealership of Messers Breitkopf and Härtel will be exactly like those that our own workshop delivers to our local customers [...] Andreas Streicher, Musician.⁹⁵

This notice performs several functions. It quite radically asserts that Nannette is the head of a new company that will be named for her, incorporating her given, married, and maiden names. It therefore simultaneously asserts her identity as a woman master, draws legitimacy from association with her famous father, and communicates her married status. This renaming choice is significant as it conveys that Nannette possessed what historians Nina Kushner and Daryl Haftner call a strong “work identity,” which they define as “the degree to which the personal, public, and official identity of a person is bound up in his or her work.”⁹⁶ Because the notice is also signed by and written in the voice of Andreas, it expresses his explicit approval of his wife’s work and lends that labour patriarchal legitimacy. In this sense, Andreas’s statement of support functions much like references to Stein as the first figure who gave credibility to his daughter’s profession. This approval from her husband was life-long. Andreas reiterated his support for Nannette and her work in print following her death, commenting openly on her work, its relation to her gender and familial relationships, and emphasizing her agency as the company’s leader:

As daring as it might seem that a woman, a mother of three children, should place herself at the head of one of the most demanding businesses; and although it was unprecedented that such an enterprise was carried out under a female name, her husband

⁹⁴ Latcham sees this as an attempt to position her as a “capable successor to her father,” Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 231n232.

⁹⁵ De Silva, 98–99.

⁹⁶ Haftner and Kushner, introduction, 10.

nevertheless insisted on it, because she had acquired not only the most just claims to such a public recognition through her filial loyalty and sacrifice to such a fine father, but also [because she] had the most precise knowledge of that mechanism which gives a pianoforte its true value.⁹⁷

The obituary underscores why, back in 1802, the Streicher-Stein couple likely felt that it was important to include “Stein” in the new company title and show Andreas’s support publicly: Matthäus automatically possessed legitimacy as his father’s male heir. The rhetorical choices in the notice therefore sought to mitigate potential disadvantages associated with Nannette’s gender—such as assumptions that as a woman she was inherently less capable or that it made her public presence suspect—now that she was no longer in partnership with her closest male relative.⁹⁸

Promotional material sought to address another potential public image problem now that Nannette led her workshop alone: she was a woman master who employed male workers. Nannette was not alone in this position; for example, there were others in industries like linen-draping. Historian Annemarie Steidl shows that men and women who were not kin worked side by side in Viennese silk-weaving workshops: she gives the example of the widow Elise Falzorgerin who employed “6 journeymen, 21 skilled female workers and 31 girls as apprentices” in the mid eighteenth century.⁹⁹ What distinguishes Nannette’s experience from linen drapers like Falzorgerin is that women comprised most of the workforce in that trade. Nannette, by contrast, employed male workers in a craft dominated by men. Griesinger obliquely describes this dynamic—of Nannette overseeing male workers—in 1802 as follows: “I passed through her large and excellently laid out workshop—where planing, polishing, hammering and tuning are carried out with the most assiduous skill—with true gratitude and respect for a woman who through her talent prepares the enjoyment of harmless, blissful hours for so many

⁹⁷ My translation, “So gewagt es auch scheinen mochte, dass sich eine Frau, eine Mutter von drey Kindern an die Spitze eines der schwierigsten Geschäfte stelle; und obwohl es ohne Beyspiel war, dass ein solches Unternehmen unter einem weiblichen Namen ausgeführt wurde, so bestand ihr Gatte dennoch darauf, weil sie nicht nur durch ihre kindliche Treue und Hingebung gegen einen so trefflichen Vater die gerechtesten Ansprüche an eine so öffentliche Würdigung sich erworben, sondern auch die genaueste Kenntniss derjenigen Mechanik hatte, die einem Pianoforte erst den eigentlichen Werth ertheilt.” Streicher, 376.

⁹⁸ See Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988); Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 111–23.

⁹⁹ Annemarie Steidl, “Between Home and Workshop: Regional and Social Mobility of Apprentices in 18th and 19th Centuries [sic] Vienna,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 128, no. 1 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrim.2491>.

thousands.”¹⁰⁰ Employing the German language’s preference for the passive voice, Griesinger describes the active physical labour of piano building—“planing, polishing, hammering and tuning”—without reference to the specific, gendered subjects doing these tasks, though the reader would undoubtedly infer they were men. He is also careful to note that this all takes place with “gratitude and respect” accorded to Nannette. This suggests that Griesinger, and perhaps the Streicher-Stein couple, felt the instructing of male workers by a woman master, and her reputation in this environment, needed to be depicted carefully to the reading public. Her gender, occupation, and the drama of the split were already potential challenges to the company; it might not help the cause of the new firm if they were to emphasize the fact that she was in charge of a male workforce.

3.3. *Wife and husband*

Griesinger’s profile indicates that the departure of Matthäus heralded a new era of collaboration for Nannette and Andreas. He describes the new arrangement by stating that “Nanette Stein will also in the future continue her own firm, Nanette Streicher, *geborene* Stein, beside her spouse, Herrn Streicher, whose musical reputation has long been established here [in Vienna].”¹⁰¹ The profile hints at a complementary partnership where the couple work together and power is to some degree shared. Nannette retains ownership (it is “her own firm”), and other sections of the profile describe her work as a craftsperson, workshop leader, and employer; but she and Andreas also work “beside” one another, and Andreas brings his expertise to the company as a musician.

That their relationship was collaborative from its origins is attested to and was fostered by their courtship letters of 1792–93.¹⁰² Courtship letters were not only opportunities for

¹⁰⁰ My translation. “Ich durchlief ihre grossen und trefflich angelegten Werkstätte, worin mit der eifrigsten Geschäftigkeit gehobelt, polirt, gehämmert und gestimmt wird, mit wahren Dankgefühl und Achtung für eine Frau, die durch ihr Talent so vielen Tausenden den Genuss harmloser, seliger Stunden vorbereitet.” De Silva, 101.

¹⁰¹ De Silva, 100.

¹⁰² Later primary sources by friends of the couple also support the idea that theirs was a collaborative and reciprocal relationship. For example, Elisabeth (Lisette) Bernhard née von Kissow (1793–1868), who was a Streicher-Stein family friend, occasional agent, and former pupil of Andreas, wrote the following to him in 1801: “So now you are taking care of your dear wife’s business, it is so lovely that you can act as substitutes for one another. I often wish I could also help my [husband] Carl because he often has his hands so full so that sometimes he doesn’t know where he should begin.” (*Sie besorgen also jetzt das Geschäft Ihrer liebe Frau das ist ja allerliebste, daß Sie einander so Stellvertreter seyn können. Ich wollte oft ich könnte meinem Carl auch helfen, denn er hat oft die Hände voll zu thun, so daß er manchmal nicht weiß wo er zuerst anfangen soll*). Lisette Bernhard in Dusseldorf to Andreas in Vienna, November 15, 1801. My translation. Quoted in Goebel-Streicher et al., 100. Bernhard publicly performed a number of Beethoven’s and features as source for several stories about the composer and his compositions, see DeNora, “Embodiment and Opportunity,” 188–189; Skowronek, *Beethoven the Pianist*, 72–73. As a younger child,

expressions of love and affection between a couple who planned to marry, they were also an important space for partners to explore and negotiate what their future together might look like. Business historian Andrew Popp’s study of over two hundred letters between the nineteenth-century English couple John and Elizabeth Shaw provides a model for approaching courtship letters of a middle-class couple in trade from this period. For his subjects, Popp sees such letter writing as “a constitutive process” where they continued to build and maintain their marriage through the act of letter writing.¹⁰³ Expressions of affection and loyalty appear throughout Nannette’s letters to Andreas, and in his subsequent writings about her. This suggests that their marriage was a companionate one. It was also founded on a shared love of music and creative exchange. Nannette’s letters show that Andreas was sending his compositions to her, that she played them, and that she gave him supportive feedback. Furthermore, her letters construct their relationship as a kind of musical dialogue—the couple communicate and commune through piano music. On May 31, 1792, Nannette wrote of a set of variations that Andreas has sent her (likely *Exercice De Monsieur Streicher* in C major, StreiWV 308, *XII Variations* in G major, StreiWV 309):¹⁰⁴

I owe you infinite thanks for the pleasure that you have given me by sending the masterfully presented theme and the lovely variations. How often I play them, how I have played the theme, and what an impression it has made upon me, all this, my dear friend [Andreas] shall hear in person; when I shall see you, yes, then Nanette will play you the theme, but, mind you, no longer under the title Streicher to Nanette, but Nanette to Streicher. Would you agree to that?¹⁰⁵

Nannette indicates that she has repeatedly played and felt deeply affected by Andreas’s piece. Her description of her actions (“How often I play them, how I have played the theme...”) furthermore conveys her deep and ongoing engagement with the piece—she doesn’t only play it through, but plays each part with purpose. Furthermore, she is eager to share her experience of the piece with Andreas when she next sees him, through performing the theme for him. Through

she also took piano lessons with Nannette in Augsburg, which may be how she came to study with Andreas; she followed the couple to Vienna to continue her lessons and lived in the house of an imperial official, Herr von Klüpfell. See commentary and letter from Nannette to Andreas of July 13, 1793, Streicher Archive, Sign. Na 72, quoted in Goebel-Streicher et al., 84, 102n101; Skowronek, *Beethoven the Pianist*, 72–73; Ludwig Nohl, *Beethoven: nach den Schilderungen seiner Zeitgenossen* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1877), 17–20.

¹⁰³ Andrew Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families: Business, Marriage and Life in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Studies in Business History, (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 20.

¹⁰⁴ Öhm-Kühnle, 150, 253.

¹⁰⁵ De Silva, 28–29.

writing about her engagement with his composition, Nannette communicates her affection for Andreas but also her communion with him on a musical level. A trope of many works of fiction that employ music as a courtship device, it is in part through music that the couple can express their feelings for one another, when doing so in other ways might breach codes of propriety.¹⁰⁶ Most striking, however, is that Nannette—through her imagined performance for Andreas—retitles the piece “Nannette to Streicher.” In doing so, she takes creative ownership over the work. Her choice of phrasing suggests that, through playing, she has made it anew, recomposed the theme (whether she has altered notes on the page or not), and made it into her own musical expression. In a sense it is also assertion of equality, though one tempered by her question “would you agree to that?” Through retitling and claiming Andreas’s theme as her own through performance, Nannette makes clear that she, too, has musical agency and can exchange through music just as competently as her fiancé. This letter may be seen as a suggestion of the musical collaboration between the couple that would develop in the next era of the company through the semi-promotional musical events that took place in the Streicher-Stein concert hall and showroom.

3.4. Gender, marriage, and motherhood

Even more so than under Frère et Sœur Stein, Nannette’s and Andreas’s daily lives as a married couple were primarily organized around the wife’s career rather than the husband’s, a situation which was more common than nineteenth-century discourses on labour and gender tend to admit.¹⁰⁷ I suggest that the framing of Nannette’s and Andreas’s relationship as a partnership in which both parties had agency and power was possible in part due, on the one hand, to their relative economic and class positions and, on the other hand, the centrality of Nannette to the survival of the piano business. Nannette had access to social status and a measure of economic independence because she was a well-educated woman from a successful, middle-class artisan family, who had her own occupation and had inherited a company to go with it. By contrast, Andreas came from a poor background: his father had been a stonemason who died when Andreas was a young child.¹⁰⁸ Due to poverty-stricken circumstances brought on by widowhood, Andreas’s mother was compelled to place him in an orphanage for a time, and his early letters to

¹⁰⁶ See Elizabeth Morgan, “The Accompanied Sonata and the Domestic Novel in Britain at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century,” *19th-Century Music* 36, no. 2 (2012): 89, 94–95.

¹⁰⁷ Hafter and Kushner, introduction, 7.

¹⁰⁸ Öhm-Kühnle, 12, 24–26, 45.

Nannette indicate that he was reluctant to share this background with his future wife. Andreas thus “married in” to Nannette’s family business, much like a second husband marrying a widow of property. Marrying in required the socially and/or economically dependent husband to either stay out of his wife’s business or conform to the needs of the business and its existing structure, in order for the union and the company to continue smoothly. Upon entering the marriage, Nannette was therefore in a strong position as a middle-class woman with assets and the ability to support herself financially.

Marriage in early modern German areas has been described by Wunder as an inherently interdependent undertaking, and this is apparent in Nannette’s and Andreas’s relationship.¹⁰⁹ Wives and husbands were not legally equal, nor were they considered socially equal regarding their gender, but the creation and continuation of the ideal household depended on their collaboration and placed them jointly at the top of the hierarchy. Within this hybrid domestic/work structure, Nannette had a series of overlapping positions and duties, neatly captured by Schönfeld’s term *Meisterin*. She was both the master craftswoman and the wife of the master of the house; she was the head of the workshop and the *Hausmutter* (mother of the house or housewife).¹¹⁰ This meant that, in addition to her role on the workshop floor, she oversaw the running of the household and was responsible for the physical, emotional, and spiritual needs of everyone under her care, in partnership with and on behalf of her husband, including siblings, children, journeymen, apprentices, and servants.¹¹¹ And like the ideal household, the Streicher-Stein business required the combined labour and skills of Nannette and Andreas to function effectively.

Motherhood was not a key element of Nannette’s public persona during her lifetime, but it was nevertheless a significant part of her lived experience. Her two surviving children, Johann Baptist and Sophie, were legal minors until 1817/1818 and presumably continued to live in the Streicher-Stein home until the early 1820s, when they both married.¹¹² Nannette was therefore

¹⁰⁹ Wunder, 37–38.

¹¹⁰ To be clear, Schönfeld’s use of the title refers more narrowly to her position as workshop leader and owner.

¹¹¹ Wunder, 191–192.

¹¹² Johann Baptist turned 21 in 1817 and Sophie in 1818. Sophie married Protestant theologian and pastor Ernst Pauer (1791–1861) in 1820, when she was 23, see “Pauer, Ernst,” ed. Klaus Kempf and Malte Rehbein, *Deutsche Biographie* (2023), https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz128668.html#indexcontent_Lit. Johann Baptist married his first wife, Auguste André (1802–47; daughter of the music publisher, Johann Anton André) in 1823 when he was 26, see Bolte, 6. Records for these marriages can be viewed online: Marriage of Ernst Pauer and Sophie Streicher, February 8, 1820, Sig. TRB01, Traungsbuch, 1 Jan 1783–1 Dec 1831, 394–395, Evangelische Pfarrgemeinde A.B. Wien-Innere Stadt, Lutherische Stadtkirche, Vienna, Austria, <https://data.matricula-online.eu/de/oesterreich/wien->

actively raising her children from 1794 to about 1818—a total of twenty-four years—that overlapped with the majority of her working life as a piano maker.¹¹³ Motherhood also features in Andreas’s posthumous representation of his wife: he uses the terms mother (*Mutter*) or maternal (*mütterlich*) in reference to her five times in the obituary. In these moments, Andreas highlights the tensions between work and motherhood (as well as the roles of wife and housewife), emphasizing the challenges of piano making, running a business, music-making, and the threats such activities might pose to motherly duties. This is apparent when he expresses his support for the renaming of the company after Nannette in the obituary (quoted above). Andreas claims to have encouraged his wife to assume this public position despite her role as a mother.¹¹⁴ Andreas was also at pains to emphasize that, despite Nannette’s own love for musical activities like singing and piano playing, she prioritised the needs of her children and household:

Much involvement with the arts, and a continually active, lively interest in them, generally push the virtues of the wife, housewife, and mother into the background. However, the deceased was an honorable exception to this not uncommon phenomenon. She willingly sacrificed her inclination for the arts [here, singing] to the duties that daily life required, and was just as exemplary in her home life as a tender, attentive wife and a loving mother to her children and grandchildren.¹¹⁵

That Andreas begins this praise for Nannette’s self-sacrifice with a general statement about artistic women and their perceived neglect of middle-class feminine duties suggests a concern that his audience might dismiss her based on her dedication to musical activities. This reflects contemporaneous anxieties about performing women discussed by Kimberley White in relation to women singers in mid-century Paris. White writes that for these women musicians,

evang-dioezese-AB/wien-innere-stadt-lutherische-stadtkirche/TRB01/?pg=203; Marriage of Johann Baptist Streicher and Auguste André, May 22, 1823, Sig. TRB01, Trauungsbuch, 1 Jan 1783–1 Dec 1831, 438–439, Evangelische Pfarrgemeinde A.B. Wien-Innere Stadt, Lutherische Stadtkirche, Vienna, Austria, <https://data.matricula-online.eu/de/oesterreich/wien-evang-dioezese-AB/wien-innere-stadt-lutherische-stadtkirche/TRB01/?pg=225>.

¹¹³ Maternalism featured heavily in German discourse about womanhood and femininity, and through the nineteenth century became the basis for nascent feminist movements in the region, see Chapters One and Two of Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800–1914* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991).

¹¹⁴ Streicher, 376.

¹¹⁵ My translation: “Viele Beschäftigung mit der Kunst, ein stets reges, lebhaftes Interesse für dieselbe drängen gemeiniglich die Tugenden der Gattin, Hausfrau, der Mutter in den Hintergrund. Von dieser nicht seltenen Erscheinung machte aber die Verewigte eine ehrenvolle Ausnahme, indem sie ihre Neigung für die Kunst den Pflichten, welche das tägliche Leben erfordert, willig zum Opfer brachte und in ihrem Hauswesen eben so musterhaft, als eine zärtliche, aufmerksame Gattin und ihre Kindern und Enkeln eine liebende Mutter war.” Streicher, 379.

“their existence on the fringes of acceptable feminine behavior—whether by choice or by necessity—has often led to discursive strategies in various media (novels, serial fiction, critical reviews, theatrical works) that represented professional theater women as incapable of fulfilling stereotypical feminine roles.”¹¹⁶ Andreas explains carefully that Nannette’s role as a working woman did not come at the expense of her feminine duties. We might wonder, what was the psychic toll of balancing these gendered demands for the living Nannette, as opposed to the idealized woman presented by her mourning husband.

3.5. Collaboration and concerts

Nannette’s and Andreas’s musical collaboration extended beyond their household and workshop and into the concert hall. In the 1790s and 1800s, the Streicher-Steins held concerts at their home on the Ungargasse in the Landstrasse district (the site upon which the piano workshop also stood) and in 1812 they built a concert hall and piano showroom at the same location that could seat over 300 people.¹¹⁷ (See Figure 2.5, below, for a photo of the now-demolished Streicher-Stein courtyard). Nannette, Andreas, their daughter Sophie, and pianists who had studied with Andreas were often the primary performers at these events. Several of the women who studied with Andreas were among Vienna’s most well-respected non-professional pianists: they included Magdalena von Kurzböck (also Kurzbeck or Kurzbek, 1767–1845), Countess Franziska Mejean née Spielmann (1789–1857), and Henriette Pereira née von Arnstein (1780–1859).¹¹⁸ With so

¹¹⁶ White, 58–59.

¹¹⁷ On January 26, 1809, Reichardt describe a concert as taking place “on a beautiful bright morning in Streicher’s dwelling” (*an einem schönen hellen Morgen in Streichers Wohnung*), Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe: geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den österreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comtoir, 1810), 345–346. The hall was inaugurated by a charity concert held on April 16 in partnership with the Gesellschaft adelicher Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen (“Society of Noble Women for the Promotion of Good and Usefulness”). This concert was a catalyst for the founding of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, see Öhm-Kühnle, 80, 132–139. A review of this concert and a description of the hall appeared in *Der Sammler*, quoted in Kopitz, 4.

¹¹⁸ Kurzböck was also a pupil of Clementi and Haydn and received two dedications from the latter, Piano Sonata Hob XVI:52 and Piano Trio Hob XV:31373, see Öhm-Kühnle, 74. Both Kurzböck and Spielmann were also composers; for further biographical information, see Martina Raab, “Kurzböck, Magdalena von,” ed. Freia Hoffmann, *Instrumentalistinnen-Lexikon – Sophie Drinker Institut* (2010), <https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/kurzboeck-magdalena-von>; Freia Hoffmann, “Spielmann, Franziska verh. Gräfin Mejan,” ed. Freia Hoffmann, *Instrumentalistinnen-Lexikon – Sophie Drinker Institut* (2010), <https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/spielmann-franziska-von>. Pereira was also a *salonnière*; she was the daughter of the famous Jewish *salonnière* Fanny von Arnstein and cousin of the Mendelssohns, see Hanna Bergmann, “Pereira, Henriette, geb. von Arnstein,” ed. Freia Hoffmann, *Instrumentalistinnen-Lexikon – Sophie Drinker Institut* (2022), <https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/pereira-henriette>. Letters written by her cousin Lea Mendelssohn-Bartholdy to Pereira give a sense of the latter’s participation in musical life of the 1820s and 30s and have been published as Lea Mendelssohn-

many pianos and pianists readily at hand, many of these concerts featured original and arranged works for two pianos by Dussek, Prince Louis Ferdinand, and others. The Streicher-Stein concerts therefore centered on the instruments and playing style that the couple fostered and championed. We can see these concerts as a formalized outgrowth of the social and promotional piano performances Nannette had engaged in since she was a child. Now in partnership, the couple could use their combined skills and access to people and resources (as piano makers, pianists, businessowners, and in Andreas's case, as a music teacher) to construct a purpose-built music venue, craft programs that suited their tastes, and gather musicians and audiences with whom they held shared musical values. These concerts were also ideal opportunities through which to display and promote Streicher-Stein pianos, which had changed considerably in terms of technology and size between 1805 and the 1820s (I summarize these changes in Chapter Four). Collaboration thus permeated nearly every corner of Nannette's and Andreas's lives together from the 1790s onwards, from their private lives as spouses and parents, to their more public lives as musical figures working in and around the piano company. Their relationship was a crucial factor in their operation of the Streicher-Stein company. Understanding the nature of their relationship (to the extent that primary sources allow) is therefore essential to understanding the company during the longest era of its history as "Nannette Streicher née Stein."



Figure 2.5, Photo of the "Alter Streicherhof" at *Zum Heiligen Florian* in the Landstrasse district (1943), Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, media wien - Historisches Fotoarchiv, Vienna, FA 1: 35.728. Creative Commons.

Bartholdy, Wolfgang Dinglinger, and Rudolf Elvers, *Ewig die deine: Briefe von Lea Mendelssohn-Bartholdy an Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein*, 2 vols. (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2010). See Letter 21, dated January 26, 1809, in Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe*, 2, 345–346.

4. “Nannette Streicher, née Stein, et fils”: Nannette, Andreas, and Johann Baptist in Vienna

4.1. Mother, father, and son

As the nineteenth century wore on, Nannette and Andreas began to look to the future of their company; that future lay with their son, Johann Baptist. Around 1812 (the same year the concert hall was erected) the sixteen-year-old began apprentice-level training in the workshop, a decade older than his mother reportedly had.¹¹⁹ We know little about the specifics of his workshop education, but Goebel-Streicher writes that Johann Baptist received his academic education from private tutors and French governesses, and learnt both English and French. Donhauser and Langer add that, like his sister Sophie, he also played piano, exhibiting the influence of his parents.¹²⁰ Training and equipping their son was of vital importance to Nannette and Andreas and their desire for the Streicher-Stein company to continue, so in 1821 and 1822 his parents funded an extensive trip around Europe. A mix of a grand tour, industrial tourism, and a journeyman’s tramp, Johann Baptist’s travel involved calling on Streicher-Stein customers to service instruments and visits to numerous French and English piano companies to learn both about their piano technology and production process.¹²¹ Unlike much of Streicher-Stein history, there is an extensive account of Johann Baptist’s experiences and observations during this period as he kept a travel diary (*Reisetagebuch*) and sent many letters to his parents.¹²²

This trip was an important step in preparing Johann Baptist to officially join the family company. To that end, Andreas wrote to his son on July 6, 1822, explaining their finances, when and how his child was to become a partner, and how the three of them—Nannette, Andreas, and Johann Baptist—would run the business together. Andreas opens the letter by laying out the terms of this new stage in their relationship and how it would be undertaken:

I have often looked forward to acquainting you with your future relationship with your parents and our business after your successful return. [...]

1. Immediately after your arrival, your mother will apply to the government to change the existing company [name] to Nannette Streicher and Son. This company

¹¹⁹ Latham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 233.

¹²⁰ Neither Goebel-Streicher nor Donhauser and Langer provide sources for this information on Johann Baptist’s education. Donhauser and Langer, 31; Streicher, Goebel-Streicher, and Streicher, 3.

¹²¹ Streicher, Goebel-Streicher, and Streicher, 3–5. Johann Baptist also met his first wife Auguste on this journey, Goebel-Streicher, “Johann Baptist Streichers Reisetagebuch von 1828,” 84.

¹²² This diary is held by the Streicher Archive and has been published as Streicher, Goebel-Streicher, and Streicher.

[name] remains unchangeable as long as your mother lives, not so much because it is useful to maintain a very well-known company [name], but because your mother was trained for this business from her tenderest youth, made so many sacrifices for it and showed her father a loyalty, attentiveness and love until his death that cannot be thought stronger. She also worked for her siblings for two years after their father's death without payment. You know how ungrateful her brother Andreas [i.e. Matthäus] was to her.

2. From the first of January 1824, you will join the company in completely equal shares with your parents, that is, expenses and income will be divided into two parts, one of which will be a charge and the other an asset to you.¹²³

Andreas presents the company as a collective venture between Nannette and himself, which Johann Baptist is now joining. He refers to the company as “our business” (*unser/em Geschäft/e*) and to himself and Nannette collectively as “your parents” (*deine/n Eltern*), indicating that this was their private view of the company within the family.¹²⁴ Profit and expenses are also viewed as shared between the couple, though the letter does not clarify how or if assets and costs were divided between husband and wife. In explaining the official process for admitting their son to the company and their reasons for retaining her name for public use, Andreas conveys Nannette's special status. As the official sole owner, it is Nannette alone who can request permission to officially change the company's name. Andreas justifies the choice to operate as “Nannette Streicher [geb. Stein] und Sohn” for the rest of Nannette's life not for commercial reasons, but out of respect for and acknowledgement of her work as a piano maker and her dedication to her family and their company over many years. In contrast to accounts by outside commentators about Nannette written for publication—which frequently present Andreas as the

¹²³ My translation, “Ich hatte mich schon sehr oft gefreut, dir nach deiner glücklichen Zurückkunft dir dein zukünftiges Verhältnis zu deinen Eltern und zu unserem Geschäft bekannt zu machen. [...]

1. Gleich nach deiner Ankunft wird deine Mutter bei der Regierung einkommen, um die bisherige Firma umzuändern um auf Nannette Streicher et Sohn zu stellen. Diese Firma bleibt unveränderlich, solange deine Mutter lebt und zwar weniger darum, weil es nützlich ist, eine vortrefflich bekannte Firma beizubehalten, als deswegen, weil deine Mutter von ihrer zartesten Jugend an für dieses Geschäft erzogen wurde, diesem so viele Opfer gebracht und ihrem Vater eine Treue, Aufmerksamkeit und Liebe bis in seinen Tod bewiesen, die nicht stärker gedacht werden kann. Auch für ihre Geschwister noch nach des Vaters Tode zwei Jahre unentgeltlich gearbeitet hat. Wie undankbar ihr Bruder Andreas gegen sie war, weißt du.

2. Von dem ersten Jan. 1824 an trittst du mit deinen Eltern zu ganz gleichen Teilen in die Firma ein, das heißt, Ausgaben und Einnahmen werden in zwei Teile geteilt, wovon einer dir zur Last und der andere zu Gute kommt.” Letter from Andreas to Johann Baptist of July 6, 1822, StrAW DIV_100, quoted in Donhauser and Langer, 31–33.

¹²⁴ Alternatively, “our business” may encompass all three of them (Andreas, Nannette, and Johann Baptist), presenting it as their collective family undertaking, which, of course, it was.

sole or primary piano maker—Andreas’s own private emphasis on collaboration between himself and his wife and his foregrounding of her labour present a very different story about how the couple perceived their partnership.

4.2. *Finances and inheritance*

The rest of the Andreas’s letter to Johann Baptist contains information about his and Nannette’s finances, estimated profits, inheritance procedures, and stipulations about new piano technology and growing the company. In terms of finances, Andreas describes the value of the property they own, projected profits from the business, and details about inheritance.¹²⁵ He writes that their house and its contents, wood stock, and other unnamed goods have an estimated value of at least 40,000 fl. and that they own this outright with no debt. He also includes twenty journeymen in this tally; this may refer to the value of their labour. That the couple owned their immovable property rather than renting it meant they were comparably wealthy.¹²⁶ They had bought the site of their workshop and private quarters at No. 371, *Zum heiligen Florian*, in the Landstrasse for 11,000 fl. in 1802, taking out 10,000 fl. in loans from acquaintances; they had paid off these debts by about 1810.¹²⁷ That same year, Haydn’s house in the Gumpendorf area of Vienna sold for 6,840 fl., so it seems that the Streicher property was comparatively large and/or valuable.¹²⁸

In addition to explaining how profits will be shared between Johann Baptist and his parents, Andreas explains a typical profit calculation for the business. He estimates that manufacturing one hundred pianos brings in at least 5000 Gulden of “pure profit.” He also tells his son that there will be no profits for the current year (1822) due to “the costs of your journey and the fatal construction,” referring to expensive structural repairs required for the concert hall roof.¹²⁹ Because of this financial hit, Andreas explains that Johann Baptist will not become a partner (that is, share in the profits) until 1824, but writes that they will continue to cover his costs and provide him with an allowance of 50 fl. a month.

¹²⁵ This information is covered in points three through seven, Donhauser and Langer, 32–33.

¹²⁶ Alice M. Hanson, “Incomes and Outgoings in the Vienna of Beethoven and Schubert,” *Music & Letters* 64, no. 3/4 (1983): 173.

¹²⁷ Hans Pemmer, “Die Streicherhäuser in der Ungargasse,” *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien*, August 8, 1959, 3. A photo of the courtyard of this site, taken in 1943, is available on the Stadt Wien website:

<https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/index.php?title=Datei:Streicherhof.jpg>. The complex (then known as the *Alter Streicherhof*) was demolished in 1959, see Donhauser and Langer, 43; Pemmer, 3.

¹²⁸ Hanson, 175.

¹²⁹ The entire roof truss had to be replaced at a cost of 7,000 Gulden, see Donhauser and Langer, 41.

The letter also indicates that the apportioning of property between the two Streicher children was to be equal: Andreas writes that they will each receive 3000 fl. in marriage portion (*Heiratsgut*) and that, after the two parents die, the property “falls to you and your sister” (though Johann Baptist, as the trained piano maker, did ultimately inherit the business).¹³⁰ He furthermore emphasizes that “your parents are each other’s beneficiaries,” meaning that the surviving spouse would inherit this property, no matter who died first. If Nannette had predeceased Andreas, this would have left her in a comparatively comfortable economic position.

The last two points of the letter refer to how Andreas and Nannette wished Johann Baptist to approach new inventions and manufacturing once he assumed his new role in the company. Andreas tells him that he is “free to try changes and improvements in the work as well as to build completely new and different instruments” but that “the usual orders must not be neglected” and new models of instruments can only be sold once they have been properly tested and perfected.¹³¹ The ninth and final point warns that any expansion of the company needs to be carried out with care and an awareness of its financial health. These directives confirm that, before 1822, Johann Baptist answered to his parents regarding what instruments the company produced.¹³² Furthermore, once he joined the firm in his new capacity, he did not have free reign but was expected to work within limits and exercise caution: sober responsibility for the company was his to share with his parents.

4.3. Patents and passing the baton

In the year after Johann Baptist returned to Vienna, he filed his first patent for a new piano action (a down-striking action, where the hammers hit the strings from above), in which he was described as “foreman of the pianoforte business of his mother M[aria]. A[nna]. Streicher, née

¹³⁰ Donhauser and Langer, 32–33.

¹³¹ My translation, “8. Veränderungen und Verbesserungen in der Arbeit zu versuchen sowie ganz neue und andere Instrumente zu bauen, steht dir ganz frei. Nur dürfen deshalb die gewöhnlichen Bestellungen nicht versäumt und von den neuen Arbeiten nichts weggegeben werden, so nicht alle Proben ausgehalten und vollkommen seinem Zweck entspricht.” Quoted in Donhauser and Langer, 33.

¹³² This echoes Latcham’s point that the major design overhauls of the 1800s took place under Nannette’s supervision, when Johann Baptist was still a child, and that she deserves credit for building a foundation on which her son’s later technological developments depended, see Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 231–232.

Stein,” filling a similar role to that held by his uncle Matthäus in the 1790s.¹³³ (Andreas later referred with pride to Johann Baptist’s innovations with this action).¹³⁴ Another patent followed in 1824, this time for an for an upright-standing piano (*aufrechtstehenden Pianoforte*) with an octave coupler.¹³⁵ Johann Baptist’s technical innovations likely grew out of his tour, during which he visited numerous English and French piano builders and studied both the features of their pianos and their manufacturing methods. The company began to produce instruments with this new action in 1823 but they continued to make earlier models until 1840; multiple forms of technology suiting different customer tastes thus coexisted in the Streicher-Stein workshop, reflecting Andreas’s words of caution that “the usual orders must not be missed.”¹³⁶

In 1824, Johann Baptist received his piano maker license (*Claviermacherbefugniß*) and finally became an official joint owner, and the firm changed its name to “Nannette Streicher, née Stein, et fils,” or, as it was more frequently known, “Nannette Streicher, geb. Stein, und Sohn.”¹³⁷ But it took the company some time to announce the news publicly: it wasn’t until January 1, 1825, that a notice was distributed to associates and customers (the same text was also printed in the *Frankfurter Ober-Post-Amts-Zeitung*). This announcement was signed by Nannette (“Nannette Streicher, geb. Stein”) and written in her voice, using she/her (*sie/ihr*) pronouns throughout:

The undersigned, in thanking a high and honorable public, as well as her esteemed business friends, for the confidence shown in her company for 23 years, hereby gives herself the honor of announcing that she has taken her son Johann Baptist into her business as a partner and will continue this business in the future under the name of:
Nannette Streicher née Stein and Son.¹³⁸

¹³³ My translation, “Werkführer des Pianoforte Geschäftes seiner Mutter M. A. Streicher geb. Stein.” This patent application (No. 2273) was submitted on July 16, 1823, quoted in Donhauser and Langer, 289.

¹³⁴ I discuss the relevant obituary passage below.

¹³⁵ The second patent (No. 1192) was filed on January 15, 1824. Donhauser and Langer, 290–291.

¹³⁶ Latham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 232n237, 295. See also the instrument price lists from 1821, 1830, 1831, and 1831 in Donhauser and Langer, 375–381.

¹³⁷ Goebel-Streicher, “Fäbung, Schmelz, Schattierung oder starker Ton,” 172n173.

¹³⁸ My translation, “Die Unterzeichnete, indem sie einem hohen und verehrlichen Publicum, so wie ihren werthen Geschäftsfreunden, den verbindlichsten Dank für das, ihrer Firma seit 23 Jahren bewiesene Zutrauen abstattet; gibt sich hiermit die Ehre anzuzeigen, dass sie ihren Sohn Johann Baptist, als Gesellschafter in ihr Geschäft aufgenommen, und solches künftig unter der Firma: Nannette Streicher geb. Stein und Sohn, fortführen wird.” The second half of the notice informed customers of the two new piano models the company was selling: their *Patent* and upright pianos with down-striking action. A copy of this notice is preserved in the Schott archive: Andreas Streicher and Nannette Streicher-Stein, Brief an B. Schott’s Söhne: 01.01.1825, January 1, 1825, 55 Nachl 100/B,34691, Schott-Archiv, Musik, Nachlässe und Autographe, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Berlin, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0002D80A00000000>.

As befitted her role as head piano maker, privilege holder, and (until recently sole) owner, it was Nannette who communicated this information to her customers and associates, as it was her responsibility to request a company name change from the government. She held exclusive rights over the company from around 1792 to 1824 and it was named for her: she would therefore be the appropriate person to announce this news publicly, despite her daily, on-the-ground collaboration with her husband. Official and company documents such as this notice, Andreas's 1822 letter, and Johann Baptist's 1823 privilege thus continued to affirm Nannette's position of power in relation to the company into the 1820s. To seal the idea that the company had entered a new era where official control was for the first time to be shared between her and her son, Nannette, Andreas, and Johann Baptist each wrote the company name by hand at the end of the notice.¹³⁹

A rare glimpse into Nannette's feelings about her son inheriting the piano company appears in her obituary. Andreas paints a warm picture of motherly satisfaction justifying a lifetime of hard effort:

Even though this rare and excellent woman had been able to operate with little for many years in this laborious work, she was nevertheless sufficiently compensated by the knowledge of seeing the sacrifice of her youthful years and the many years of application—when she was already a wife and mother—rewarded with the best results. With maternal pride, she savoured the joy of henceforth seeing in the company “Nannette Streicher, née Stein, and Son” a business which has so much influence on one of the most important aspects of music, started by the great-grandfather, continued by the grandfather [J. A. Stein] and herself, then developed to the peak of perfection by her only son.¹⁴⁰

In addition to acknowledging Nannette's sacrifices for her family and company (a theme in both the obituary and the 1822 letter to their son), Andreas emphasizes the importance of legacy and continuity to his wife in the passing of the company to Johann Baptist. Seeing their son

¹³⁹ From a practical perspective, these signatures also gave customers a sample by which they could identify the writer of future company correspondence.

¹⁴⁰ My translation. “Konnte diese seltene treffliche Frau schon seit vielen Jahren nur noch mit Wenigem in dieser mühevollen Arbeit wirken, so wurde sie dennoch hinreichend durch das Bewusstseyn entschädigt, die Aufopferung ihrer Jugendjahre, die mehrjährige Verwendung, als sie schon Gattin und Mutter war, mit dem besten Erfolge belohnt zu sehen. Mit mütterlichem Stolze genoss sie die Freude, von nun an unter der Firma: “Nannette Streicher, geb. Stein, und Sohn,” ein Geschäft, welches so vielen Einfluss auf einen der bedeutendsten Theile der Musik hat, vom Urgrossvater angefangen, vom Grossvater und ihr fortgesetzt, durch ihren einzigen Sohn zu möglichster Vollkommenheit gediehen zu sehen.” Streicher, 377.

contribute to the family company and further develop their pianos is presented as sufficient reward for her own hard work. Andreas also ties together family and business: motherhood and piano making are not mutually exclusive but interdependent. Without Nannette's work as both mother and piano maker, the business built by her father and grandfather could not have continued or achieved "the greatest possible perfection." Nannette's position in this otherwise patrilineal progression is not presented as an interruption or an aberration of gender but as an important link in the chain from which this remarkable musical legacy can be viewed. Andreas thus (perhaps unwittingly) acknowledges the importance of both the productive and reproductive labour of women like Nannette across the music industry.

4.4. Retirement

Around the time that Johann Baptist became a partner, Nannette appears to have drawn back from the business and entered a form of retirement; it is unclear to what extent she was involved in the firm during this period. A drawing of Nannette in later life can be seen in Figure 2.6 (below). In this time of comparative rest, both she and Andreas turned to writing projects: Andreas to an account of his friendship and adventures with Schiller and Nannette to a translation of a six-volume publication by anatomist, physician, and Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828), titled *Sur les Fonctions du cerveau et sur celles de chacune de ses parties* ("On the functions of the brain and its individual parts") from French into German.¹⁴¹ This made use of the language skills she had acquired as a child and gave a new outlet to her scientific mind. Gall was doctor and neighbour to the Streicher-Stein family in Vienna prior to his exile by the Austrian government in 1805; he was also the originator of what he called organology, later dubbed phrenology.¹⁴² Now viewed as a racist, classist, and ableist pseudoscience, Gall's organology was one of the first theories to conceive of the brain as comprised of different areas that governed different functions; as such it is one of the forerunners of modern psychology and

¹⁴¹ Andreas's account was published as *Schiller's Flucht von Stuttgart und Aufenthalt in Mannheim von 1782 bis 1785* by J. G. Cotta in 1836, Donhauser and Langer, 29–30. *Sur les Fonctions du cerveau* was first published in Paris in 1825; it was a revised and expanded version of an earlier text Gall co-authored with Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776–1832) titled *Anatomie et Physiologie du Système Nerveux en Général, et du Cerveau en Particulier* (Paris, F Schoell: 1810–15), see Angus McLaren, "A Prehistory of the Social Sciences: Phrenology in France," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 1 (1981): 5n6. Gall praised parts of Nannette's translation in a letter to her dated September 21, 1827, see Max Neuburger, Josef Gall, and Joseph Hamann, "Briefe Galls an Andreas und Nannette Streicher," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 10, no. 1/2 (1916): 51–54.

¹⁴² Rudolf Maurer, "Dr. Gall's Schädelammlung," *Katalogblätter des Rollett-Museums Baden* 4 (2008): 6–7, <https://rollettmuseum.at/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Katalogblatt-Nr.-4-gesamt-gut.pdf>.

neuroscience.¹⁴³ Like other pseudo-scientific theories of this period such as physiognomy, the external and essentialist nature of the practice—which involved measuring parts of the skull and making assertions about intelligence, character, and tendencies—meant that it could easily be turned to oppressive ends, as it was by the eugenics and scientific racism movements of the later nineteenth century.¹⁴⁴ Nannette’s and Andreas’s connection to Gall was long-lived: in 1816 she told Bursy that she had attended two of Gall’s “craniological courses” (*kraniologischen Kursus*) and expressed her commitment to organological ideas, claiming that “as the cranial science [organology] pertains to life, let it also pertain to every human being.”¹⁴⁵ After Gall left the imperial capital for Paris, the Streicher-Stein couple frequently exchanged letters with him and, for a time, Andreas was charged with caring for his house and collection.¹⁴⁶



Figure 2.6, Ludwig Krones, *Nannette Streicher geb: Stein geboren den 2ten Januar 1769* (1829). Ink drawing from the Rollett Museum’s *Gedenkbuch für Freunde der Natur und Kunst* (Visitors’ Book for Friends of Nature and Art), Beethoven-Haus Bonn, NE 81, Band IV, Nr. 615 e. Educational use.

¹⁴³ See Paul Eling, Stanley Finger, and Harry Whitaker, “On the Origins of Organology: Franz Joseph Gall and A Girl Named Bianchi,” *Cortex* 86 (2017): 124.

¹⁴⁴ See Carla Bittel, “Woman, Know Thyself: Producing and Using Phrenological Knowledge in 19th-Century America,” *Centaurus* 55, no. 2 (2013).

¹⁴⁵ My translation, “daß die Schädellehre als zum Leben gehörig auch für jeden Menschen gehöre.” Quoted in Clemen, 111.

¹⁴⁶ For a more complete picture of this correspondence and the relationship between Gall and the Streicher-Steins, see Neuburger, Gall, and Hamann; Maurer, 6–14.

Nannette did not manage to finish this extensive translation project before her death, leaving a small section incomplete; fortepiano maker Margaret Hood reports that an unsigned copy of Nannette's manuscript is in the possession of the Rollett Museum in Baden bei Wien.¹⁴⁷ The founder of that museum, court physician, naturalist, and collector Anton Franz Rollett (1778–1842), was a mutual friend of Gall and the Streicher-Steins and his museum housed Gall's phrenological collection of skulls and plaster busts from 1825.¹⁴⁸ There was also a significant intersection between Nannette's scientific and musical interests. Contemporary accounts show that a collection of plaster busts of pianists and composers was arranged on the walls of the Streicher-Stein concert hall.¹⁴⁹ Several of these—including one of Beethoven and another of Andreas (see Figure 2.2 again)—were made by sculptor Franz Klein (1779–1840), who also crafted phenological models for Gall.¹⁵⁰ The skulls of “geniuses” like Beethoven and Haydn were of great interest to Gall and the public alike.¹⁵¹ A bust of Nannette was also made for display in the concert hall and was later acquired by the Rollett Museum, though it is now lost.¹⁵² This rich and troubling history—including Nannette's intellectual and personal investment and long-term involvement in organology—show the need for more extensive

¹⁴⁷ Donhauser and Langer, 29; Margaret Hood, “Nannette Streicher and her Pianos continued [Part II],” *Continuo* June (1986), <http://fortepianos.pairsite.com/Continuocontd.html>.

¹⁴⁸ The collection was donated to the City of Baden in 1867 and is on public display at the Rollett Museum to this day, see Donhauser and Langer, 30. Rollett's grandson, the poet Hermann Rollett, also wrote about Nannette, Andreas, and the phrenological collection in his memoir. Of Nannette he wrote “everyone who laid eyes on this cheerfully open woman was impressed by her somewhat harsh, sharply angular but expressive features, her intelligent yet well-meaning demeanor and her lively, almost manly way of being and speaking.” Kopitz, 4; Rollett, 23.

¹⁴⁹ The musicians represented were Nannette Streicher-Stein herself; Haydn; Beethoven; Mozart; Archduke Rudolph; Louis Ferdinand; Magdalena Kurzböck; Henriette von Pereira; Fanny von Haan; Franziska Mejean; and Dorothea von Ertmann. As befits the hall and showroom of a piano company, all these figures were well-known pianists. These names are compiled from a range of primary sources: the diaries of Carl Bertuch (1814), Count Henrich zu Stolberg-Wernigerode (1814), Bursy (1816), and an 1820 comment by sculptor Anton Dietrich in Beethoven's conversation book, relevant excerpts from which can be found in Carl Bertuch, *Carl Bertuchs Tagebuch vom Wiener Kongress*, ed. Hermann Freiherr von Egloffstein (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1916), 132–134, 147–148; Kopitz, 4–5; Clemen, 112; H. P. Clive, *Beethoven and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 91.

¹⁵⁰ Goebel-Streicher et al., 143–145.

¹⁵¹ On Gall, Haydn, phrenology, and physiognomy, see Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, the Visual Arts, and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c. 1750 to c. 1810* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 194–199.

¹⁵² Two undated photos of the bust collection—including one that likely represents Nannette—can be seen in Maurer. It is the only bust of a woman among the depicted collection and sits in a privileged position on a carved shelf (see top right of top photo), Maurer, 16; Donhauser and Langer, 30.

research into this intersection of early nineteenth-century science and musical culture from a musicological perspective.¹⁵³

Eight or so years after her unofficial retirement, Nannette died from a pulmonary edema (an excess of fluid in the lungs) at the age of sixty-four on January 16, 1833.¹⁵⁴ A probate inventory of her personal possessions was drawn up on January 24. Poignantly, it lists the contents of her wardrobe: four dresses of silk and merino; four cambric overskirts, ideal for use in the piano workshop; and two coats. Her belongings in this document only totaled 55 fl.; the paucity of items led local historian Hans Pemmer to suggest that the family were attempting to avoid inheritance tax.¹⁵⁵ An inventory was also made of the piano workshop, showing that they had eighty-two instruments of three different models in stock at the time of Nannette's death.¹⁵⁶ In the wake of his wife's death, Andreas entered full retirement and Johann Baptist assumed total control of the company; on May 28, 1833, he printed a notice in the *Wiener Zeitung* announcing this and advertising that the company name had accordingly been updated to "Johann Baptist Streicher."¹⁵⁷ In the months that followed Andreas penned his seven-column obituary for Nannette; he died only a few months later on May 15, 1833, also from a lung condition. That June, Nannette's obituary was published on the front page of the *AmZ* and Andreas received his own in the same journal in 1834, written by Franz Friedrich Mehwaldt (signed "F. M.").¹⁵⁸ Nannette's and Andreas's deaths were thus as entwined as their lives: it seems that, after losing his partner in marriage and work of nearly forty years, Andreas did not have the heart to continue their business or his own life without her.

¹⁵³ Some research exists on this overlap from scholars in psychology, for example see Paul Eling, Stanley Finger, and Harry Whitaker, "Franz Joseph Gall and Music: The Faculty and the Bump," *Progress in Brain Research* 216 (2015). For a consideration of Gall's work, physiognomy, and Romanticism, see Jason Y. Hall, "Gall's Phrenology: A Romantic Psychology," *Studies in Romanticism* 16, no. 3 (1977).

¹⁵⁴ Donhauser and Langer, 30.

¹⁵⁵ Pemmer, 38; *Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen*: Maria Anna Streicher, January 24, 1833, F 2/120/1833, Archiv der Stadt Wien, Vienna, Austria.

¹⁵⁶ There were twenty-two grand pianos with Viennese action, sixteen down-striking pianos, and forty-four *Patent*-action pianos, see Latham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 232n237. For a transcription and analysis of the inventory see Donhauser and Langer, 67–71.

¹⁵⁷ Johann Baptist Streicher, "Anzeige," *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna) May 28, 1833, 492.

¹⁵⁸ Andreas's authorship of Nannette's obituary was noted in the Mehwaldt subsequently wrote for Andreas. Mehwaldt's initials are identified in Ole Hass, "Introduction to *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1798–1848)," (2009): xxxi. <https://ripn.org/pdf/Introductions/ALZintroEnglish.pdf>; Franz Friedrich [F. M.] Mehwaldt, "Johann Andreas Streicher's Leben und Wirken," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 7 (February 12, 1834).

5. Conclusion

The four stages of Nannette's life and her piano-making company show that family and musical labour were inextricably intertwined for both her and her relatives: familial relationships were not incidental, they were at the core of the business. The grounding relationships of each period in which she was involved in the company—reflected in the company's evolving name—also characterized how the business operated differently across time. The first era (1770s–92) was defined by the father/daughter relationship between J. A. Stein and Nannette and was characterized by love, care, pride from his perspective, and love, obedience (even worship) from hers. Stein was teacher and authority figure for Nannette who filled the part of dedicated student, but as her father became sick, she took on a caretaking role and assumed his leadership position in the company after his death.

The second era under Geschwister Stein (1792–1802) centered on the sibling relationship between Nannette as elder sister and Matthäus as younger brother, with Andreas also entering the picture in an administrative role as her husband. Here Nannette took on a new position of authority as the businessowner, and exclusive privilege holder, and a married woman. The relationship between her and Matthäus became strained and ultimately untenable (perhaps because he resented their relative power imbalance) and its dissolution had a profound impact for both the family and the future of the piano company. The traumatic break with Matthäus forced Nannette and Andreas to enter a third era, which framed Nannette as the public face of the company as Nannette Streicher née Stein (1802–24). This wife-and-husband partnership fostered a long period characterized by collaboration across piano making, concertizing, and domestic life that saw the company become even more successful and respected.

The fourth and final stage considered here (1824–33) revolved around the relationships of mother and father to son, with Nannette and Andreas training and fostering Johann Baptist as a piano maker and businessowner with a view to him taking over the company.¹⁵⁹ Here their roles as parents (and particularly Nannette's as a mother) were significant both in and outside of the workshop as they transferred skills and knowledge to the next generation. This transitional period also saw Nannette's and Andreas's daily participation in the business decrease as they

¹⁵⁹ The company continued for one further generation after Johann Baptist. It passed to his son Emil Streicher (1836–1916) in 1871, when Johann Baptist retired, and closed in 1896 when Emil retired. Several descendants worked in other areas of the music industry: Sophie's son Ernst Pauer (1826–90) and his son Max (1866–1945) were professional pianists, and Emil's son Theodor Streicher (1874–40) was a composer. Donhauser and Langer, 16–19.

entered what constituted old age in the nineteenth century and spent time on scientific and literary pursuits.

Just as family and business were bound up, so Nannette's roles as a worker, craftsperson, businessowner, and employer were connected to her familial and societal roles as a woman, daughter, sister, wife, mother, and *Hausmutter*. These roles were not separate capacities reflecting distinct gender-segregated spheres, but highly integrated and interdependent positions that she moved between over the course of the day and across her lifetime. Reading her life (biography) and work (company history) together furthermore reveals how they influenced one another, including how piano making intersected with gender, how being a married woman impacted her as a businessperson, and how motherhood interacted with being a worker. If we do not attend to Nannette as a full person and consider all her roles as a nineteenth-century woman, we might miss crucial context for interpreting her work and her contributions to music history.

Chapter Three

Mlles Erard, Gender, and Self-Dedication

This chapter explores the intersection between music publishing, gender, and labour in the Marcoux sisters' lives through the title pages of eight works that they produced and sold between 1802 and 1817.¹ Composed by key figures of the Parisian and London music scenes like Steibelt and Johann “John” Baptist Cramer (1771–1858), these works were not only published by Mlles Erard but also dedicated to the sisters.² The title pages record their double roles by inscribing “Mlles Erard” or the sisters' married names at least twice, positioning them simultaneously as both elite and working women. Publishers exerted control over title pages and the dedicatory process, including the choice of dedicatees: driving motivations were to elevate and promote the work and to convey relationships and networks. Because of the active role publishers like Mlles Erard played in this process, I employ the term “self-dedicated” to describe these pieces. I do this not to propose that the Marcoux sisters spearheaded all these atypical dedications, but to highlight their agency as co-authors and creators of these paratexts, their vested interest in becoming dedicatees, and their dual identity of publisher-dedicatees—all represented on these title pages.

Paratexts like dedications have been the focus of recent research on gender and book history as examples of spaces where women self-fashioned and negotiated gender.³ Drawing on this work, I position the act of self-dedication as a gendered “alternative paratextual strategy” through which the Marcoux sisters negotiated their public identities and authority as women

¹ An earlier version of material in this chapter appeared in the special issue of *Keyboard Perspectives: The Lure of Paris, 1795–1810*. See Bell Jordan.

² The full list of composers includes François-Adrien Boieldieu (1775–1834); François-Joseph Dizi (1780–1847); Louis-Emmanuel Jadin (1768–1853); Charles-Henri Plantade (1764–1839); Henri-Jean Rigel (1770–1852); and the little-known Joseph Crispin (1789–1833).

³ Valerie Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion*, Queenship and Power, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1–4, 22; Kate Ozment, “‘She Writes Like a Woman’: Paratextual Marketing in Delarivier Manley’s Early Career,” *Authorship* 5, no. 1 (2016); Elise Garritzen, “Women Historians, Gender and Fashioning the Authoritative Self in Paratexts in Late-Victorian Britain,” *Women’s History Review* 30, no. 4 (2021).

music publishers.⁴ Unlike their male competitors, such as Ignace Pleyel—who also published self-dedicated works—the Marcoux sisters could not draw on public authority as paid, professional musicians or composers to bolster their company’s reputation. By accepting or eliciting dedications of pieces for feminized instruments they themselves played, the sisters could assert authority through an existing model of feminine power: that of the high-status woman dedicatee. Women dedicatees carried authority because of their social, political, or cultural position and networks, and dedications communicated this authority as a display of patronage.⁵ The Marcoux sisters’ self-dedications recall the image of the woman dedicatee and appropriate these associations for their own marketing purposes. In doing so they projected elevated social and cultural standing regarding their own persons and the raised significance of the self-dedicated pieces in the eyes of consumers.

I contextualise the self-dedicated title pages by first looking at Milles Erard’s more straightforward engagements with contemporary print culture: advertisements the sisters placed in newspapers and periodicals.⁶ I then turn to the musical works that are the focus of this chapter, analyzing the title pages, dedications, genre, and musical content. In particular, I look at how the Marcoux sisters are represented on title pages, including how, where, and how frequently their names appear and the design of this information. Different forms of Marcoux sisters’ names appear three times over on all eight title pages, yet far from being redundant, these naming choices convey distinct roles and forms of power they held as publishers and dedicatees. Their many names represent both economic and social capital which interact with each other and with gender. As such, we can view these self-dedicated title pages as sites of self-fashioning for the sisters and, by extension, their company.⁷

⁴ Garritzen, 4.

⁵ Many scholars have examined women’s use of musical patronage as expressions of power, agency, and self-fashioning in early-modern Europe. See, for example, Donna G. Cardamone, “Isabella Medici-Orsini: A Portrait of Self-Affirmation,” in *Gender, Sexuality, and Early Music*, ed. Todd C. Borgerding, Criticism and Analysis of Early Music (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2013); Valeria De Lucca, “Strategies of Women Patrons of Music and Theatre in Rome: Maria Mancini Colonna, Queen Christina of Sweden, and Women of their Circles,” *Renaissance Studies* 25, no. 3 (2011); Kelley Ann Harness, *Echoes of Women’s Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Jennifer Thomas, “Patronage and Personal Narrative in a Music Manuscript: Marguerite of Austria, Katherine of Aragon, and London Royal 8 G.vii,” in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies*, ed. Thomasin K. LaMay (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

⁶ There is significant crossover between sheet music advertisements and dedications as they reproduce the same or very similar information (composer, title, dedicatee, genre, price, publisher, shop location etc.).

⁷ See Garritzen, 2–3, 5–6.

Building on the groundwork laid in Chapter One, I consider the connections between Mlles Erard and the composers of the pieces, suggesting that these musical works may have been a marker of special relationships. I then turn to an exploration of gender and consumption in this period and the real and imagined consumers of Mlles Erard's products. I suggest that the Marcoux sisters' use of self-dedication to represent their own private musical activities as women performers turned these dedications into a gendered marketing tool to appeal to their predominantly women customers. For six of the pieces, the title pages and the musical material they advertised were composed for instruments that the sisters played—piano, harp, and voice—and which were closely associated with the feminine (I consider the two theatrical works of the group separately, as they are a different matter).⁸ Pianos and harps were also central to their uncles' instrument-making business. While title pages express the distinct roles and forms of power held by the Marcoux sisters, these imprints also display and even hinge on the ways that the sisters' producing and consuming roles interact. Here I respond to two concepts presented by Emily Green—music publishers as prosumers and a critical approach to music dedications—and consider what happens when we combine them with historical understandings of gender.⁹ I argue that the self-dedicated pieces captured the sisters' musical abilities and tastes—where they interacted with printed music and instruments as consumers—as a means of appealing to their mostly women customers. By standing as dedicatees, the sisters modelled consumption for their customers, tapped into existing associations of the woman dedicatee (especially for piano music), and sought to improve their own social status, presumably with a view to increasing sales of their merchandise in the process. In other words, the Marcoux sisters' private, consumer roles as women musicians and dedicatees were communicated through these pieces in service of their public, producing roles as the publishers and businesswomen of Mlles Erard. The dedicated pieces therefore suggest that the Marcoux sisters sought to capitalize on their gender in their work as Mlles Erard, rendering femininity an asset.

In an era when the stereotypical image of “a woman at music” was “a woman at her piano,” the Marcoux sisters suggest an alternative, multifaceted model of engaging with music,

⁸ See discussion in Introduction as well as Leppert, “Sexual Identity, Death, and the Family Piano.”; Robert Adelson and Jacqueline Letzter, “‘For a woman when she is young and beautiful’: The Harp in Eighteenth-Century France,” in *History/Herstory: Alternative Musikgeschichten*, ed. Annette Kreutziger-Herr and Katrin Losleben, Musik, Kultur, Gender Vol. 5 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009); Solie, 85–117; Spiller, 102–107.

⁹ Green, “Music's First Consumers.”; Green, *Dedicating Music*.

gender, and feminine instruments like and including the piano.¹⁰ Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe not only “performed” their gender in normative ways as pianists and singers: as Mlles Erard they also engaged with music as businesswomen who wielded significant power.¹¹ As I demonstrated in Chapter One, they negotiated contracts with composers, decided what music to buy and sell to their customers, ran a shop, and much more, like their colleagues. But rather than establishing a binary between women performers as emblems of disempowerment and businesswomen as their emancipated antidote, I show how the Marcoux sisters sat between these poles, negotiating gender and music as figures who were *both* businesswomen and amateur musicians. The sisters’ identities as women musicians not only overlapped with their work as publishers but were deployed by them in ways that they clearly believed would be beneficial for their business and their own social status in the competitive piano sheet music market of early nineteenth-century Paris.

1. Advertising Mlles Erard

Mlles Erard placed an abundance of advertisements for their products in the Parisian press. Publications in which they advertised most often in their early years include the *Journal de Paris*, the *Courrier des spectacles*, and the *Journal des débats et décrets* (known as the *Journal de l'Empire* between 1805 and 1813). They also featured in more specialist periodicals like *Correspondance des amateurs musiciens*, while in the 1820s and 1830s they used newspapers like *Le Figaro* and *Le Corsaire*.¹² I begin by presenting these advertisements as concrete examples of Mlles Erard’s engagement with print culture because they demonstrate that the sisters were thinking consciously and carefully about how to present their wares and their business using a key communication technology of the day. Advertisements and title pages, while different mediums, convey the same information to readers: they list a piece’s title, composer, instrumentation, price, sales points, and sometimes include the dedication. Indeed, Green has highlighted the promotional function title pages serve for their own contents—advertises

¹⁰ Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 110–143.

¹¹ Suzanne G. Cusick, “On Musical Performances of Gender and Sex,” in *Audible Traces: Gender, Identity, and Music*, ed. Elaine Barkin, Lydia Hamessley, and Benjamin Boretz (Zurich; Los Angeles: Carciofoli, 1999), 26–29.

¹² On the name changes of the *Journal des débats et décrets* see Marius Warholm Haugen, “News of Travels, Travelling News: The Mediation of Travel and Exploration in the *Gazette de France* and the *Journal de l'Empire*,” in *Travelling Chronicles: News and Newspapers from the Early Modern Period to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Siv Gøril Brandtzæg, Paul Goring, and Christine Watson, Library of the Written Word - The Handpress World (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 160n166.

and title pages for sheet music were therefore closely connected print genres.¹³ And dedications themselves are promotional language (a topic to which I return below).¹⁴ In addition to basic lists of available compositions, Mlles Erard used adverts to make connections with live performance, mentioned composers' institutional affiliations, and wrote more extended prose that included overtly promotional language. Mlles Erard's adverts therefore provide a precedent for approaching the self-dedicated title pages as promotional tools that crafted identities for the company, its composers, and the women who ran it.

The publications in which Mlles Erard advertised most frequently were general, mixed-topic dailies sold by subscription that included domestic and international news, theatrical reviews, literary and opinion pieces, stock market information, and a small number of advertisements for books and services.¹⁵ They were read by a relatively wide audience, though those readers were drawn mostly from the urban bourgeoisie and elite; women made up a significant portion of these readers.¹⁶ Marie-Françoise's and Catherine-Barbe's choice of these publications suggests that they favoured wide circulation and reaching as many readers as possible.¹⁷ These general publications were useful because, as dailies, they were one of the most immediate forms of communication available. Lastly, specialist music periodicals (like the *Gazette musicale*) did not begin to appear in France until the 1830s, when Mlles Erard transferred to Jules Delahante (who did advertise in such publications).¹⁸ The *Journal de Paris* and the *Journal des Débats* were furthermore among the most important publications for sheet music advertisements during this period; these general news sources were thus the sound option in which to advertise Mlles Erard's music.¹⁹

¹³ Green, *Dedicating Music*, 79–80.

¹⁴ Green, *Dedicating Music*, 97.

¹⁵ Hugh Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1988), 195, 204.

¹⁶ Gough, 214; Denise Zara Davidson, "Constructing Order in Post-Revolutionary France: Women's Identities and Cultural Practices, 1800–1830" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 128.

¹⁷ H. Robert Cohen, "The Nineteenth-Century French Press and the Music Historian: Archival Sources and Bibliographical Resources," *19th-Century Music* 7, no. 2 (1983): 139–140; Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 1834–80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 14.

¹⁸ On the emergence of the music press, see Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 1834–80*.

¹⁹ Anik Devriès-Lesure, "Historical Sources," in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues Bibliography*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 54.

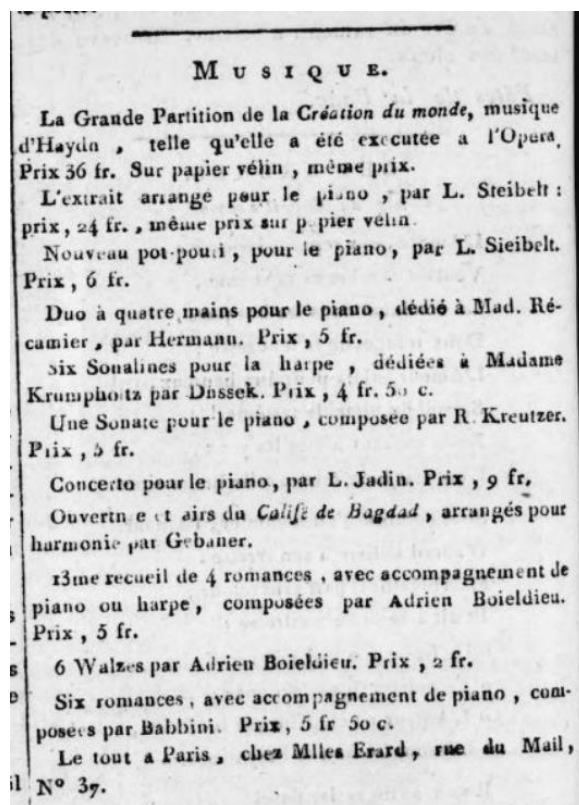


Figure 3.1, Mlles Erard advertisement in the *Courrier de spectacles* (March 6, 1801), BnF Gallica. Educational use.

The format of the most simple and plentiful style of Mlles Erard advertisement follows that of typical title pages. A representative example of a multi-entry Mlles Erard advertisement appeared in the *Courrier des spectacles* on March 6, 1801, under the heading “Musique” (see Figure 3.1 above). It lists eleven vocal and instrumental works in various genres by Steibelt, Kreutzer, and others, including “Six Sonatines pour la harpe, dédiée à Madame Krumpholz par Dussek. Prix, 4 fr. 50 c.” The advertisement ends with the statement “All [available] in Paris at Mlles Erard, rue du Mail, no. 37” (*Le tout à Paris, chez Mlles Erard, rue du Mail, No. 37*).²⁰ Some entries mention the dedicatee, including those for pieces dedicated to Mlles Erard like Plantade’s *Zoë*, for which an advert appeared in the *Journal de Paris* in February 1801.²¹

²⁰ More unusually, this advertisement also mentions that vellum-printed editions of the score for Haydn’s *Creation* (arranged by Steibelt) and a piano arrangement of excerpts by the same (also by Steibelt) are available to purchase. Mlles Erard, “Musique,” *Courrier des spectacles, ou Journal des théâtres*, no. 1476 (March 6, 1801): 4.

²¹ My translation, “Score of *Zoë, ou la Pauvre-Petite*, opera in one act, lyrics by J. N. Bouilly, set to music by Ch. Plantade, dedicated to M. lles Erard; performed for the first time, in Paris, at the Théâtre de l’Opéra-Comique, on the 14th of Messidor of year 8 — Price, 24fr. Separate parts of the same opera. In Paris, at M. lles Erard, rue du Mail, n.o 37” (“*Partition de Zoë, ou la Pauvre-Petite*, opéra en un acte, paroles de J. N. Bouilly, mis en musique par Ch. Plantade, dédié à M. lles Erard; représenté pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre de l’Opéra-Comique, le 14

Advertisements for operatic scores and excerpts show that this category of score was often available during the production, enabling Mlles Erard to cash in on public interest in the latest works, as occurred in the case of Steibelt's arrangement of Haydn's *Creation* in September 1800:

The public is informed that the ORATORIO of the Creation of the world, by the famous HAYDN, translated into French verse by the citizen Ségur, and arranged by the citizen Steibelt to be performed at the Opera, will appear at the music store of Mlles Erard, rue du Mail, No 37, the day after the day of the performance of this Oratorio, which will take place shortly.²²

For composers that had institutional affiliations like Louis Adam (*professeur* at the Conservatoire) and Rigel (a member of the Institut d'Egypte), this information might take up a significant amount of space. For example, an 1804 advertisement for a piano and violin arrangement of the overture to Rigel's comic opera *Les Deux Meuniers* (1799) notes that it was "created and performed in Egypt at the Cairo Theater; composed and arranged for the piano-forte with violin accompaniment. By H. Rigel, member of the Egyptian Institute [*Institut d'Egypte*] and of the First Consul's private music [ensemble]."²³ Rigel's affiliation with the state, Napoleon's colonial exploits, and the scientific and artistic institutions that participated in the invasion of Egypt (1798–1801) were clearly points of pride for the composer.²⁴ That they were seen as beneficial credentials by Mlles Erard is clear from the fact that these details are regularly included in advertisements and title pages for Rigel's works.²⁵

messidor de l'an 8. — Prix, 24^{fr}. Les parties séparées du même Opéra. A Paris, chez M.^{lles} Erard, rue du Mail, n.º 37.” Mlles Erard, “Annonces et avis divers,” *Journal de Paris*, no. 113 (13 pluviôse, an IX [February 2, 1801]): 805.

²² My translation, “Le public est prévenu que l’ORATORIO de la *Création du monde*, par le célèbre HAYDN, traduit en vers français par le citoyen Ségur, et arrangé par le citoyen Steibelt pour être exécuté à l’Opéra, paroitra au magasin de musique de M.^{lles} Erard, rue du Mail, N° 37, le ledemain [*sic*] du jour de l’exécution de cet *Oratorio*, qui aura lieu incessamment.” Mlles Erard, “Musique,” *Courrier des spectacles, ou Journal des théâtres*, no. 1302 (3 vendémiaire, an IX [September 27, 1800]): 4.

²³ My translation, “opéra fait et exécuté en Egypte, sur le théâtre du Caire ; composée et arrangée pour le piano-forté, avec accompagnement de violon. Par. H. Rigel, membre de l’Institut d’Egypte, et de la musique particulière du premier consul.” Mlles Erard, “Overture pastorale des *Deux Meuniers*,” *Journal des débats et des décrets* (18 floréal, an XII [May 8, 1804]): 4.

²⁴ Though little has been written on Rigel's participation in the French occupation of Egypt, his musical contributions are briefly mentioned within the context of the wider campaign in the following: Ruth E. Rosenberg, *Music, Travel, and Imperial Encounter in 19th-Century France: Musical Apprehensions* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 22–23, 61n18, 62n24; J.-G. Prod'Homme, “Napoleon, Music and Musicians,” *The Musical Quarterly* VII, no. 4 (1921): 589.

²⁵ For example, see Mlles Erard, “Musique,” *Courrier de spectacles*, no. 2612 (2 floréal, an XII [April 22, 1804]): 4; Mlles Erard, “Grande ouverture,” *Journal des débats et des décrets* (4 prairial, an XII [May 24, 1804]): 4.

Scholars of consumption and marketing like Natacha Coquery and Jon Stobart have explored the language of late eighteenth-century advertisements and concluded that phrases connoting quality, taste, novelty, and politeness were used by merchants to promote their products.²⁶ Such themes are apparent particularly in extended advertisements placed by Mlles Erard; these texts furthermore present the Marcoux sisters' promotional strategies in a new light by revealing their authorial voice as music publishers who were making a concerted effort to sell select products using prose. For example, an entry in the *Journal de l'Empire* in 1812 for Henri Karr's *Fantaisie en forme de Scène* reads: "This new Fantasy, which is one of the most beautiful ever made in this genre, has just achieved the greatest success. This young author, one of our most skillful piano teachers, seems, by his compositions, to follow in the footsteps of great masters who have excelled in the art of music."²⁷ This advert conveys an air of authority by assuming the role of knowledgeable tastemaker, as well as highlighting the novelty and quality of both Karr and his composition.²⁸ The motivation for placing this extended advertisement is to provide additional promotion for a new composer and a new work, presumably to compensate for the lack of name recognition accrued to a new young composer. Clearly Mlles Erard thought Karr had promise, and they sought to ensure the work's success through a more intensive form of promotion.

Another extended advertisement hailed Steibelt's return to Paris in 1805 with a new composition:

Grand concerto for the pianoforte, composed and dedicated to Mme Zoé Delarue by D. Steibelt. 5th concerto, 12 fr.

This concert can be found at Mlles Erard, rue du Mail, no. 37, and at their depot, rue de la Loi, no. 297, opposite the [national] library.

For a long time, we have not had the opportunity to announce a new production by M. Sleibelt [*sic*]; this great artist is back in Paris, and we hope that the multiplicity of his works will compensate for his absence. Romeo wants a counterpart. In the

²⁶ Natacha Coquery, "The Language of Success: Marketing and Distributing Semi-Luxury Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *Journal of Design History* 17, no. 1 (2004): 74–78; Jon Stobart, "Selling (Through) Politeness: Advertising Provincial Shops in Eighteenth-century England," *Cultural and Social History* 5, no. 3 (2008).

²⁷ My translation, "Cette nouvelle Fantaisie, qui est une des plus belle qu'on ait faites dans ce genre, vient d'obtenir le plus grand succès. Ce jeune auteur, un de nos plus habiles professeurs de piano, semble, par ses compositions, suivre les traces de grands maitres qui ont excellé dans l'art musical." Mlles Erard, "Fantaisie en forme de Scène," *Journal de l'Empire*, no. 3 (November 5, 1812): 4.

²⁸ Stobart, 319.

meantime, the concerto we are announcing deserves the attention of music lovers
[*amateurs*]: one recognizes in it the verve, the imagination and the brilliant style of M.
Steibelt [*sic*].²⁹

In contrast to the Karr example, this advert reminds Parisian readers of an already well-established stalwart from the Mlles Erard stable. It hints at new works beyond his Piano Concerto No. 5—described in glowing terms—and suggests to the reader that Steibelt may be working on a follow-up to his hit three-act opera *Romeo et Juliette* (1793). In other words, Mlles Erard simultaneously draw attention to the return of one of their key artists and play on fans’ desire for novelty and need to consume more and more material from a well-known composer. Such hinting might encourage readers to drop by the rue du Mail shop to see if new Steibelt works have been published and be persuaded to buy something else in the meantime. The term *amateurs*—though common in musical contexts—also serves here as a signifier of politeness and aspiration, pointing as it does to the wealth and class required of prospective buyers to have the leisure time to cultivate music as a hobby.³⁰

Mlles Erard’s advertisements in widely read publications situated Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe as active participants in the post-Revolutionary public sphere. They furthermore helped construct a public image for the sisters and their company in print and show that self-fashioning, promotional language was part of their remit as music publishers. Musical scores and their title pages were also part of the whirl of paper that was nineteenth-century print culture. Let us now turn the page and begin our encounter with Mlles Erard’s self-dedicated pieces.

2. The self-dedicated pieces

Among the eight self-dedicated compositions there are two *opéras-comiques*, five works for piano and/or harp, and one set of romances for voice and piano, represented in Table 3.1 (below). The table records the full title and dedication as presented on each title page, as well as the instrumentation, dedicatee name and dedication type, and the scores’ locations. Between the

²⁹ My translation, “*Grand concerto pour le piano-forte, composé et dédié à Mme Zoé Delarue, par D. Steibelt. 5e concerto, 12 fr. / Ce concerto se trouve chez mesdemoiselles Erard, rue du Mail, no. 37, et à leur dépôt rue de la Loi, no. 297, vis-à-vis la Bibliothèque. / Depuis longtemps [longtemps] nous n’avions pas eu l’occasion d’annoncer une production nouvelle de M. Sleibelt [sic]; ce grand artiste est de retour à Paris, et nous avons l’espérance que la multiplicité de ses travaux dédommagera de son absence. Roméo veut un pendant. En attendant, le concerto que nous annonçons mérite l’attention des amateurs : on y reconnaît la verve, l’imagination et le style brillant de M. Stebelt [sic].*” Mlles Erard, “Musique,” *Gazette nationale, ou le moniteur universel*, no. 239 (May 19, 1805): 4.

³⁰ Coquery, 76.

1790s and about 1813, the Marcoux sisters were also dedicatees for three further works which were not published by Mlles Erard. These were Ignace Pleyel's *Duo pour la Harpe et Piano-Forte*, Op. 28 (ca. 1795/96) dedicated to "demoiselles Françoise et Catherine Erhard" and published by Pleyel; Louis Schmutz's *II^e Recueil de Six Romances* (ca. 1800–13), composed for and dedicated to "Dem.les Erard," which only survives in manuscript; and Steibelt's *Fantaisie Avec Neuf Variations sur La Valse Russe* (1808), dedicated to "Madame de la Hante" and published by Sieber, though it was also advertised as for sale at Mlles Erard's shop.³¹ While these three pieces are not the focus of my study, they demonstrate that the Marcoux sisters also served as more typical recipients of dedications, highlighting the distinct nature of the self-dedicated works.

The design and content of the self-dedicated pieces' title pages record more than basic information about the works and their creators. As Rudolf Rasch writes, "the value of the title page can indeed hardly be overestimated: it is [...] the 'interface' between the publisher and the buyer and takes therefore a central position in the dissemination process."³² For Green, title pages are paratexts that are neither separate from nor subordinate to the musical material of a score but intimately connected sites of mediation that help shape how a reader interacts with those scores. Title pages are visually enticing and provide opportunities for composers, publishers and other actors to convey their own social standing, collegial and patronal networks, and celebrity status, and thus shape the music's reception by customers.³³

³¹ Benton and Halley, *Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions*, 258; Louis Schmutz, "II^e Recueil de Six Romances composées et dédiées aux Dem.les Erard", ca. 1800–13, F-Ssp 18.Mms 271, Médiathèque protestante de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, France, <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=840000941&View=rism>; Mlles Erard et al., "Fantaisie, avec neuf variations," *Journal de l'Empire*, no. 3 (May 2, 1808): 4.

³² Rasch, "Basic Concepts," 46.

³³ Green, *Dedicating Music*, 79, 33–36.

Table 3.1, Self-dedicated pieces published by Mlles Erard (1800–17)

Composer	Title Page Information	Pub. Year	Genre and Instrumentation	Dedication Type and Dedicatee	Source
François-Adrien Boieldieu (with librettist Alexandre-Vincent Pineux Duval)	BENIOWSKY / Opéra en trois Actes en Prose, / <i>PAROLES DE DUVAL. / Représenté pour la Première fois sur le Théâtre de l'Opéra / Comique de la rue Favart le 19. Praireal an 8. / MIS EN MUSIQUE / Et dédié / à Mesdemoiselles Erard, / PAR A. BOIELDIEU / Membre du Conservatoire de Musique de Paris. / Prix 36.^f / Gravé par Huguet Musicien. / A PARIS, / Chez M.^{lles} ERARD, Rue du Mail, N^o. 37. / Propriété de l'Éditeur. Déposé à la Bibliothèque Nationale. / à Lyon Chez Garnier, Place de la Comédie.</i>	1800	Opéra-comique: voices, orchestra	Dedicated to Mlles Erard	BnF, VM5-431
Charles Henri Plantade (with librettist Jean-Nicolas Bouilly)	ZOË / OU / LA PAUVRE PETITE / Opéra En un Acte / <i>Paroles de J. N. Bouilly. / mis en Musique / PAR C. H. PLANTADE / Dédiée à Mesdemoiselles Erard. / Représentée pour la première fois à Paris, sur le Théâtre / de l'Opéra Comique, le 14. Messidor de l'an 8. / Gravé par Van-ixem. / À PARIS, / Chez M.^{lles} ERARD Rue du Mail, N^o. 37. / Propriété des Éditeurs; Enregistré à la Bibliothèque.</i>	1801	Opéra-comique: voices, orchestra	Dedicated to Mlles Erard	BnF, VM5-318
Louis-Emmanuel Jadin	DUO / POUR / PIANO ET HARPE / COMPOSÉ ET DÉDIÉ / A MESDEMOISELLES ERARD / PAR / L. JADIN / <i>PRIX 6.^f</i>	ca. 1801	Duo: harp, piano	Composed and dedicated to Mlles Erard	BnF, VM7-6121

François-Joseph Dizi	<i>Danse du Schall</i> / Musique / DE D. STEIBELT / Variée / <i>Pour la Harpe</i> / ET DÉDIÉE / à <i>Madame de la Hante</i> / Par / F. DIZI. / Prix 2. ^f 50. ^c	1808	Variations: harp	Dedicated to Mme Delahante	International Harp Archive, Brigham Young University, M 117.D59 D36 1809
Daniel Steibelt	<i>Grande Fantaisie</i> / POUR LE PIANO FORTE / <i>Sur Firmin & son Chien</i> / ROMANCE DE GARAT / Composée et Dédiée / à <i>M^{me} Bonnemaïson</i> / Par / D. STEIBELT / Prix 7 fr. 50 s.	1808	Fantasy: piano	Composed and dedicated to Mme Bonnemaïson	BnF Vm12-26899
Joseph Crispin	Lost. Title recorded as “6 romances en 2 livraisons, chaque 4” and “un recueil de six romances, dédiées à Madame Bonnemaïson” ¹	1811	Romances (collection): voice, piano	Dedicated to Mme Bonnemaïson	Mlles Erard catalogue (ca. 1817); Crispin/Carlier’s <i>Le Barbier de Bagdad</i> (1854)
Henri-Jean Rigel	Quatrième / Concerto / à Grand Orchestre / Pour le Piano-Forté, / Composée et Dédié / à Madame Bonnemaïson, / PAR / H. RIGEL. / Œuvre 28. Prix 12. ^f . / N. ^{ta} La Partie de Piano peut se jouer sans Accompagnement, ou avec le Quatuor seulement.	ca. 1817	Concerto: piano, with or without string quartet or full orchestra	Composed and dedicated to Mme Bonnemaïson	BnF, D-12130
Johann Baptist Cramer	<i>Les Suivantes.</i> / N ^o . 3. / SONATE / <i>Pour le Forté-Piano</i> , / Composée et Dédiée / à <i>Madame Bonnemaïson</i> , / PAR / J. B. CRAMER. / Opéra 59. Prix 6. ^f	1817	Sonata: piano	Composed and dedicated to Mme Bonnemaïson	BnF, Vm12-6418 (BIS)

¹ Erard, Catalogue de musique, Historische Drucke, Musik: 4; Jean-Joseph Carlier and Joseph Crispin, *Le Barbier de Bagdad, ou le Fils du Calife* (Dunkirk: Typographie de Vanderest, 1854), 10n11.

There is a growing body of scholarship on how women in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries used paratexts like title pages to negotiate gender. In her analysis of title pages and dedications by Victorian women historians, Elise Garritzen has argued that paratexts were spaces for self-fashioning and curation of an authoritative, scholarly public image in a discipline where gender discredited these women.¹ Book historian Kate Ozment has explored how the early modern English satirist and playwright Delarivier Manley (ca. 1670–1724) followed the example of celebrity actresses when she used “paratextual addresses,” such as dedications, prefaces, and letters to the reader, to craft a favourable persona as a woman author.² These scholars therefore demonstrate that title pages and dedications carried significant social meaning and were often used consciously by creators to mediate relationships and identity.

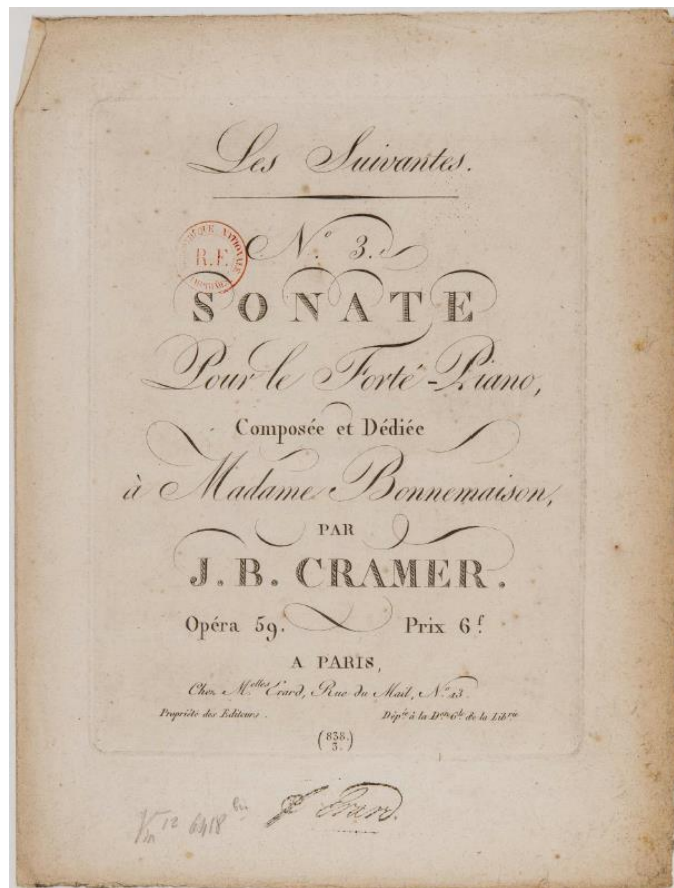


Figure 3.2, Title page of Cramer’s Sonata “Les Suivantes No. 3” in E minor, Op. 59 (1817). BnF, Paris, Vm12-6418 (BIS). Reproduced with permission.

¹ Garritzen, 3.

² Ozment, 3–5.

The title pages of the eight pieces display a coherent house style in terms of layout and typefaces, and the title page of Cramer's Sonata Op. 59 (Figure 3.2, above) can therefore serve as an exemplar of the design of these paratexts. At the top of the page is the piece's title, followed by the phrase "composée et dédiée," "Mme Bonnemaïson" to represent Marie-Françoise as the dedicatee, and "J. B. Cramer" for the composer. The firm's imprint (sometimes called a colophon) appears in small font at the bottom of the page bearing the sisters' mercantile name, their address, and other details. Their collective name is repeated in the form of a stamp consisting of an intertwined "F" and "C" (for Françoise and Catherine) followed by "Erard." In addition to confirming authenticity, this emblem emphasizes the sisters' equal partnership. Underneath this information is the copyright phrase "Propriété des Editeurs," a statement that asserts the sisters' professional identity, authority, and ownership over the printed work as publishers. The different forms and locations of the women's names on the Cramer title page indicate the different roles and types of work those names encompass.

The phrase "composée et dédiée à Mme Bonnemaïson" suggests that Cramer's sonata was written for her to play.³ Indeed, three primary sources record the Marcoux sisters' performance activities. In 1797, when Marie-Françoise was twenty and Catherine-Barbe eighteen, Erard Frères mentioned the musical skills of one of their nieces in a letter to a customer. In an effort to convince one Mme de St Victor to buy one of the company's new and elite models of grand piano (*piano en forme de clavecin*), the author (either Sébastien or Jean-Baptiste) notes that "we only have two of this kind at present, of which one is intended for my niece who is a very fine pianist."⁴ This letter confirms that one of the nieces was an accomplished piano player and suggests that, as a loyal member of the Erard family, she was contributing to her uncles' company by testing the new instrument.⁵ That both Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe played the piano and sang is corroborated by Reichardt, who must have

³ I consider this phrase and its potential interpretations in greater detail in the last section of this chapter.

⁴ Letter from Erard Frères in Paris to Madame de St Victor in Le Mans, April 12, 1797, in Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 1, 185–186.

⁵ If written by Sébastien, it is possible this letter refers instead to Jean-Baptiste's daughter Céleste Spontini née Erard. However, to date I have encountered only one reference that implies Céleste played piano in a letter from Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy to Céleste's brother, Pierre Erard: "I played [Céleste's] piano when I went to see her, two months ago." Letter from Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy in Berlin to Pierre Erard in London, October 3, 1832. Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 1, 226.

heard them perform during his visit and who called them “very interesting singers and pianists.”⁶ Marie-Françoise’s talents as a singer were noted again in the glossed diary of pianist-composer Ignaz Moscheles upon his visit to Paris in early 1821: “The houses most notable for music were those of the Princess Vaudemont, the Marquise de Montgerault [Montgeroult] [...], the Princess Ouwaroff, Madame Bonnemaïson, who sang prettily, and Monsieur Mesny.”⁷ Moscheles’s account also indicates that Marie-Françoise was known as a musical host. Her reputation is confirmed by an advertisement for a concert by pianist Virginie Morel on March 13, 1822, at rue du Mail, No. 13, where Erard Frères also hosted their salons.⁸ Two years later, a letter from Jean-Baptiste to his daughter Céleste records a performance by Liszt of “an exceedingly difficult” Hummel sonata at Marie-Françoise’s house.⁹

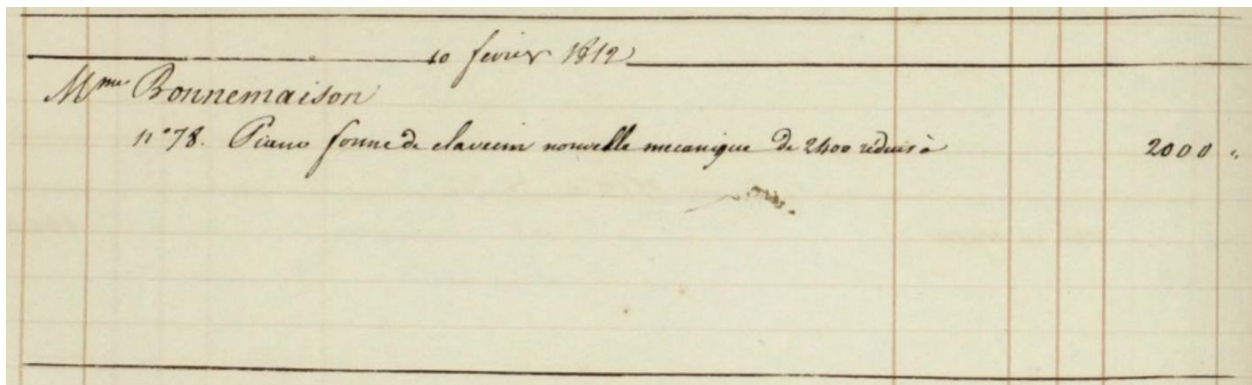


Figure 3.3, Erard Frères *livre de ventes* entry regarding a piano for Marie-Françoise (Mme Bonnemaïson), February 10, 1812. *Livre de ventes* (1809–1816), Fonds d’archives Érard, Pleyel et Gaveau, E.2009.5.103, 144, Musée de la musique, Cité de la musique—Philharmonie de Paris, Paris. Educational use.

⁶ “[S]ehr interessante Sängerinnen und Clavierspielerinnen...” Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt's vertraute Briefe aus Paris geschrieben in den Jahren 1802 und 1803*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: B.G. Hoffmann, 1804), 154. A contemporaneous dictionary makes clear that *interessant* held positive connotations, meaning that something was “important, having [...] an excellent inner value.” My translation. See Johann Christoph Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart, M- Scr*, 4 vols., vol. 3 (Vienna: Bauer, 1811), 1389–1390. https://lexika.digitale-sammlungen.de/adelung/lemma/bsb00009132_4_0_166.

⁷ Charlotte Moscheles, *Life of Moscheles, with Selections from his Diaries and Correspondence*, trans. Arthur Duke Coleridge, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1873), 40. Charlotte Moscheles, *Aus Moscheles' Leben: Nach Briefen und Tagebüchern herausgegeben von seiner Frau*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1872), 41.

⁸ “Nouvelles des Théâtres,” *Journal de Paris* 53, no. 64 (March 5, 1822): 2.

⁹ Letter from Jean-Baptiste Erard in Paris to Céleste Erard in Berlin, of April 27, 1824, quoted in Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 94.

The Erard Frères *livres de ventes* and *registres de fabrication* also include records of at least three instruments that were made or intended for Marie- Françoise between 1802 and 1812. The first is an entry in the 1802–06 register for *piano en forme de clavecin* No. 104 with the crossed-out note “for our niece Mme Bonnemaïson (*à notre niece [sic] M^{me} Bonnemaïson*).¹⁰ The same register records that harp No. 57 (retrospectively labeled *à simple mouvement*) was made for her in 1806.¹¹ Six years later, *piano en forme de clavecin nouveau modèle* No. 78 was given to Marie-Françoise in exchange for an older instrument (see Figure 3.3, above).¹²

Returning to the pieces, they fall into two categories: on the one hand, theatrical productions for public performance, and on the other, pieces for performance in the home or salon. Boieldieu’s and Plantade’s operas—*Beniowsky* and *Zoë*—premiered at the Théâtre de l’Opéra-Comique in consecutive productions during the summer of 1800; they were the first of Mlles Erard’s self-dedications to appear in print, while the business was still in its infancy.¹³ Advertisements for the full score of Boieldieu’s work appeared in the press in late 1800 and *Zoë* was promoted in the *Journal de Paris* in February 1801, the latter with specific reference to the dedicatees.¹⁴ Both scores dedicated to the sisters together as “Mesdemoiselles Erard” were listed near the top of their catalogue. They were therefore a public and potentially potent means of advertising Mlles Erard, its owners, and their entry into Parisian music publishing. (See Figures 3.4 and 3.5, below). *Beniowsky* is a rescue opera with a romantic subplot that follows the exploits of Hungarian officer Maurice Beniowsky (Beniowski, Benyovszky, Beňovský; 1746–86) when he is exiled by the Russian authorities to the Kamchatka Peninsula for supporting Polish independence.¹⁵ Boieldieu was one of France’s preeminent opera composers during this period and performances of the production received favourable reviews; one article from *L’Esprit des journaux français et étrangers* described the music as “alternately energetic and graceful,

¹⁰ Registre de fabrication (1802–06), E.2009.5.41, Fonds d’archives Érard, Pleyel et Gaveau, 114, Musée de la musique, Cité de la musique—Philharmonie de Paris, Paris, <https://archivesmusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/89/registre-de-fabrication-pianos-carres-n-de-serie-4-870-a-6-800-pianos-a-queue-forme-clavecin-ancien>.

¹¹ Registre de fabrication (1802–06), E.2009.5.41, Fonds Érard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 133.

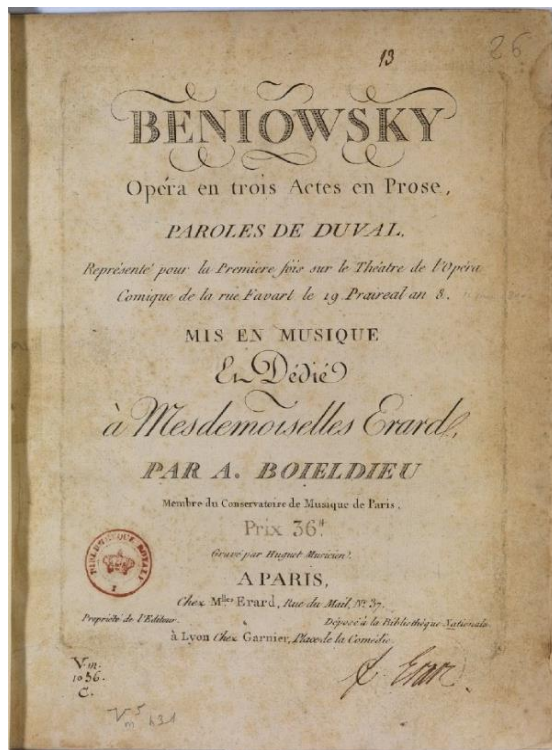
¹² February 10, 1812, Livre de ventes (1809–16), E.2009.5.103, Fonds Érard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 144.

¹³ Robert Ignatius Letellier, *Opéra-Comique: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 21.

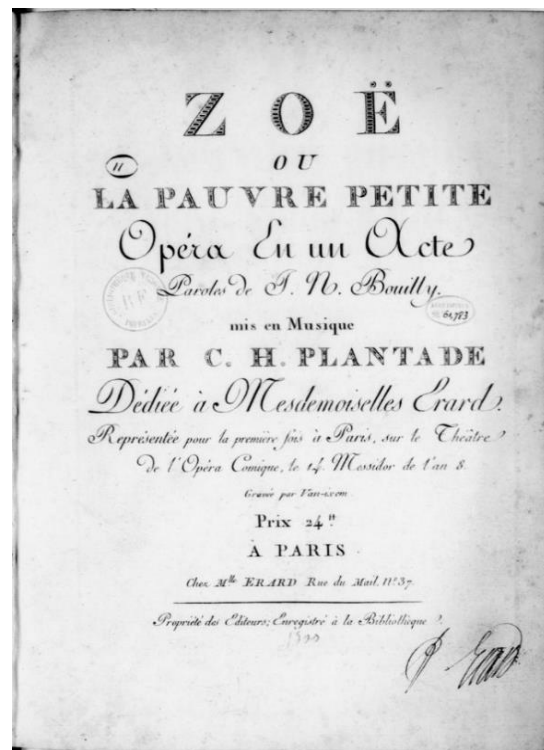
¹⁴ Mlles Erard, “Musique,” *Courrier des spectacles: Lois et actes du gouvernement, nouvelles—annonces et cours de la bourse*, no. 1347 (20 brumaire, an IX [November 11, 1800]): 4; Erard, “Annonces et avis divers,” 805; Georges Favre, *Boieldieu: sa vie, son oeuvre. Première partie, la vie* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1944), 113n115.

¹⁵ It was likely inspired by the real Maurice Benyovszky’s exaggerated memoirs, published in French in 1790, see Vilmos Voigt, “Maurice Benyovszky and his ‘Madagascar Protocole’ (1772–1776),” *Hungarian Studies* 21, no. 1–2 (2007): 207, 214; Letellier, 175–176.

melodious and learned, simple and original.”¹⁶ A further marker of its success was the appearance of two parodies at Paris’s boulevard theatres.¹⁷ Plantade was not as lucky as Boieldieu with the reception of his one-act comedy *Zoë*. The “implausible” plot takes place in Paris and concerns an orphaned girl named Zoë who falls in love with the son of a wealthy widow; the music was deemed merely “pleasant” (*aimable*).¹⁸ Both operas intersperse vocal numbers with spoken dialogue and employ couplet-based songs, as was typical at the Opéra-Comique.¹⁹



Left: Figure 3.4, Title page of Boieldieu’s *Beniowsky* (1800), BnF Gallica, VM5-431. Public domain.



Right: Figure 3.5, Title page of Plantade’s *Zoë, ou, la pauvre petite* (1801), BnF Gallica, VM5-318. Public domain.

¹⁶ My translation, “est alternativement énergique & gracieuse, mélodieuse & savante, simple & originale,” *L’Esprit des journaux français et étrangers*, vol. 10 (messidor, an VIII [June–July, 1800]), 202–204. <http://theatre1789-1815.e-monsite.com/pages/pieces-gens-et-lieux/les-pieces/b/beniowski-ou-les-exiles-du-kamchatka.html>. *Beniowsky* was revived as a concert piece by the Hungarian State Opera in 2020, directed by László Bartal, <https://www.opera.hu/en/programme/megtekint/benyovszky-moric-avagy-a-kamcsatkai-szamuzottek-2020/>.

¹⁷ Favre, 112.

¹⁸ My translation, “une sorte d’invraisemblance morale dans le nœud de l’ouvrage.” *La Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, vol. 30 (30 messidor, an VIII [July 19, 1800]), 181–182. <http://theatre1789-1815.e-monsite.com/pages/pieces-gens-et-lieux/les-pieces/z/zoe-ou-la-pauvre-petite.html>.

¹⁹ Letellier, xv.

In contrast to the two full theatrical scores, all six of the subsequent self-dedicated pieces are—despite their differences in genre—suitable for the semi-private and domestic performance events that the Marcoux sisters and other amateur women musicians participated in and organized (see Figures 3.6–3.9 for the four title pages, below). Even Rigel’s concerto, although a public genre, has flexible instrumentation: the title page indicates that the piano part can be played with string quartet or without accompaniment.²⁰ Hosting and entertaining the household are some of the duties attributed to Mme Catherine Erard *mère* (and by extension, her daughters) in Reichardt’s account: providing musical entertainment for their relatives and guests was clearly part of the Marcoux sisters’ role in the Erard household. In presenting their own musical skills at Erard-affiliated events they displayed their family’s upward mobility—from craftspeople to property owners and patrons—and engaged in gendered practices of sociability. The image of the sisters playing their self-dedicated pieces in such contexts, most certainly upon Erard instruments, suggests a compelling, gendered form of promotion for the family’s musical brand.

Jadin’s three-movement duet is the ideal piece for two sisters to play together at such a gathering. The *maestoso*, march-like first movement and the concluding Rondo (featuring a hunt topic) cast the piano and harp in equal musical roles: the instruments exchange the melody and provide accompaniment throughout. In contrast, the *andante*, with its simple triadic melody, includes more solo passages and differentiates the two instruments. The pleasure of this piece lies in the act of playing together, in the musical cooperation of the players, and in the timbral combination of their instruments. Musically and through its dedication to “Mesdemoiselles Erard,” this piece underscores the collaborative partnership of its dedicatees.

The solo harp piece *Danse du Schall* by Dizi, dedicated to “Mme de la Hante,” is a set of six variations on the “Shawl Dance” from Steibelt’s ballet *La belle laitière* (1805), made famous by dancer Mlle Parisot.²¹ Based on a *grazioso* theme in B-flat major, the variations play with triplets, runs, and broken thirds that display the agility and charm of the amateur harpist. Steibelt’s own *Grande Fantaisie* for solo piano, dedicated “à M^{me} Bonnemaïson,” is another set of variations on a popular tune, namely Pierre-Jean Garat’s romance “Firmin et son chien” (also

²⁰ My translation, “Note: the piano part can be played without accompaniment, or with quartet only” (*N.ta La Partie de Piano peut se jouer sans Accompagnement, ou avec le Quatuor seulement*).

²¹ William Gardiner, *Music and Friends; Or, Pleasant Recollections of a Dilettante*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Longman, Orme, Brown and Longman, 1838), 156.

published by Mlles Erard in 1804).²² In G major, the piece opens with an improvisatory introduction followed by eight variations and a finale that recalls the introduction. The fantasy places emphasis on dexterity, employing broken octaves, Alberti basses, and trills—features that impress the listener while remaining within reach of the amateur player.

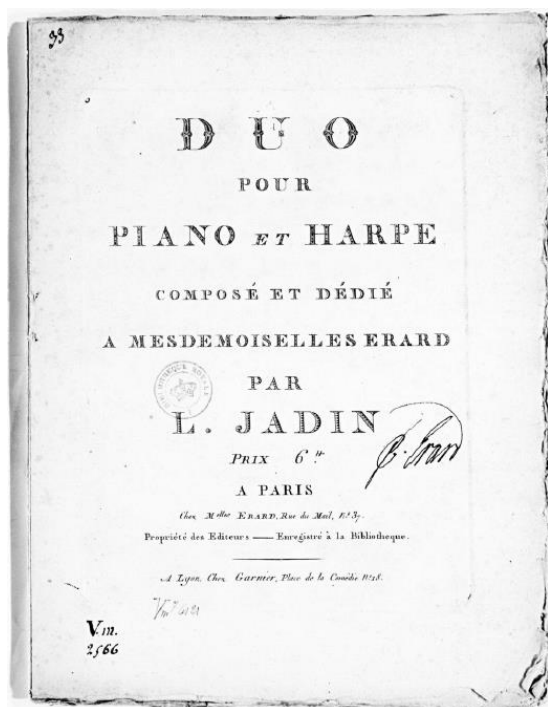
As Crispin's *Six Romances* are lost, we can draw few conclusions about its title page or musical content. The collection is listed in Mlles Erard's ca. 1817 catalogue as "6 romances en 2 livraisons" and its dedication to Marie-Françoise is preserved in a biographical note about Crispin found in the introduction to an opera he composed: that source mentions "a collection of six romances, dedicated to Madame Bonnemaïson."²³ Romances were abundant and wildly popular in early nineteenth-century France and the genre was a favourite of both women composers and amateur performers. Its perceived femininity and amateurism were both derided and obsessed over by male critics (and composers) and it dominated the salon world in which the Marcoux sisters participated.²⁴

Rigel's concerto for Marie-Françoise is in a grander style than the previous piano works. The opening *Allegro brillante* in E-flat major begins with a strident, octave theme in the right hand; the second theme presents a simple dotted melody. The second movement in B-flat minor has a stately, chorale-like introduction followed by an *andantino* theme with two variations. The third movement (a rondo-form *chasse*) includes raucous drones and a rapid tremolo motif. To aid solo performance, the piano plays continuously and is scored fully; Rigel also includes fingerings for some passages, writes out cadenzas, and even indicates key changes with annotations below the staff. Rather than increasing its suitability for orchestral performance, then, the blurred boundary between concerto and sonata makes this work accessible to a wider range of pianists with varying skill levels and access to accompaniment.

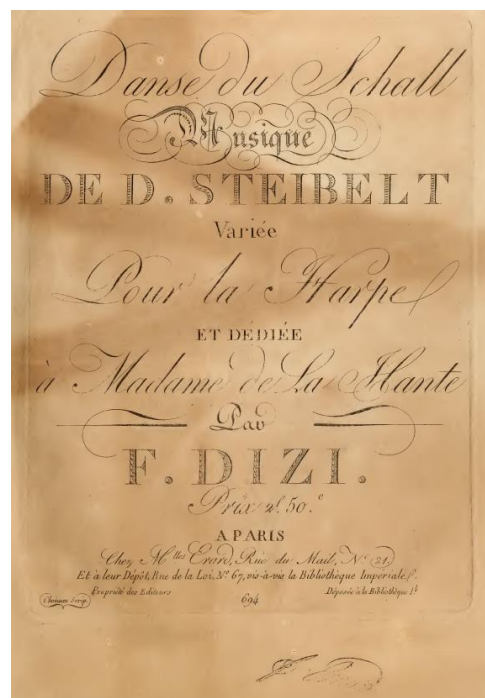
²² Mlles Erard, "Musique," *Gazette nationale, ou le moniteur universel*, no. 1 (January 1, 1806): 6.

²³ "un recueil de six romances, dédiées à Madame Bonnemaïson," in Erard, *Catalogue de musique*, Historische Drucke, Musik: 4; Carlier and Crispin, 10n11.

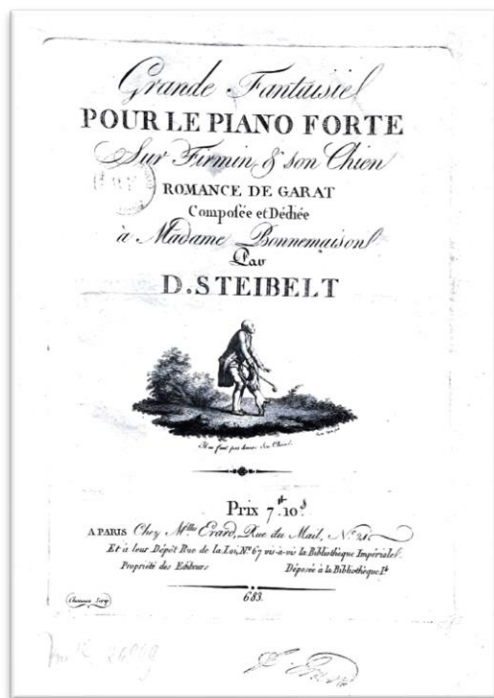
²⁴ William Cheng, "Hearts for Sale: The French Romance and the Sexual Traffic of Musical Mimicry," *19th-Century Music* 35, no. 1 (2011): 34–35, 38–41.



Left: Figure 3.6, Jadin, *Duo pour piano et harpe* (ca. 1801), BnF, Paris, VM7-6121. Public domain.



Right: Figure 3.7, Dizi, *Danse du Schall* (1808), International Harp Archive, Brigham Young University, M 117.D59 D36 1809. Public domain.



Left: Figure 3.8, Steibelt, *Grande Fantaisie* (1808), BnF, Paris, Vm12 26899. Reproduced with permission.



Right: Figure 3.9, Rigel, *Quatrième Concerto* (ca. 1817), BnF, Paris, D-12130. Reproduced with permission.

Finally, Cramer's sonata—also dedicated “à Mme Bonnemaïson”—is the most musically and technically challenging. (Not surprisingly perhaps, it is the only piece that has been commercially recorded to date.)²⁵ It is the last of a set of three sonatas, all of which were published in Paris by Mlles Erard in 1817 and by Clementi and Chappell in London later the same year.²⁶ Like other late Cramer sonatas, it has three movements and displays lyrical melodies, brilliant passagework, and at times adventurous chromaticism. The opening movement—marked *Allegro agitato*—changes character frequently, moving from tender to lighthearted to somber, and employs sweeping runs and extended triplet passages. The middle *Andante* in ternary form has a hymn-like theme and a B-section that makes liberal use of the damper pedal. The closing *Rondo* presents a lively yet bittersweet theme and includes fantasia-like transitional passages that provide ample room for display.

3. Dedications and Mlles Erard as music publishers

So how do we begin to interpret the title pages and self-dedications? What role did music publishers play in the dedicatory process? Historian Christine Haynes has described the nineteenth-century French publisher as “the person who funded, commissioned, and coordinated the creation, production, diffusion, and distribution” of printed material.²⁷ Their role was essentially entrepreneurial and focused on securing capital, finding new works, negotiating with authors (or in our case, composers), contracting and managing the creation of works by engravers and printers, as well as marketing and sometimes selling their own products. We can therefore see publishers as one of several co-producers whose labour was involved in the creation of a musical score, along with the composer, engraver, printer, papermaker, and other actors. In addition to control over finances and production, music publishers could shape the content and format of the music they published by commissioning certain genres or styles, favouring particular composers with contracts, and through choices regarding appearance and

²⁵ John Khouri, *Johann Baptist Cramer (1771–1858): Seven Late Sonatas; John Khouri–1813 Broadwood Grand Fortepiano* (recorded 2009), Naxos/Music & Arts CD-1128, 2009, 2 compact disks.

²⁶ Sonata in C major, Op. 57, “Les Suivantes No. 1,” was dedicated to Baron Nicolas de Kruft (Nikolaus von Krufft, 1779–1818, an Austrian composer and civil servant) and Sonata in Bb major, Op. 58, “Les Suivantes No. 2,” to Marie-Caroline Murray (1741–1831, a Belgian author, translator, and society personality). Thomas B. Milligan and Jerald C. Graue, *Johann Baptist Cramer (1771–1858): A Thematic Catalogue of his Works*, vol. 19, Thematic Catalogues Series, (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994), 46.

²⁷ Haynes, “An ‘Evil Genius’,” 566.

marketing of a work.²⁸ When they went a step further and developed paratexts like title pages they became co-creators (with the composer) of the texts that make up a score.

Publishers often exerted significantly more power than their co-producers, including over the works they produced. For example, it was publishers, rather than composers, who often owned rights to a printed musical work.²⁹ Mlles Erard asserted this right by printing the phrase “Propriété des Éditeur” (or “l’Éditeur”) under their imprint on every title page and defended it by taking legal action against other publishers, thereby communicating their economic ownership of the musical product.³⁰ Rasch has traced how the position of *éditeur* became increasingly distinct from that of the printer, *marchand de musique* (music seller) or *libraire* (bookseller) in this period, though it was still fairly common for the two roles to be combined in the music industry.³¹ That Mlles Erard employed the term *éditeur* on their title pages suggests that they saw themselves primarily as publishers in the newer sense described by Rasch and Haynes.

A music publisher’s power also extended to the right to dedicate. This is apparent in several letters Haydn wrote to his Viennese publisher Artaria. In one from March 20, 1780, Haydn bemoans that it was Artaria who made the dedication of his Sonatas Hob.XVI:20, 35–39, to the sisters Katharina and Marianna von Auenbrugger rather than Haydn himself.³² Seven years later, he offered free material to Artaria in exchange for having his way in dedicating his Op. 50 string quartets (Hob.III/44–49) to King Frederick Wilhelm II of Prussia: “For me, the matter would be excellent, but you would not be satisfied with it, because you yourself wish to dedicate [them] to someone else, but in order to compensate you for this damage, I undertake to supply you with other pieces free of charge.”³³ Additional letters show that Haydn sometimes had to

²⁸ Green, *Dedicating Music*, 13; Rasch, introduction, 3, 6; Rasch, “Basic Concepts,” 21.

²⁹ Hans Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music, 1500–1850* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2003), 110; Geoffroy-Schwinden, *From Servant to Savant: Musical Privilege, Property, and the French Revolution*, 96–97, 102–104.

³⁰ See Chapter One where I discuss the lengthy legal proceedings between Mlles Erard and Sieber over Cramer’s *Etudes*.

³¹ Rasch, “Basic Concepts,” 13–14. Rasch makes clear that the similarities between printed music and other areas of publishing render broader studies of publishing applicable to the music business; see Rasch, introduction, 9.

³² Beghin, *The Virtual Haydn: Paradox of a Twenty-First Century Keyboardist*, 136.

³³ My translation, “[F]ür mich wäre die sache trefflich, aber Sie würden damit nicht zufrieden seyn, weil Sie selbst willens sind, jemanden anderen zu dediciren um aber Ihnen diesen Schaden zu ersetzen, verpflichte ich mich Ihnen andere stücke unentgeltlich zu liefern.” Letter from Haydn in Esterháza to Artaria in Vienna, May 19, 1787, Joseph Haydn, H. C. Robbins Landon, and Dénes Bartha, *Joseph Haydn: Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1965), 167–168.

explicitly claim the privilege of dedication or requested payment for ceding it.³⁴ In other words, dedication was not assumed to be his prerogative as a composer and was part of contract negotiation. This suggests that, as publishers, the Marcoux sisters would have had considerable agency in the dedicatory process and thus played a more significant role than passive recipient when it came to the self-dedicated pieces. Even if they did not elicit dedications from Jadin, Dizi, Cramer, Steibelt, and Rigel, the sisters would have approved them as both publishers and dedicatees. The number of self-dedicated works may even indicate a pattern. Or is it mere coincidence that eight individual composers proposed to dedicate pieces to the same publisher?

It is helpful at this point to explore the relationships Mlles Erard had with the dedicating composers. The ca. 1817 catalogue shows that—Crispin excepted—these composers were some of the biggest contributors to Mlles Erard. Rigel, Boieldieu, Steibelt, and Cramer are among their top ten with 52, 48, 47, and 22 entries respectively (note that for all but Cramer, these numbers are inflated by many individual songs). Jadin is one of eight composers with between ten and twenty entries, while Plantade had nine and Dizi five. These smaller totals are still at the high end of contributions to the catalogue; 86 composers had less than nine entries, and 47 only one. In other words, the composers from whom the Marcoux sisters received dedications tended to publish a substantial number of works with their company. The self-dedicated pieces do, however, appear at different points in each composer-publisher relationship. The duo by Jadin is among six of his works to appear in Mlles Erard's ca. 1802 catalogue. Though it falls early on in his association with the company their connection appears to have been quickly cemented.³⁵ The opéra-comiques also appeared in the early days of Mlles Erard, and Boieldieu's and Plantade's subsequent publications with the company are mostly opera arrangements. Dizi's variation set may also be one of his first works published with the company, but his relationship with the Erard family in fact went back to 1795, when he was taken under the wing of Sébastien Erard upon arriving in London as a young performer.³⁶ In contrast, the pieces by Steibelt, Cramer, and Rigel appeared once their relationships with Mlles Erard were already well established. These

³⁴ Letters from Haydn in Esterháza to Artaria in Vienna dated June 23, 1781, and April 5, 1784. Haydn, Landon, and Bartha, 98–99, 136. For more on Haydn's dedicatory practice, see Tom Beghin, "A Composer, His Dedicatee, Her Instrument, and I: Thoughts on Performing Haydn's Keyboard Sonatas," in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Leslie Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Beghin, *Beethoven's French Piano*, 77–106; Green, *Dedicating Music*, 17–18, 44–45.

³⁵ Erard, *Catalogue de musique*, BnF.

³⁶ Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 560–561n565.

would also prove to be lasting relations: all three of these composers began publishing with the company in the early 1800s and continued to do so into the mid- to late 1820s.

In Chapter One I explored how contracts, letters, and the Erard Frères sales ledgers demonstrate commercial and personal relationships between composers, Mlles Erard, and their uncles' company. All but one of the dedicating composers appears in these documents: Crispin has no established connection to Mlles Erard, Erard Frères, or Erard-Marcoux family, and as an amateur musician remains the outlier of this group. The transactions that are recorded in surviving sources are revealing for understanding the dedicating composers' connections with Mlles Erard; I summarize those transactions here, adding additional examples not discussed in Chapter One.

The seven professional composers all received full or partial waivers and/or discounts for Erard Frères pianos or harps. In addition to the ledger entries already discussed (regarding Boieldieu, Cramer, and Jadin, Dizi), Plantade, Rigel, and Steibelt also received favourable treatment. In 1807, Dizi received a twenty percent discount on a piano *en forme de clavecin*. He paid 1,656 francs in total, with 56 going to Mlles Erard (this is in addition to his piano and score order from 1805).³⁷ The next year, the cost of another piano *en forme de clavecin*, a blue harp, and strings amounting to 1,248 francs was waived for Steibelt and his wife.³⁸ In a different type of transaction, part of the cost of a 1008-franc piano for Rigel was charged to the Mlles Erard account: 864 francs was paid towards the instrument on Rigel's behalf, presumably because he had acted as an agent in several instrument sales.³⁹ According to Adelson, Plantade also received a partial payment waiver.⁴⁰ As mentioned previously, Jadin was one of the composers who received an instrument in exchange for pieces which were probably published by Mlles Erard, while Steibelt exchanged twelve of his works in the rental agreement with the Erard brothers.

³⁷ "1600 for the piano and 56 to give to our nieces" (*1600 pr le piano & 56 pr remettre à nos nieces*). January 8, 1807, Livre de ventes (1806–09), E.2009.5.102, Fonds d'archives Érard, Pleyel et Gaveau, 91, Musée de la musique, Cité de la musique—Philharmonie de Paris, Paris, <https://archivesmusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/58/livre-de-ventes-erard>.

³⁸ September 7, 1808, Livre de ventes (1806–09, E.2009.5.102, Fonds Érard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 221.

³⁹ On 14 *brumaire*, an 14, a transaction in the *Droit* column includes the note "the piano remains on the account of the Mlle Erard thus covered" (*Le Piano reste au Cte. des d.lles Erard ainsi couvert*). The corresponding *Avoir* entry has an additional note: "On May 19, 1808, paid to M. Rigel all is handed over waiting for the piano to remain on the account of the Dlles Erard, which are under charges to trade" (*Le 19 May 1808 payé au M Rigel tous est remise attendre que le piano reste au compte des Dlles Erard—qui sont sous charges aux commerce*). My translation. Livre de ventes (1802–06), E.2009.5.101, Fonds Érard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 251.

⁴⁰ Adelson, *Erard: A Passion for the Piano*, 69.

The intertwining of personal and professional connections for Mlles Erard are most apparent in correspondence and contracts between Cramer and various members of the Erard family. Writing to Marie-Françoise on December 4, 1816, Cramer discusses an unnamed work he has just sent to her and manages her expectations about its sales prospects, saying that it is in a less light and popular genre, but that it may be more enduring than his other works.⁴¹ He employs a warm and respectful tone when responding to her, writing “I beg you to believe how sensitive I am to the kind and amicable feelings you have done the honor of testifying to me” and insisting “be assured that I will always be happy to be able to say something in my Art that may be acceptable to you.”⁴² Given the timing of this letter and his description of the piece, it is possible that Cramer is in fact referring to Op. 59 or one of the other works in the “Les Suivantes” set. Further evidence directly relating to Op. 59 also appears in the 1817 contract between Mlles Erard and Clementi, in which they exchanged the English rights to the “Les Suivantes” sonatas for the French rights to works by Clementi and Klengel.⁴³ Cramer also dined with Pierre Erard in London on several occasions and sold his second book of piano études to Mlles Erard through Pierre, partly in exchange for a discounted harp.⁴⁴ Many of the exchanges discussed above took place within a year of publication of each of the self-dedicated pieces. When taken with the dominant role these composers played in the Mlles Erard catalogue, these transactions—especially in Cramer’s case—suggest that the self-dedicated works reflected and cemented special relationships between the parties.

How does Mlles Erard’s practice of self-dedication compare with their fellow publishers? Music publishers were an uncommon category of dedicatee and those who published self-dedicated works appear to be even rarer, but I have found several examples, all Parisian. Ignace

⁴¹ My thanks to Emanuelle Majeu-Bettez for her help in transcribing this letter. My translation, “À l’égard de l’ouvrage donc [dont] vous venez de faire l’acquisition, il est possible que la circulation ne soit peut-être pas aussi rapide que beaucoup d’autres de mes compositions qui sont fait [faites] dans un genre plus populaire et léger mais, en revanche j’ose espérer sans présomption qu’il prouverais d’une plus longue durée.” Johann Baptist Cramer in Brussels to Mme [Marie-Françoise] Bonnemaïson in Paris, December 4, 1816, MFC C8893.E65, Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection, Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Music Manuscripts and Books, Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

⁴² My translation, “[J]e vous prie de croire combien je suis sensible des sentiments aimable [aimables] ainsi qu’amicale [qu’amicaux] que vous me faites l’honneur de me témoigner,” and “En tout cas je vous prie Madame d’être assuré [assurée] que je serai toujours heureux de pouvoir dire quelque chose dans mon Art qui puisse vous être acceptable.” Cramer to Mme Bonnemaïson, Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection.

⁴³ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 65.

⁴⁴ See Pierre Erard to Sébastien Erard, October 13, 1815; March 12, 1816; and May 14, 1818, in Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 1, 614–615, 626–627, 681.

Pleyel is the only publisher discussed here to exceed Mlles Erard as a publisher of self-dedicated works: he published eleven such pieces between 1798 and 1817 by composers like R. Kreutzer, Steibelt, and Fernando Sor. There are further examples for his son, Camille Pleyel (six); Henri Lemoine (one); and Naderman (one).⁴⁵ The majority of these dedications are, however, of a different kind to the Mlles Erard group: ten out of nineteen pieces are dedicated “à son ami”; an eleventh acknowledges Pleyel’s friendship and role as a teacher on a separate dedication page.⁴⁶ For instance, the title page of Kreutzer’s Op. 2 Quartets reads “Six Nouveaux / QUATUORS / Pour deux Violons / Alto et Violoncelle / Composés et Dédiés / À Son Ami Pleyel / par / RODOLPHE KREUTZER.”⁴⁷ Furthermore, the Pleyels, Naderman, and Lemoine all made their names in the musical world as composers, performers, or teachers before entering music publishing. This suggests that dedications to male publishers were often collegial and suggestive of a more equitable relationship between dedicator and dedicatee.⁴⁸ It is possible that those who knew the Marcoux sisters read the self-dedications as collegial—that is, as public signals of professional and/or personal friendship from male composers. Yet, it also seems clear that the Marcoux sisters were in a different position to most of their colleagues as women publishers: they did not have established musical reputations in the public sphere, their performance took place primarily in private contexts, and publishing was their sole occupation. They could not communicate their professional relationships and authority in the same language as their male colleagues.

Gender influenced the sisters’ work and how we might read the self-dedications in other ways. Working as music publishers, standing as dedicatees, placing advertisements, and hosting and attending musical events meant that they were frequent participants in the public sphere. However, contemporary writings show that there was significant anxiety about women engaging

⁴⁵ Benton and Halley, *Pleyel as Music Publisher*, 265. Ferdinand Herold, “ŒUVRE. 18. Les Papillons Rondo brillant dédié à son ami H. Lemoine,” list of works included in Ferdinand Herold, *Caprice pour le forte piano sur les airs de la Clochette* (Paris: Lemoine, ca. 1820). <https://books.google.ca/books?id=kUtKKbkGN0gC&dq>. “Grand duo pour piano et harpe, composé et dédié à son ami Naderman ; par H. Rigel [...] Opéra 25. Prix : 9 fr. Chez Naderman, facteur de harpe, éditeur de musique, rue du Richelieu,” Naderman, “Grand duo,” *Journal de l’Empire*, no. 3 (November 20, 1810): 4.

⁴⁶ Benton and Halley, *Pleyel as Music Publisher*, 64.

⁴⁷ Rudolphe Kreutzer, *String Quartets, Op. 2* (Paris: Pleyel, 1798). [https://imslp.org/wiki/6_String_Quartets,_Op.2_\(Kreutzer,_Rodolphe\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/6_String_Quartets,_Op.2_(Kreutzer,_Rodolphe)).

⁴⁸ See Chapter 2, “Selling a Gift,” and Chapter 3, “Sociability and Celebrity,” in Green, *Dedicating Music*.

in such activities.⁴⁹ As argued by Joan Landes, the invention of a bourgeois public sphere was predicated on power relationships defined by gender difference.⁵⁰ This new hierarchy filled the vacuum left by the Revolution's dismantling of *ancien régime* structures like royal privilege. In the political and economic upheaval of the Revolution, Daryl M. Hafter has shown that gender difference was increasingly used as a rhetorical strategy for asserting the right to work in certain industries, for example in the textile trades.⁵¹ When we look at petitions from working women to the king and Revolutionary governments and the political writings of figures like Manley and Olympe de Gouges, it is also clear that women felt compelled to justify their public presence and that they wished to participate in shaping gender discourse.⁵² Therefore, even if women's labour and visibility in industries like music publishing was normal, women found it necessary to negotiate gender, class, and public image in different ways to their male colleagues.

Women and music publishers used title pages and dedications to craft identity and to promote their goods. If we accept the agency music publishers like Artaria exerted over dedications, then we can picture the Marcoux sisters having a hand in presenting themselves as dedicatees. They would certainly have had several motivations for doing so. With self-dedications they secured *both* cultural and economic capital, though the precise profit provided by these works is unknowable without Mlles Erard's financial records. Typically, women dedicatees who were not professional performers derived only social and not financial benefits from dedications. In self-dedications, the Marcoux sisters found a promotional strategy that monetized their image as dedicatees in service of their work as publishers.

4. Mlles Erard and their customers: Gender and consumption

When a customer glanced at one of the self-dedicated works in the Mlles Erard rue du Mail shop, the first names they would see besides those of the composers were indeed the dedicatory names "Mesdemoiselles Erard," "Mme Bonnemaïson," or "Mme de la Hante." This brings us to the

⁴⁹ See Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 10–12.

⁵⁰ Landes, 2, 7–8; Hafter, 235.

⁵¹ Hafter, 237–238.

⁵² See Darlene Gay Levy and Harriet B. Applewhite, "Women of the Popular Classes in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1795," in *Women, War, and Revolution*, ed. Carol Berkin and Clara Maria Lovett (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980), 124–127; Ozment, 3–6. See Chapter Four, "Women and revolution," for Landes's discussion of writings on women's rights by de Gouges, Wollstonecraft, and others, Landes, 93–151.

question of how the Marcoux sisters' identities as publishers interacted with their gender, their customers, and the figure of the woman dedicatee. In essence, I ask here "who might the self-dedications have spoken to?" First, I consider the relationships between gender and consumption, between sellers and buyers, in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France in order to contextualize and speculate on the dynamic between Mlle Erard and its real and potential customers. Yet—as many scholars have pointed out—consumption has its limits as a conceptual framework.⁵³ I therefore employ prosumption to better understand the Marcoux sisters' actions as producer-consumers ("prosumers") in relation to the practice of self-dedication.

Historians now widely acknowledge that women were key drivers of consumption and the shift to a capitalist economy in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Europe.⁵⁴ They bought household and personal goods, from prints, novels, furniture, and tea, to dresses, pocket watches, and shoes. Women were typically in charge of how and what a family bought and consumed, and there are numerous scenes from contemporaneous fiction and pamphlets that depict women as shoppers—sometimes their acts of consumption were seen as virtuous and in support of nation building, while at other times their consumption was considered voracious, excessive, and ruinous of the social fabric.⁵⁵ Women as merchants and shopkeepers are also present in these sources, sometimes derided as repulsive, like Mrs. Sinclair in Richardson's novel *Clarissa* (1748), at other times viewed as industrious and sober, as in French politician Pierre Legrand's *La femme du Bourgeois de Lille* (1852).⁵⁶

Rather than following the gendered binary of male seller and female buyer at play in contemporaneous English sources, historian Jennifer Jones's study of gender, selling, and consumption in late eighteenth-century France shows that, in earlier decades, the seller was usually a sexualized lower-class woman and the buyer an upper-class man. As well as an increase in volume and variety of goods and shopping spaces in late eighteenth-century Paris, it was the gender of those who did shopping that changed. Women continued to be sellers, but

⁵³ See Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751–81," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter, Consumption and Culture in the 17th and 18th Centuries (London: Routledge, 1993), 274–278.

⁵⁴ James B. Collins, "Women and the Birth of Modern Consumer Capitalism," in *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Daryl M. Hafter and Nina Kushner (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 153.

⁵⁵ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century*, 7–9; Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751–81," 280–281.

⁵⁶ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century*, 112–113; Craig, *Female Enterprise*, 3–4.

middle and upper-class women were emerging as a key group of shoppers.⁵⁷ That is to say, the gender and therefore the relationship between sellers and buyers, producers and consumers, was fundamentally changing, not because more women were becoming shopkeepers but because women customers were venturing into their shops *en masse*. This demographic change helps explain why anxieties around women's consumption grew in this period.

Jones looks at the *marchandes de mode* and their relationships with upper-class women and new modes of consumption. Elite *marchandes* like Rose Bertin (who was dressmaker to Marie Antoinette) were women from lower-class backgrounds who gained power through the ways in which they dictated fashion and thus how middle- and upper-class women spent their money. Contemporary sources depict these merchants and their shop assistants (*grisettes*) as seductive, corrupting, and ultimately economically ruinous for both male and female customers. Anxiety about *marchandes* and *grisettes* sprang from fears about a useful and virtuous activity (sewing) turned to potentially anarchic ends because women were deemed psychologically and biologically unfit to wield power of such national importance.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the power they exerted was perceived to invert class dynamics. Jones also notes that the excessiveness of women's consumption was a key point in contemporary commentaries, like that found in Nicolas Desessarts *Dictionnaire universel de police* (1785–87).⁵⁹ To this I would add that women's consumption of fashionable items was cast as excessive in part, too, because it appeared to be for their own and other women's pleasure, rather than for the male gaze, and thus non-reproductive in its purpose.⁶⁰ It also created a closed loop of economic activity between women, again rendering male participation superfluous, thus threatening the established order.

This feminocentric context for consumption described by Jones has been referred to historian Wendy Gamber as the “female economy,” where production, sale, and consumption of (often luxury) goods takes place between women.⁶¹ Visual depictions of and written

⁵⁷ Jennifer Jones, “Coquettes and Grisettes: Women Buying and Selling in Ancien Régime Paris,” in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, ed. Victoria de Grazia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 32–34.

⁵⁸ Jones, 26–29, 37, 42, 45.

⁵⁹ Jones, 26.

⁶⁰ See Leora Auslander's discussion of gender and criticisms of nineteenth-century dandyism due to its non-reproductive orientation. Leora Auslander, “The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France,” in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, ed. Victoria de Grazia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 90–92.

⁶¹ Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860–1930*, Women in American History, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 4–7. Other scholars explore retail interactions between women

commentaries on marchandes and their customers are some of the only sources on commercial interactions *between* women and perceptions of those interactions (see Figure 3.10 for an etching of one such scene). These interactions can therefore serve as a model for understanding potential exchanges between the Marcoux sisters and their customers and provide insight into how they may have been viewed as women producers of musical commodities.



Figure 3.10, Jean Duplessi-Bertaux, *La marchande de modes* (ca. 1800–18), Musée Carnavalet, Paris, G.24742. Public domain.

in this period but do not use the phrase “female economy.” Business historian Alice C. Kay explores how London women retailers exploited the language of respectability and separate spheres to appeal to women customers, while Claire Crowston considers similar interactions in between seamstresses, *marchandes de modes*, and their women clients in *ancien régime* France. Alice C. Kay, “Retailing, Respectability and the Independent Woman in Nineteenth-Century London,” in *Women, Business and Finance in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Rethinking Separate Spheres*, ed. Robert Beachy, Béatrice Craig, and Alastair Owens (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 153–155, 163–164; Alison C. Kay, *The Foundations of Female Entrepreneurship: Enterprise, Home, and Household in London, c. 1800–1870*, vol. 17 (New York: Routledge, 2009); Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791*, 11–12, 23–25, 67–73.



Figure 3.11, Signature of Alexandrine L. Truffant (at top left) on the title page of Bochsa’s *Fantaisie pour la harpe ou le Piano*, dated 1826, International Harp Archive, Brigham Young University, M 116 .M52 1820 vol.2. Public domain.

Women were the largest group of consumers of musical products like pianos and sheet music during this period, and we can assume that the same was true for Mlles Erard’s products. We know the names of a few owners of Mlles Erard scores because they inscribed them on individual pieces or bound collections that still survive in archives today. For example, one Alexandrine Louise Jaron née Truffaut compiled, dated, and wrote her name on bound volumes of harp music in the late 1820s that included Mlles Erard publications, namely Bochsa’s *Fantaisie pour la harpe ou le Piano sur la Romance des Petits Oiseaux* (inscribed “1826 / Alexandrine L. Truffant”) and his *Dix Études* for the Erard double-action harp (see Figure 3.11, above).⁶² Other Mlles Erard pieces survive in the collection of the Comtesse de Saint Didier,

⁶² The two volumes also include other works for harp by Bochsa, Théodore Labarre (1805–1870), Aline Bertrand (1798–1835), and Xavier Désargus (ca. 1768–1832). Nicolas-Charles Bochsa and Xavier Désargus, *Dix études, composées pour la harpe à double mouvement de Sebastien Erard [bound collection of 5 pieces]* (Paris: Mlles Erard; Mme Duhan et Cie; V. Dufaut & Dubois; Chez Mme. Ve. Leduc, ca. 1820–29). <https://archive.org/details/dixtudescompos01boch/page/n1/mode/2up>; Théodore Labarre, Aline Bertrand, and Nicolas-Charles Bochsa, *Fantaisie et variations pour la harpe: sur la Barcarolle de Marie, musique d’Herold: op. 26 [bound collection of 9 pieces]* (Paris: J. Meissonnier; E. Troupenas; Frère; Schlesinger; Richault; Bochsa Père;

who owned works by Spontini and Boieldieu.⁶³ Further hints about Mlles Erard's customer base lie in the surviving records of Erard Frères. Adelson has analyzed that company's correspondence and concluded that 87 women (more than 22 percent) were either correspondents regarding harp or piano sales or the intended recipients of those instruments.⁶⁴

The Erard Frères ledgers furthermore show women were well represented as customers and go-betweens. Royalty and members of the aristocracy like Joséphine Bonaparte, Juliette Récamier, and Constance-Marie de Théis feature, as do members of the music industry like Mme Naderman (alongside many now unknown women).⁶⁵ Numerous women also acted as agents for others in instrument deals, meaning that they received payment for facilitating a transaction with another a customer. Women acting in this capacity included the Mlles Erard composers (Mme) Camille Delaval, Pauline Duchambge, and Jeanne-Marguerite Bresson; other women such as singer and composer Sophie Gail and one Mlle Dalpy (also D'Alpy) were particularly prolific in this regard.⁶⁶ So many women appear in the ledgers, in fact, that this topic warrants its own research project. The preliminary conclusion we can draw here, however, is that women were active contributors to the musical economy of nineteenth-century Paris and exerted financial agency, including over sizeable purchases.⁶⁷ Mlles Erard presumably shared or catered to a

Mlles Erard; V. Dufaut & Dubois, ca. 1824–29).

<https://archive.org/details/fantaisieetvaria02laba/page/n1/mode/2up>.

⁶³ See “Inventory: French Vocal Music Collection, ca. 1780–1862 (Mus. Arc. 52),” (University at Buffalo Music Library), <https://library.buffalo.edu/music/collections/detail.html?ID=112>. 13, 20. Male music-lovers of course also owned Mlles Erard pieces, for example works by Cramer, Kalkbrenner, Steibelt, and others are preserved in the music collection of the D'Arenberg à Enghien family dating from the time of Prince Paul d'Arenberg (1788–1844), see Marie Cornaz, “Le fonds musical des archives de la famille d'Arenberg à Enghien,” *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 49 (1995): 136–137, 166, 171, 173, 181, 182, 199; Marie Cornaz, “Inventaire complet du fonds musical des archives privées de la famille d'Arenberg a Enghien,” *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 58 (2004): 86.

⁶⁴ Adelson, “Erard's Letter Copy Book,” 12–14.

⁶⁵ On entries regarding the Bonaparte family, see Robin Blanton, “Perfection's Purchase: Erard Frère's Grand Pianos in Paris Society around 1800,” *Keyboard Perspectives: The Lure of Paris, 1795–1810* 13 (2022): 196–197. For entries regarding de Théis, Récamier, and Mme Naderman, see the following: 4 *nivôse*, an 12 (de Théis); 8 *nivôse*, an 12 (Récamier); 17 *nivôse*, an 13 (Mme Naderman), *Livre de ventes* (1802–06), E.2009.5.101, Fonds Érard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 114, 115, 190.

⁶⁶ Delaval: 14 *brumaire*, an 13; Duchambge: 19 *floréal*, an 13; Bresson: 10 *thermidor*, an 13; Gail: 15 and 21 *thermidor*, an 13, and 30 *vendémiaire*, an 14; Dalpy: 9 and 30 *brumaire*, an 14. *Livre de ventes* (1802–06), E.2009.5.101, Fonds Érard-Pleyel-Gaveau: 177, 217, 234, 236, 237, 249, 250, 253.

⁶⁷ Michael Cole's discussion of English sources such as the Broadwood ledgers and the account books of tuner and music teacher Thomas Green (1742–90) suggest similar trends occurred across the Channel. Though Cole's argument that women contributed to the transition from harpsichord to piano is an intriguing one, the evidence as to how, why, or if women were key drivers of this shift remains unsubstantiated. See Michael Cole, “Transition from Harpsichord to Pianoforte: The Important Role of Women,” in *Geschichte und Bauweise des Tafelklaviers: 23. Musikinstrumentenbau-Symposium, Michaelstein, 11. bis 13. Oktober 2002*, ed. Boje Schmuhl and Monika Lustig (Augsburg, Blankenburg: Wissner; Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, 2006); Thomas Green and Gillian Sheldrick, *The*

similar group of customers to Erard Frères; after all, the businesses were housed in the same complex and sold complementary products. The relatively marginal cost of sheet music likely meant that the Mlles Erard shop had more customers on a day-to-day basis than Erard Frères and that women were more likely to spend money there on a regular basis. An expensive purchase like an instrument might require the permission of a husband or father, but a small purchase of 2 to 6 francs would be at her own discretion.⁶⁸

One contemporaneous source actively connected Mlles Erard products with women customers. A piece we might label as an advertorial appeared in the periodical *Le Miroir des spectacles, des lettres, des mœurs et des arts* in September 1801 promoting Mlles Erard's publication of the vocal duet "La Feuille" by Joseph Bernard Woets.⁶⁹ The article was probably written in an act of self-promotion by the song's lyricist, playwright and *Miroir*-contributor Antoine-Vincent Arnault, who is mentioned in the text as "our collaborator M. Arnault" (*notre collaborateur M. Arnault*).⁷⁰ The article imagines a piece with the attributes of *La Feuille* enlivening a flagging salon before telling the reader where it can be purchased:

A skilful hostess realizes that everyone is becoming serious, that the witty nonsense is wearing thin, that a cold silence is beginning to reign, even among the women, that everyone is thinking of ways to slip away unnoticed: she has a piano opened; a skilled artist sounds the keys, a pleasant singer presents herself, people sit down; it is then that it is important to unite the charm of graceful music with that of thoughts [i.e. words or poetry]. Not everyone is mad for music, but tender and piquant words attract all listeners, and when the romance is a pleasant poem, the success of the musician is almost always assured. M. Woets, an artist as distinguished a composer as he is a performer, has shown his wit and taste by setting to music a little piece of verse entitled

Accounts of Thomas Green: Music Teacher and Tuner of Musical Instruments, 1742–1790, vol. 8, Hertfordshire Record Publications, (Hertfordshire: Hertfordshire Record Society, 1992).

⁶⁸ The issue of a father not necessarily consenting before a piano was purchased—resulting in difficulty over who was to pay the bill—was raised in one letter from Erard Frères regarding a Mlle Migieu, see Adelson, "Erard's Letter Copy Book," 14–15. In her study of attitudes toward gender and consumption in late eighteenth-century Lancashire, Amanda Vickery discusses differences in spouses' spending habits: in her case study, she concludes that household "shopping was a form of employment and one which was most effectively administered by women" while husbands often "retained ultimate sanction over extraordinary purchases requiring the outlay of considerable capital," such as mahogany furniture for a new house, Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751–81," 280–281.

⁶⁹ Mlles Erard, "Musique," *Le Miroir des spectacles, des lettres, des mœurs et des arts*, no. 220 (September 21, 1821): 3; Joseph-Bernard Woets, *La Feuille! Fable de M. Arnault, mise en musique à deux voix avec accompagnement de piano* (Paris: Mlles Erard).

⁷⁰ Erard, "Musique," 3. Arnault's time at *Le Miroir* is addressed and the text of *La Feuille* quoted in Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, 2 ed. (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1852), 408–409.

La Feuille. This charming trifle unites all the characteristics of Anacreon's poetry, grace, philosophy, and brevity. It is by our collaborator M. Arnault. It can be found at Mlle Erard, rue du Mail, n. 13; it will soon be on the pianos of all the hostesses and sung in all the circles where good music and delicate poems are appreciated.⁷¹

The article describes a setting in which Mlle Erard's products circulate, all the while constructing women's roles in that world as consumers, as hostesses, as participants in polite culture, and as pianists and conversationalists. The *La Feuille* article also highlights that to "consume" music is not only about the moment of purchase, of seeing a score in the shop window and feeling compelled to buy it. It encompasses the time from when you first see a piece advertised in *Le Miroir* and carries through to skimming the scores' pages at home and playing it during practice and performance.⁷² The Marcoux sisters may or may not have contributed to the production of this article, but it remains an overt example of gender-targeted advertising relating to Mlles Erard. In its assumption that the reader will instantly recognize the image it conjures, the article frankly situates Mlles Erard (and thus its owners) in a context of semi-private music-making in which women are central.

The consumers of scores for Boieldieu's and Plantade's operas are harder to pin down. Opera scores served different functions to those for solo and small ensemble performance. Possessing these luxury publications was a particular mark of status: they were some of the most expensive in the Mlles Erard catalogues—*Beniowsky* and *Zoë* cost 36 and 24 francs respectively, while the other self-dedicated pieces ranged from 2.50 to 12 francs.⁷³ Printed scores might

⁷¹ My translation, "Une adroite maîtresse de maison s'aperçoit que le sérieux gagne tous les visages, que les riens spirituels sont épuisés, qu'un silence froid commence à régner, même entre les femmes, que chacun songe au moyen de s'esquiver sans être aperçu : elle fait ouvrir un piano ; un artiste habile en fait résonner les touches, une chanteuse agréable se présente, on se rassie ; c'est alors qu'il est important d'unir au charme d'une musique gracieuse celui des pensées. Tout le monde n'est pas fou de musique, des paroles tendres et piquantes attachent tous les auditeurs, et quand la romance est un poème agréable, le succès du musicien est presque toujours assuré. M. Woets, artiste aussi distingué comme compositeur que comme exécutant, a fait preuve d'esprit et de goût en mettant en musique une petite pièce de vers intitulée la Feuille. Cette charmante bagatelle unit tous les caractères des poésies d'Anacréon, la grâce, la philosophie et la brièveté. Elle est de notre collaborateur M. Arnault. La musique de M. Woets est légère et spirituelle comme le sujet. On la trouve chez Mlle Erard, rue du Mail, n. 13; elle sera bientôt sur les pianos de toutes les maîtresses de maison, et chantée dans tous les cercles où l'on apprécie la bonne musique et les poésies délicates." Erard, "Musique," 3.

⁷² For a more detailed exploration of music and consumption in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, see Emily H. Green and Catherine Mayes, introduction to *Consuming Music: Individuals, Institutions, Communities, 1730–1830*, ed. Emily H. Green and Catherine Mayes (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2017). On the expansion of the consumption process timeline, see Frank Trentmann, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3.

⁷³ Dizi's harp variations cost 2.50 francs; Crispin's romance sets were 4 francs each; Jadin's duet and Cramer's sonata were both 6 francs; Steibelt's fantasy was 7.50 francs; and Rigel's concerto was 12 francs (see Table 3.1).

theoretically be used to follow along during a performance, though librettos were more commonly employed for this purpose.⁷⁴ Outside of Paris and London, it was rare to produce full printed scores, and contemporary sources suggest they were associated with advanced musical skill and the burgeoning realm of music criticism.⁷⁵ Women were certainly part of French opera audiences and may have engaged with these prestigious material objects.⁷⁶ It remains the case, however, that most amateur musicians engaged with opera in print through arrangements, of which Mlles Erard published many.⁷⁷

If we step back to consider consumption of sheet music as a whole, interactions between women producers like Mlles Erard and their likely women consumers could be viewed as creating a localized female economy for printed music, a product that was already associated with femininity. If the bulk of Mlles Erard's customers can be assumed to have been women and the products they bought were associated with the feminine, there may have also been advantages for the Marcoux sisters (and the wider Erard-Marcoux family) in running a music publishing house as women.

5. Mlles Erard as prosumers

Though consumption can help us understand certain aspects of women as sheet music consumers, it is not sufficiently flexible to account for the varied and sophisticated ways in which the Marcoux sisters participated in musical life as publishers, musicians, and dedicatees. Instead of viewing consumption and production as distinct and discreet processes, cultural theorists like Ritzer and Jurgenson have proposed that prosumption better allows for the

⁷⁴ James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 17, 182.

⁷⁵ Thomas Christensen, "Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden (New York: Garland, 2000), 77–79, 83, 91n38.

⁷⁶ Maribel Casas, "Salles et publics," in *Histoire de l'opéra français: du Consulat aux débuts de la IIIe république*, ed. Hervé Lacombe (Paris: Fayard, 2020), 672–673; Jama Stilwell, "A New View of the Eighteenth-Century 'Abduction' Opera: Edification and Escape at the Parisian 'Théâtres de la foire'," *Music & Letters* 91, no. 1 (2010): 71. There is debate about the class composition of French opera audiences, but White summarises the Opéra-Comique overall as "a family-oriented, bourgeois theater," White, 75. See also Huebner, 206–207. On women as opera goers in a slightly earlier period, see Caryl Clark, "Reading and Listening: Viennese Frauenzimmer Journals and the Sociocultural Context of Mozartean Opera Buffa," *The Musical Quarterly* 87, no. 1 (2004); William Weber, "Did People Listen in the 18th Century?," *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): 685–687.

⁷⁷ On the culture of opera arrangements see Christensen, "Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera."

slipperiness of these categories.⁷⁸ Prosumption is broadly useful for understanding the actors and processes at work in a capitalist or proto-capitalist economy, but it is especially helpful for reconsidering what gender brings to bear on economic activity. Feminist historians like Leora Auslander have long highlighted pitfalls of the production/consumption binary regarding gender, women's activities, and their relationships with objects and their environment in the nineteenth century, while feminist scholars of contemporary culture have applied prosumption directly to their subjects.⁷⁹

I use prosumption and its cognate prosumer in a fairly literal sense as a means of understanding how the Marcoux sisters (and Nannette) as producers consumed their own goods. I see prosumption as part of the sisters' joint identity as Mlles Erard and I argue that the self-dedications hinge on the Marcoux sisters presenting themselves as "prosumers." Said another way, they conveyed their identities as prosumers in print on the very items they produced and sold. The combination of dedications, the name "Mlles Erard," and the publishing stamp "F/C Erard" presented on the self-dedicated title pages made tangible their work as women publishers and as participants in the musical world. In this sense, the self-dedicated pieces capture and deploy the sisters' labour as both musicians and publishers. Note too that a dedication indicates that the dedicatee is a figure deserving of respect. If other musicians in the Marcoux sisters' own circle and beyond bought and played pieces dedicated to these professional businesswomen (who worked openly in the public sphere), those exponential acts of musical performance further valorized the sisters' labour. (We might also note here that musicians are themselves prosumers because, when they consume a piece of music by playing it, they also produce something—musical sound).⁸⁰

To hark back to the central tenet of prosumption as a framework, prosumption imbues the acts of producing and consuming sheet music as an active process, acknowledging the agency of the women who participated in this economy and pushing back against the rigid, gendered binary

⁷⁸ George Ritzer and Nathan Jurgenson, "Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The Nature of Capitalism in the Age of the Digital 'prosumer'," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 10, no. 1 (2010). For Green's application of prosumption to music publishers, see Green, "Music's First Consumers," 22–24.

⁷⁹ Auslander was writing in the 1990s, well before Ritzer and Jurgenson's landmark article. Instead, she bases her critique of the production/consumption binary on the work of French cultural theorists Michel de Certeau and Jean Baudrillard. Auslander, 79, 105n103. For recent feminist uses of prosumption, see for example Lin Zhang, "Fashioning the Feminine Self in 'Prosumer Capitalism': Women's Work and the Transnational Reselling of Western Luxury Online," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 17, no. 2 (2017).

⁸⁰ See Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 63–64, 68–69.

which posits men as active musical producers and women as passive musical consumers. My view of the Marcoux sisters as prosumers underpins the discussion that follows; I now turn to the issue of dedicateeship itself. Who were most dedicatees in this period? How did gender interact with dedicateeship? What did this mean for the Marcoux sisters? And what might the self-dedications have communicated to customers?

6. Mlles Erard and/as women dedicatees

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the woman pianist or harpist was the archetypal dedicatee. She was an upper or upper-middle class woman, proficient or highly skilled at her instrument, sincerely interested in and engaged with musical culture, and keen to be publicly associated with music. In some instances, she might be a professional performer, but more commonly she would be an amateur musician. This is born out by actual dedication practices: women usually did make up most dedicatees, especially for piano and harp music. For example, seventy-nine percent of Clementi's dedicatees (or 33 out of 42) were women, and a similar percentage holds true for composers like Cramer.⁸¹ Of the 81 Mlles Erard pieces for which I was able to identify dedications—through catalogues, advertisements, or extant title pages—fifty-six were women (sixty-nine percent).

That a dedicatee was usually of higher social status than the dedicating composer is a consistent feature of music dedications because the act of dedication historically reflected or suggested a relationship of patronage between the parties. The function of dedications is to elevate the composer and the piece's importance through association. That so many dedicatees are women is significant because of elite and wealthy women's roles as tastemakers and of all women's roles as agents of sociability—consuming music was a sociable act that raised the status of the consumer.⁸² As Green succinctly puts it, dedications furthermore “reinforce hierarchy, promote their participants, augment public personae, and create the impression of influence.”⁸³ Such a “top-down aesthetic model” then has the effect of “amplifying the difference in status between dedicator and dedicatee [and] elevating the dedicatee.”⁸⁴

⁸¹ Erin Helyard, “Muzio Clementi, Difficult Music, and Cultural Ideology in Late Eighteenth-Century England” (Ph.D. diss., Schulich School of Music, McGill University, 2012), 269–273; Milligan and Graue, 19.

⁸² Whitney Walton, “‘To Triumph before Feminine Taste’: Bourgeois Women's Consumption and Hand Methods of Production in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *The Business History Review* 60, no. 4 (1986).

⁸³ Green, *Dedicating Music*, 4.

⁸⁴ Green, *Dedicating Music*, 79.

By standing as dedicatees, the Marcoux sisters could fashion themselves in the image of elite women dedicatees in their catalogue like Empress Joséphine and Hélène de Montgeroult (a *marquise* by marriage), thus elevating their own social standing and projecting an image as musical tastemakers.⁸⁵ They signaled a multivalent endorsement of the self-dedicated works, suggesting that they themselves were capable musicians who played and enjoyed these pieces for piano, harp, and voice in their leisure time or at social gatherings, while encouraging their customers to emulate their own patterns of musical consumption.⁸⁶ The self-dedicated pieces for solo and duet performance present the Marcoux sisters to their customers as fellow consumers of sheet music. Much like a dressmaker might wear her own creations during a fitting appointment with her customers, the title pages suggest to a customer in the rue du Mail shop that the sisters used their own products. We might imagine a shop assistant telling a customer, “My mistresses are excellent pianists, madame. Monsieur Steibelt wrote this piece for Madame Bonnemaïson and this one for Madame Delahante.” Or Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe themselves informing another: “Yes, mademoiselle, we often play this duet together—it brings us much joy.” The suggestions that the sisters played these works strengthens the endorsement already implicit in a dedication.

This brings us back to the dedicatory phrases and possible interpretations of their wording, namely the verb-preposition pair *composer à*. Four of the self-dedicated works employ

⁸⁵ Gaspard Spontini, *La Vestale, Tragedie Lyrique en Trois Actes de Mr Jouy mise en musique et dédiée à Sa Majesté l'Impératrice et Reine par Gaspard Spontini* (Paris: Mlles Erard, 1807). <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k12800530>; Johann Baptist Cramer, *Dulce et Utile, Recueil de six Morceaux Pour le Forte-Piano Composés et dédiés à Mme la Marquise de Montgeroult, par J. B. Cramer, Œuvre 55* (Paris: Mlles Erard, 1815). <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k97499275>.

⁸⁶ The two dedications to the sisters by Pleyel and Steibelt—which were not published by Mlles Erard—are thus more typical examples, from professional male musicians to amateur women musicians. The Pleyel dedication of *Duo pour la Harpe et Piano-Forte*, Op. 28, is itself an interesting case as it may reflect the Marcoux sisters’ networks before they began working as publishers. Like the Marcoux, Pleyel lived in Strasbourg in the 1790s: he was hired as Kapellmeister at Strasbourg cathedral in 1789 then moved to Paris in early 1795. There was also an established business connection between the Erards and Pleyel during this period: the Erard letter copybook shows that Pleyel acted as a middleman for Erard piano sales, was himself a customer, and sent music via the Erards. (See letters of December 12, 1792, to Mme Franck in Strasbourg and Mme Walbonne in Nancy regarding piano orders organized by Pleyel on their behalf, and a letter to M Senégré in Bordeaux dated March 21, 1797, regarding that customer’s subscription to a Pleyel music journal. Further Pleyel orders to Strasbourg are recorded in the copybook on April 27 and July 17 of 1793.) It is therefore possible that the Marcoux sisters may have had personal contact with Pleyel in the 1790s. Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe were young women of eighteen and sixteen in 1795 and they were not yet running the publishing company, so the *Duo* was not a dedication from one publisher to another. Instead, Pleyel’s dedication may have been a gesture from a fellow musician and Strasbourgian to two young instrumentalists within the same network. Perhaps it served as a kind of welcome present to mark the sisters’ entry into the Parisian music world. Benton and Halley, *Pleyel as Music Publisher*, 126–127; Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 1, 144n142, 144–146, 183–184, 166, 170.

the phrase “composé(e) et dédié(e) à [Mlles Erard] par [composer name]” while three use only “dédié(e) à [Mlles Erard] par [composer name]” (see Table 3.1; Crispin’s romances are not included here because the published dedicatory phrase is unknown). There are two potential readings for the addition of “composé(e),” which make it more or less significant. On the one hand, we might attach it to the composer’s name and translate it as “composed [...] by [composer name]”; in this case it would be a stock phrase without additional meaning. Alternatively, we might read it as “composed for and dedicated to [Mlles Erard] by [composer name],” which would seem to endow it with interpretive weight. That is, it suggests that the piece was specifically written for the sisters to play and implies a more personal bond between composer and dedicatee. It is perhaps significant but ultimately inconclusive that the two operas are among the pieces that are only “dedicated to” the sisters: fully-scored theatrical works could of course not be “composed for” performance by two people. Katelyn Clark has considered the issue of dedicated v. composed for works in her analysis of dedications to the pianist Theresa Jansen (married name Bartolozzi) by Clementi, Dussek, Haydn, and others. In Jansen’s case, the phrase “composed and dedicated to Mrs Bartolozzi” (Dussek’s Sonata in A major, Op. 43) sits alongside overt statements like “composed expressly for and dedicated to Mrs Bartolozzi” (Haydn’s Sonata in C major, Hob.XVI:50).⁸⁷ The latter example provides clarity unavailable for the Mlles Erard self-dedications, but it is also worth noting that such explicit “composed for” dedications are rare. My own view is that the use of “composé(e) et dédié(e) à” by Mlles Erard leaves the question open, providing room for or even encouraging the reader to exercise their own interpretation about the relationship between composer and dedicatee, dedicatee and musical work.⁸⁸

Whichever way readers may have perceived the ambiguous wording of the dedications, gestures towards the Marcoux sisters’ own performance of the self-dedicated works likely went beyond implication. I have already demonstrated that the sisters were publicly known as pianists, harpists, and singers, and the musical activities of Cousin Pierre bolster the suggestion that

⁸⁷ Clark, 1–4, 22.

⁸⁸ The Marcoux sisters’ dedicatory names also changed over time. After their marriages in 1802 and 1807, the sisters used their married names—Bonnemaison and Delahante—on the self-dedicated title pages. This means that the first three pieces from 1800 and 1801 (*Beniowsky*, *Zoë*, and Jadin’s piano and harp duet) are dedicated to Mlles Erard, while the remaining five works from 1808 to 1817 are to “Mme Bonnemaison” and “Mme Delahante.” Using their married names in dedications arguably separates the mercantile identity of Mlles Erard from the individual people that were Marie-Françoise Bonnemaison and Catherine-Barbe Delahante, thus presenting the two women as dedicatees in the more traditional sense.

Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe consciously used their musical talents in service of the Erard-Marcoux family enterprises. Pierre took harp lessons with Jean-Aimé Vernier (1769–1840) and, as Adelson, writes, “[did] not hesitate to play in public to promote his uncle’s harps.”⁸⁹ In June 1815 he wrote the following to Sébastien about the progress of his musical studies, compositional efforts, and his intentions to perform (original emphasis):

I am now in the process of having some exercises published for the double-action harp in order to refute Dizi. In them I use enharmonic tunings and unisons, because you must know my dear uncle, that I compose. I am going to practice the harp 4 hours a day this summer in order to play the unisons in public next season if necessary. P. [Philippe] and C. [Charles] Meyer strongly encourage me to do it. I would not do it without your approval. I will just keep myself ready, so that if you need me I will be at your command. I hope you will allow me, my dear uncle, to dedicate my preludes to you because I composed them thinking of you.⁹⁰

Pierre makes clear to his uncle that a primary purpose of his own harp training and performance is to demonstrate the technical attributes of Erard instruments, and that his compositions (and proposed dedication of the exercises to Sébastien) serve the same function—Adelson shows that Pierre made good on his promotional goals. Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe had many years of musical training on their cousin (they were already accomplished by 1802), and performance was part of their expected roles as middle-class women. We might wonder if Pierre was replicating a practice that had already been used to promising effect by his elder cousins.

Marie-Françoise’s role as a salonnière is another important piece of the puzzle. Moscheles placed her in illustrious company when he mentioned her alongside aristocrats like de Montgeroult and Louise de Montmorency-Logny, the Princess de Vaudémont (1763–1833).⁹¹ De Vaudémont presided over a politically and culturally significant salon that often included musical performance, while de Montgeroult was a well-respected pianist and composer who held

⁸⁹ Letter from Pierre in London to Sébastien in Paris, November 8, 1814, in Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 561–562, 562n561.

⁹⁰ Letter from Pierre in London to Sébastien in Paris, June 1, 1814. The Meyers were a family of harpists from Strasbourg. Adelson et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, 2, 550n552, 603.

⁹¹ Regarding the two other hosts mentioned by Moscheles, he dedicated his *Fantaisie et variations sur ‘Au clair de la lune’*, Op. 50, to M. Mesny’s daughter; to date I have not found reliable information about the identity of “Princess Ouwaroff.” Moscheles, *Life of Moscheles*, 1, 40; Mark Kroll, *Ignaz Moscheles and the Changing World of Musical Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 27.

her own musical salons and participated in those organized by others.⁹² Other music-oriented salonnières in the Erard-Marcoux orbit included Aglaée-Louise Ney née Auguié (172–1854) and Eugénie Moreau née Hulot (1781–1821).⁹³ Beyond the logistics of inviting guests, hiring professional musicians, and hosting the gathering itself, Cypess views the music salonnière’s role as an expansive one. Cypess writes that, “More than simply setting the agenda for her salon gatherings, hostesses of musical salons would often play or sing with their guests and with the professional musicians in their circle; engage in spoken, conversational musical criticism; and provide the aesthetic stimulus for the salon by expressing their tastes and aesthetic values through patronage, the collecting of scores and instruments, and the coordination of the musical event.”⁹⁴ The importance of women in shaping salon culture writ large and musical life in particular has been researched extensively, and though their influence was reconfigured after the Revolution, historian Steven Kale has shown that upper-class women continued to exert power in and through these venues well into the nineteenth century.⁹⁵ Music dedications to Marie-Françoise thus help to situate her publicly as an insider—even an arbiter—of Parisian music salon culture: they cement her social role by communicating it to the wider world.

It is here that the sisters’ prosumer identities coalesce: the expertise derived from their status as professional publishers combines with their expertise as performers and—for Marie-Françoise—as a salonnière. They possess musical knowledge as industry insiders and as amateur women musicians with good taste; this endows works published, dedicated to, and played by them with a seal of personalized, expert approval. As I have demonstrated, there is significant overlap in the skill sets and knowledge of music publishers, middle-class women, and amateur musicians, and the sisters probably became publishers in part because of their musical

⁹² Steven D. Kale, *French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 20, 66, 133; Jolanta T. Pekacz, “Deconstructing a ‘National Composer’: Chopin and Polish Exiles in Paris, 1831–49,” *19th-Century Music* 24, no. 2 (2000): 166; José Ramón Bertomeu-Sánchez, “Classrooms, Salons, Academies, and Courts: Mateu Orfila (1787–1853) and Nineteenth-Century French Toxicology,” *Ambix* 61, no. 2 (2014): 168–169; Jérôme Dorival, “Hélène de Montgeroult (1764–1836): inventer le patrimoine musical, découvrir l’avenir de la musique,” *Cahiers du GADGES* (2015): 161–162; Rose.

⁹³ Blanton, “Perfection’s Purchase,” 196–198.

⁹⁴ Cypess, 25.

⁹⁵ See Cypess; Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges, *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019); Jennifer Ronyak, *Intimacy, Performance, and the Lied in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 77–104; Landes; Dena Goodman, “Enlightenment Salons: The Convergence of Female and Philosophic Ambitions,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, no. 3 (1989); Steven D. Kale, “Women, Salons, and the State in the Aftermath of the French Revolution,” *Journal of Women’s History* 13, no. 4 (2002): 54–55.

backgrounds. These realms of expertise thus inform one another—prosumption neatly captures that elision. Through the self-dedicated pieces and their links to the Marcoux sisters own musical activities, they furthermore frame themselves as models of feminine musical consumption to which their customers can aspire.

At this juncture it is worth asking what benefits a customer might derive from buying and playing one of the Mlles Erard self-dedicated pieces. Green sees emulation—the desire to copy the practices of social superiors—as a key driver for consumers’ actions in relation to music dedications.⁹⁶ Though she acknowledges we have little evidence to work with, she demonstrates that at least some musical figures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries believed emulation to be a motivation for their customers when purchasing dedicated works.⁹⁷ In contrast, social historian Amanda Vickery has critiqued the erstwhile dominance of social emulation as a theory for understanding women’s relationships with the material goods they bought, owned, and used.⁹⁸ In her study of the diaries, letters, and household accounts of Lancashire gentlewoman Elizabeth Shackleton, Vickery has identified numerous motivations expressed by Elizabeth, her family, and friends for acquiring and relating to the objects in their lives. These motivations include but are not limited to the exercise of power (controlling servants’ access to sugar and coffee), building and maintaining social bonds (through gifting and by wearing “best” clothes when entertaining or visiting), and memorializing relationships (by keeping the hair of a dead loved one).⁹⁹ In addition to Vickery’s work, musicological research by scholars like Glenda Goodman and James Davies has shown us that women and girls used musical scores (and the music-making they engendered) to fulfil a wide range of purposes, including as tools of identity formation and sociability.¹⁰⁰ In her study of American women’s handmade music books, Goodman perceives a mix of motivations at work: she argues that when “viewed as a type of

⁹⁶ Green, *Dedicating Music*, 103–104.

⁹⁷ Green quotes two primary sources in support of her argument: a letter from composer Friedrich Kuhlau to his publisher Peters about dedicating a piece to a fellow friend and musician, claiming that it would help the work sell, and a review of Andreas Romberg’s 1802 quartets in the *AmZ*, which presented its dedication to Haydn as an endorsement of its quality. Green, *Dedicating Music*, 76, 104, 106.

⁹⁸ In particular, Vickery critiques the lack of attention given to real women’s own beliefs about their possessions and the pathologizing themes regarding women’s consumption that she perceives in the work of Thornstein Veblen, Neil McKenrick, and their followers. Vickery, “Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751–81,” 274–278.

⁹⁹ Vickery, “Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751–81,” 283–287.

¹⁰⁰ See especially Goodman’s Chapter 3, “Consumerism and the Materiality of Music Books,” Goodman, 104–135; James Davies, “Julia’s Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c. 1830,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006); Head, *Sovereign Feminine*.

consumer behavior, amateurs' music collecting habits prove to be as much about signaling social position and stylish self-fashioning as they were about the enjoyment of music itself."¹⁰¹ For his part, Davies looks at a later, more "commercialized" iteration of the music book, focusing on a music annual titled *The Musical Bijou*, 1829, owned by eleven-year-old Julia Oakley. He unpacks the histories and myriad potential meanings and functions attached to the music annuals and proposes they were "obvious accessories" to both gender constitution (Solie's "girling at the piano") and feminine sociability centred on the piano.¹⁰² He also reflects on the shift from handmade to printed musical albums as an example of "dilution of choice," whereby a consumer buys their musical memories ready-made; however, he also notes that albums still carried the potential to support personal meaning- and identity-making.¹⁰³

My view of the Milles Erard self-dedicated pieces lies somewhere in the middle of these positions on gender and music in relation to consumption and emulation: I see emulation through sheet music not as significant in and of itself but as a means for the customer to constitute and experiment with their own identity. For some customers, of course, dedications may in fact have been irrelevant—they were primarily interested in the musical content of a score and the pleasure it would bring them. For others, the dedication's importance might fade over time as the musician came to know the piece and be more interested in "the music itself." But for those who were drawn to the dedication, purchasing and playing such a piece gave the customer the opportunity to try on the Marcoux sisters' good taste, expertise, and social standing. For customers of higher social standing than the sisters, consuming their self-dedicated pieces would not be concerned with class aspiration, but they might still appropriate the role of musical expert through ownership and performance. The sisters' gender is significant here: women customers might more readily follow a model established by other women than by that presented by male teachers or virtuosi. The Marcoux sisters and their customers were thus two sides of the same coin: women who produced and consumed music as means of self-fashioning. If customers were drawn to these pieces for the above reasons, self-dedication had the potential to act as a form of marketing more potent than standard types of dedication.

¹⁰¹ Goodman, 105.

¹⁰² Davies, 297.

¹⁰³ Davies, 292–296.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how Mlles Erard used newspaper advertising to consciously craft public identities for themselves and their business. This served as a precedent for my argument that Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe used the eight self-dedicated pieces and their title pages as tools of self-fashioning. I have explored the title page design, language, genre, and instrumentation of the self-dedicated pieces by Boieldieu, Plantade, Jadin, Dizi, Steibelt, Crispin, Rigel, and Cramer. I have identified ties between these works and the sisters' own musical performance and traced the professional and personal relationships between Mlles Erard and these composers that stand out as distinct in their length and depth. The musical content of the eight pieces also ties the works to their early nineteenth-century Parisian and London contexts: the chamber works neatly reflect the range of genres and technical-musical difficulty available to amateur women musicians, while the operas were representative of the most popular Parisian entertainment of the day. I have considered the role of music publishers in early nineteenth-century France and their position in the dedicatory process, providing examples of self-dedication regarding other publishers like Pleyel. I then turned to Mlles Erard's relationship with their customers and contextualised their predominantly women customers by looking at another industry dominated by women as sellers and buyers, elite dressmaking (the world of the *marchandes de mode*). Lastly, my approach has deepened our understanding of the Marcoux sisters' place in their own industry and their relation to their customers through considering gender and dedicateeship, arguing that the sisters framed themselves as prosumers—people who consumed the very products they made and advertised this fact through the self-dedicated pieces.

Women and musical actors alike used paratexts like title page dedications to craft identity in the public sphere. Through self-dedicated works published by their business, over which they could exercise considerable agency, the Marcoux sisters presented themselves as both music publishers and women dedicatees with power and influence. The historically typical design of their title pages and their assertion of copyright ownership present the business and its proprietors as much like any other music publisher of the time. In contrast, their mercantile name Mlles Erard and its use as a stamp and sometimes as a dedicatory name emphasized their sisterly relationship, collaboration, and collective identity, as well as their connection to their maternal family and Erard Frères. When on the title page of Jadin's *Duo* (see Figure 3.6) a single "Mlles Erard" denotes both publisher and dedicatee, these roles are pointedly elided (collapsed into the

figure of the prosumer) and the economic potential of musical labour normally denied to women dedicatees is publicly displayed. By linking dedicateeship to amateur musical performance, the sisters thus benefited financially from a gendered form of work that usually went unpaid. Presenting themselves as dedicatees was a legible, prestigious way for the Marcoux sisters to justify and lend authority to their role as music publishers at a time when women's participation in public life was vigorously debated. Tapping into existing associations of the woman dedicatee as elite tastemaker also enabled the sisters to capture their private identities as amateur women musicians and repurpose this labour to sell their own products, employing their prosumer positions as marketing tools.

The self-dedicated title pages highlight what might at first appear to be a tension within the Marcoux sisters' identities as working women. On the one hand, claiming the role of woman dedicatee implies a social status that, by definition, repudiates paid, "productive" labour and replaces it with the "non-productive" labour of domestic musical performance: the Marcoux sisters could access forms of social advancement that distanced them publicly from their daily work as music publishers. Paradoxically, it is that very work that allowed them to enter the position of dedicatee and which, unusually, enabled them to profit socially and financially from the use of their names. Yet, as I have shown by placing the Marcoux sisters and their work as Mlles Erard within their historical context, it becomes apparent that for the sisters, their family, their composers, business associates, and many others in their society, to be professional music publishers was not inherently at odds with performing middle-class womanhood. The self-dedications—like the concept of maker-player identity that I develop in Chapter Four on Nannette and her pianos—demonstrate a reconciliation between gender and profession and convey a broad conception of what constitutes musical labour. The double profit of self-dedication highlights the promotional nature of this strategy and display the women behind Mlles Erard working shrewdly to fashion a favourable public image for themselves in nineteenth-century Paris.

Chapter Four

Nannette Streicher-Stein as Piano Maker, Player, and Composer

Pianos were not only significant to Nannette's economic survival and her familial and professional relationships: her very identity as a piano maker was bound up with her skills as a piano player. In this chapter I focus on the link between Nannette as piano maker and Nannette as pianist found in primary sources and consider Nannette and her activities through her position as a "maker-player." I have chosen the term maker-player because Nannette was deeply involved in both making and playing pianos from childhood—these activities being intertwined for her. The moniker maker-player encourages us to think about how the tasks of making and playing pianos overlap and interact; in other words, how Nannette (and others like her) engaged in "prosumption," producing and consuming their own creations.

Nannette's prosumer identity as a maker-player became an important part of her public persona as a woman piano maker. Nannette, Andreas, and their associates felt compelled to craft her image and justify her presence in the field in print, both during her life and posthumously, and they did so by invoking her piano skills and through gendered discourse. Self-fashioning is very much part of Nannette's story, but it was also a highly collaborative and less transparent effort than for the Marcoux sisters, as most of the public and private written records we have about her were by her husband or by their business associates. Andreas was the main writer of both promotional material and correspondence for the Streicher-Stein company from around 1800 onward; he brought his own perspectives as a player, teacher, and later a piano maker to his writing about his wife and her pianos, and it is impossible to untangle them from Nannette's own.¹ Because of his prominence in primary sources, Andreas has received significantly more attention from scholars.² Yet the fact that he penned many of the promotional descriptions of Nannette does not necessarily mean that he controlled how she was presented nor that she did not contribute to these efforts. We do not know how they negotiated her presence in these texts

¹ See Donhauser and Langer, 97, 99.

² See the introduction and Chapter Two for further discussion of these historiographical issues.

behind the scenes, but I believe we can see Andreas's authorship ca. 1800 as an outgrowth of the division of labour Nannette and Andreas employed across the piano-making firm and their private lives at that time, with Andreas as primarily active in administration and management, and with Nannette as workshop head. Andreas's authorship may also have lent male authority and permission to the publications from a reader's perspective—Nannette's obituary shows that this issue was very much on their minds.³

While Nannette's own work as a piano maker is often obscured and we presently have little direct evidence from her hand about her views of the instruments she made, accounts of her as a pianist are abundant. She was well-known as a pianist in Augsburg in the 1770s and 80s—her performances were often recounted in the German press—and she quickly built a reputation for herself in Vienna through performance and by invoking her famous father.⁴ Existing evidence, however—accounts of her as a pianist, a piano treatise/manual by her husband, and last but not least her own published piano compositions—allow us to amply gauge her identity and agency as a piano maker.⁵ These sources, furthermore, provide insight into her as a maker by indicating her tendencies and tastes as a pianist and maker and showing how contemporaries perceived her interaction and connection with her own and her father's instruments. My goal is thus to shift the focus back onto the owner, public face, and master craftsperson of the firm—Nannette herself—by using Andreas's and other writings as sources about her views. I therefore

³ See Chapter Two, Streicher, 376.

⁴ During Nannette's and Matthäus's trip to Vienna 1793 in preparation for moving the business there, Nannette recounted performing in private concerts for the likes of Haydn and the Bohemian composer Leopold Anton Kozeluch (also Koželuh or Kotzeluch, 1747–1818), who were well aware of her father. She also described introducing Andreas's compositions at these performances in a conscious effort to build his reputation as a musician who was, at that time, unknown in the capital. Nannette's letter to Andreas about this reads, "Everyone wants to hear nothing from me but your sonata, only yesterday a private academy was held in which I had to play it again; there was a musician there who, when he looked at its title, said to me, this really is a new master, it is a beautiful work, there is taste in it, Heiten [Haydn] and Kozeluch said the same" (*iederman [jederman] will nichts von mir hören als Deine Sonate, erst gestern wurde eine Privat academie gegeben worin ich sie wieder spielen mußte; war ein Musicus da der als er den Titel davon ansah mir sagte, das ist ia [ja] ganz ein neuer Meister, das ist eine schöne Arbeit, da ist geschmak darinn, Heiten u. Kozeluch sagten das nehmliche*). My translation. Nannette in Vienna to Andreas in Munich, October 9, 1793, Streicher-Archive, NA_089, quoted in Goebel-Streicher et al., 72–74. The framing of Nannette and Andreas's entries in Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch* also indicate that Andreas was a new figure while Nannette—or at least her company and family name—was a known quantity in 1796. Andreas's entry begins, "Vienna has made a new and certainly very valuable acquisition with the arrival of this very skillful man. He has only recently moved here from Munich," while Nannette's piano entry opens "[Andreas's] wife, a daughter of the famous instrument maker Stein from Augsburg." Talbot, 314.

⁵ There may be further information in the Streicher family archive.

frequently foreground Nannette's name, rather than Andreas's, not to obscure his contributions to their collaborative partnership but to remind the reader of my goal to centre Nannette.⁶

In addition to analyzing accounts of Nannette as a pianist in relation to gender and presumption (represented by the idea of her as a maker-player), I provide a select reading of the instrument care manual and piano-playing treatise written by Andreas to accompany Streicher-Stein instruments, entitled *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano* (henceforth referred to as *Kurze Bemerkungen*), first published in Vienna in 1801.⁷ This forty-page text—variously called a pamphlet, booklet, or essay in the secondary literature—has been an invaluable source for organologists, fortepiano makers, and historical keyboard players alike. It has been discussed by a wide range of scholars as an insight into the instruments and piano technique favoured by Beethoven and the musical circles around him at this time and has been compared with keyboard treatises such as Friedrich Starke's *Wiener Fortepiano-Schule* (vol. 1, 1819) and with keyboard maintenance manuals like Joseph Büttner and Ernst Nachersberg's *Stimmbuch, oder vielmehr: Anweisung wie jeder Liebhaber sein Clavierinstrument, sey es übrigens ein Saiten- oder ein Pfeifenwerk, selbst repariren und also auch stimmen könne* (1801).⁸ My approach to *Kurze Bemerkungen* differs from existing

⁶ There may be further unpublished material in the Streicher Archive by Nannette herself that could reveal new information about her perspectives on pianos, performance, her relationships etc., but that I was unable to access for this project.

⁷ De Silva, 11–12. All subsequent references to *Kurze Bemerkungen* are to De Silva's translation and edition. I give page numbers of the English translation only (the original German is printed opposite in her text).

⁸ On Andreas and his pamphlet in relation to Beethoven, see Skowronek, *Beethoven the Pianist*, 71–83. See also Skowronek's lengthier discussion of the pamphlet in the context of the firm's history and Andreas's contributions to piano making in Skowronek, "Andreas Streicher and Piano Building," 57–66. Elsewhere, Skowronek and other organologists like Stewart Pollens consider *Kurze Bemerkungen* and Büttner and Nachersberg's *Stimmbuch* along with several manuals, including Karl Lemme, *Anweisung und Regeln zu einer zweckmässigen Behandlung englischer und deutscher Pianoforte's und Klaviere nebst einem Verzeichnisse der bei dem Verfasser verfertigten Sorten von Pianoforte's und Klavieren* (Braunschweig: Carl Reichenow, 1802); Franz Gall, *Clavier-Stimmbuch oder Deutliche Anweisung wie jeder Musikfreund sein Clavier-flügel, Forte-piano und Flügel-fortepiano selbst stimmen, repariren, und bestmöglichst gut erhalten könne. Nebst einer Nachricht von einigen neuerfundenen musikalischen Instrumenten des herrn Joseph Wachtl* (Vienna: Carl Kupffer, 1805); and Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Thon, *Über Klavierinstrumente, deren Ankauf, Behandlung und Stimmung: Ein nothwendiges Handbuch für jeden Besitzer dieser Art Metallsaiteninstrumente* (Sonderhausen: Bernhard Friedrich Voigt, 1817); see Skowronek, "Support Personnel."; Stewart Pollens, *A History of Stringed Keyboard Instruments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 419–445. Coming from the perspective of historically-informed performance practice, fortepianist Christina Kobb has explored *Kurze Bemerkungen* in the context of nineteenth-century Viennese piano technique alongside treatises including Starke's, Hummel's *Vollständige Theoretisch-Praktische Anweisung* (Vienna: Haslinger, 1828), and Czerny's *Briefe über den Unterricht auf dem Pianoforte vom Anfange bis zur Ausbildung* (Vienna: Diabelli, 1839). Kobb notes the many consistencies regarding posture and basic movements between early texts like *Kurze Bemerkungen* and Viennese treatises of the 1820s and 30s: see Christina Kobb, "Viennese Piano Technique of the 1820s and Implications for Today's Pianists," *Music & Practice* 4 (2019), <https://doi.org/DOI:10.32063/0403>. From his side, Tom Beghin compares *Kurze Bemerkungen* with Louis Adam's *Méthode de piano* (1804–05) to

scholarly approaches in that I focus on how the text relates to Nannette as a piano maker and issues of gender, rather than emphasizing what it tells us about early nineteenth-century pianos and piano technique. I view it as one among several texts (including Griesinger's profile) that helped shape a public persona for Nannette, not only by expressing her and Andreas's ideas about her pianos around 1800, but by also contributing to their attempts to invent what it meant to be a woman piano maker in early nineteenth-century Vienna.

In section one of this chapter, I establish Nannette's position as a maker-player by providing an overview of the instruments and relevant technologies that she played and made over her lifetime: I look at evidence of her role as a pianist with particular attention to what sources can tell us about her training, style, and what contemporaries valued in her playing. I follow this with a more in-depth exploration of sources that bring together making and playing in Nannette's life and work. Section two then focuses on *Kurze Bemerkungen*, using the booklet as a means of further understanding a maker-player concept in Nannette's work around 1801. I compare iterations of its title page (quite different to those found on the Mlles Erard self-dedicated scores), consider a promotional note located in the text, and explore how Andreas and Nannette's ideas about piano technology and playing technique interact in the booklet's chapters. In section three, finally, I look at how many of the previous threads regarding Nannette as a maker-player coalesce in the post-1805 period through one of her few published compositions, *Deux Marches pour le Piano-Forte* (1817).

1. Keyboards, performance, and the maker-player

1.1. Nannette's keyboards

Nannette played and manufactured a range of keyboard instruments over her lifetime. As a child she performed on her father's 1777 *vis-à-vis* keyboard (extant today and known as the "Verona" Stein, a combination instrument with a piano at one end and a harpsichord at the other), when they visited Vienna that same year. As a young woman in the 1780s she was heard on the *Saitenharmonika*, a piano with an extra set of plucked strings, and she played on various iterations of the piano throughout her youth.⁹ This means that Nannette had intimate knowledge

demonstrate differences between Viennese and French pianism and their relationship to those two forms of technology: see Beghin, *Beethoven's French Piano*, 54–62, 70–71.

⁹ Friedrich Nicolai heard her perform on a Stein piano in 1781. Latcham, "Mozart and the Pianos of Johann Andreas Stein," 123–125; Donhauser and Langer, 23; Blanton, "Johann Andreas Stein's 1781 Claviorganum," 13, 319.

of Stein's instruments from all three of the design phases identified for Stein by Latcham.¹⁰ Among other distinctions, these involve different types of stringing, hammers, and action (the means by which the hammers are set in motion when a key is depressed). The Verona *vis-à-vis* uses a *Zugmechanik* or “pulling” action, bare solid-wood hammers, double-stringing, and belongs to Phase I (ca. 1777). The early pianos used a *Prellzungenmechanik* or what Latcham conceptualizes as a “flipping” action with escapement, hollow, leather-covered hammers, triple-stringing, and these belong to Phase II (ca. 1780–83); and the pianos from 1783 onwards use the *prell* action combined with heavier, solid-wood hammer heads with leather covering, and double stringing—these developments constituting the third phase. Stein instruments also included another historically significant piano innovation: a knee lever mechanism to raise the dampers. This damper mechanism controls small wooden blocks covered in leather that touch the strings and prevent a note from resonating soon after it has been released. Only from the 1770s onward did the default piano sound become one with dampers engaged.¹¹ Replacing hand stops, the damper knee lever was thus designed to raise or disengage the dampers and to allow the strings to ring freely: the foot-operated sustaining pedal is a descendant of Stein's damper knee lever.

It was the model from the third and last phase, with knee levers, that Nannette manufactured when she assumed leadership of the Augsburg workshop during her father's illness in the early 1790s and that she continued to make and play with few alterations until 1805 (see Figure 4.1, below).¹² Latcham thus characterizes the pianos of the first periods of her tenure (under Geschwister Stein and the first three years of Nannette Streicher née Stein) as conservative and adjacent to a “harpsichord with hammers” in terms of design.¹³ In addition to the *prell* action and other features mentioned above, her early pianos had a compass of five octaves (from F₁ to F₆). They were characterized by their highly responsive touch.¹⁴

¹⁰ Latcham, “Mozart and the Pianos of Johann Andreas Stein,” 134, 136, 137–141, 141–143.

¹¹ Latcham, “Mozart and the Pianos of Johann Andreas Stein,” 127–129. Andreas describes this action in *Kurze Bemerkungen*, De Silva, 43.

¹² Latcham, “Mozart and the Pianos of Johann Andreas Stein,” 116, 122; Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 241n229.

¹³ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 251, 297.

¹⁴ These pianos are consistently described as “light” in the secondary literature, which should be read with the historical caveat that this means “lighter than most harpsichords” but “heavier than many clavichords.”



Figure 4.1, J. A. Stein *Hammerflügel* (1784), Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart, GG 4185. Creative Commons.

In a significant distinction from the instruments of other Viennese makers at this time—in particular Anton Walter—her piano actions from this period did not include hammer back checks.¹⁵ A back check catches the hammer once it has struck the strings and prevents it from rebounding; it therefore enables a pianist to play more forcefully, thus louder, and at greater velocity.¹⁶ Schönfeld makes a comparison between Streicher-Stein and Walter instruments in the first of two entries on Nannette in his 1796 *Jahrbuch*. He responds to the sonic and haptic differences produced in part by this distinction: “[Nannette’s] instruments do not have the power of Walter’s but they cannot be equalled for the balance of their sound, their purity, airiness, grace and gentleness. The sound is not offensive but melting. The touch requires a light hand, elastic finger pressure and a feeling heart.”¹⁷ He describes the Walter instrument and player as speedy and producing a “bell-like” tone that becomes “like iron,” presumably as the hammer leather

¹⁵ Latcham, “The Check in Some Early Pianos,” 35.

¹⁶ Latcham, “The Check in Some Early Pianos,” 37–38.

¹⁷ Translation by Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 241–243.

wears through more quickly.¹⁸ The model of piano Nannette made without back checks during this period accords closely with the preferences expressed in *Kurze Bemerkungen*.

Nannette implemented a few small technical changes to her pianos between 1800 and 1804, such as expanding the range half an octave up to C₇, strengthening the internal structure of the case, and using thicker strings (the latter two of which can contribute to a louder sound).¹⁹ But it was in 1805 that a wholesale overhaul in design took place—Nannette and Andreas finally gave in to external pressures from distributors, agents, and customers to substantially alter the design of their pianos. For example, letters from Andreas to Härtel of Breitkopf & Härtel shift from resistance to resigned acceptance about new features such as stops beyond the sustaining option.²⁰

There is debate about the extent of Beethoven's impact on these changes: tracing the circumstances and motivations of such historical technological shifts is a highly complex matter.²¹ But it seems that the Streicher-Stein company now sought to align their design with new standards for volume and tone set by French and English instruments (made by the likes of Erard and Broadwood) due to pressure from Breitkopf und Härtel in particular. Between 1805 and 1807, Streicher-Stein pianos began to include the following features: four foot-operated pedals (*una corda*, bassoon, moderator, and sustaining); hammer back checks; larger, more padded hammerheads; and triple stringing in all but the lowest octave. Adjustments to strengthen

¹⁸ The differences between Walter and Streicher-Stein pianos, and the connections between piano technology and playing style, have been explored at length by Latcham, Skowroneck, and Beghin, among others. Skowroneck suggests that the likelihood of hammers rebounding in a well-maintained checkless Streicher-Stein instrument has been somewhat exaggerated. Latcham, "The Check in Some Early Pianos," 37–38; Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 241–246; Skowroneck, *Beethoven the Pianist*, 77–79. For a demonstration of these distinctions in action, see Tom Beghin, "Beethoven's *Pathétique* Sonata, Opus 13 and the Back-Check," YouTube video, 09:13, June 5, 2015, <https://youtu.be/-GCW1bZc2kU>.

¹⁹ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 267–268.

²⁰ In a letter to Härtel dated December 18, 1802, Andreas calls bassoon stops "mere child's play" (*eine bloße Kinderspielerei*); another from May 21, 1804, reads "If in the future you want a moderator or bassoon stop in the instruments you may say so. I am tired of trying to improve taste and it does not cost me much effort to make a lute stop." Two years later in March 1806 Andreas wrote that "the construction of the keyboard [of French and English pianos] is so opposed to the build of the hand that I can hardly think of anything more inappropriate; the whole action is as little durable as it is fitting for a true performance [...]. I have sought to unite this sound with the action of which we are accustomed, and if I may trust the opinions of the best piano players and devotees here, I have succeeded in tolerably." Translations by Latcham, Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 274–275.

²¹ See Skowroneck, "Beethoven's Erard Piano," 526–530; Skowroneck, "Beethoven and the Orchestral Piano."; Skowroneck, *Beethoven the Pianist*, 93–99; Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 259; Michael Latcham, "Notes on the History of the Viennese Piano, 1800 to 1830," in *Chopin et son temps: Actes des Rencontres Internationales harmoniques, Lausanne 2010/Chopin and His Time: Proceedings of the harmoniques International Congress, Lausanne 2010*, ed. Vanja Hug and Thomas Steiner, Publications de la Société Suisse de Musicologie, Série II (Bern: Peter Lang, 2016), 208–211; Beghin, *Beethoven's French Piano*, 23–24.

the case supported these various force-increasing alterations.²² This suite of changes—based on ones already implemented by other Viennese, English, and French makers—resulted in increased volume and a full and “malleable” tone, as Beethoven called it.²³ In Latcham’s view “the innovations made in the years 1805 to 1807 must have made Streicher’s instruments the largest and most powerful in Vienna, perhaps in Europe”; the firm, he further suggests, had now “overtaken” its competitors.²⁴

The company undertook further but far less drastic changes up to 1819, focusing on strengthening case design and “refining” elements including rounder or (experimenting in a different direction) narrower hammerheads. In 1820, there was then renewed interest in increasing volume, this time effected by increasing string gauge.²⁵ Three years later—when Nannette and Andreas’ son Johann Baptist was officially admitted to the firm’s leadership, he took out his patent for a down-striking action—followed in 1831 by what came to be called the *Patent* action (where “the hammers are mounted on a separate hammer rail but with the hammers facing the player”) that the workshop manufactured concurrently with existing Streicher-Stein models.²⁶ As recounted in Chapter Two, by this time Nannette had partially retired from her lifelong profession of piano maker, and it would be her son’s responsibility to carry the company and its famous pianos through the 1840s and beyond.

1.2. Nannette as pianist

As illustrated in the Introduction’s literature review on pianos and women, pianos and many of their keyboard counterparts have long been connected to both femininity and women players.²⁷ Pianos and certain piano repertoires, like other forms of music making, have also been perceived

²² Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 270–281.

²³ See Chapter Three, “Malleability of Tone” in Beghin, *Beethoven’s French Piano*, 49–71; Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 274, 292.

²⁴ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 280.

²⁵ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 288–294.

²⁶ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 232n237.

²⁷ For the history of gender and keyboards in Western culture, see (among many others) Chapters Four, Six, and Seven of Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*; Head, “‘If the Pretty Little Hand Won’t Stretch’: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany.”; Rita Steblin, “The Gender Stereotyping of Musical Instruments in the Western Tradition,” *Canadian University Music Review* 16, no. 1 (1995); Lucy Green, *Music, Gender, Education* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 59–61; Solie, 85–117; Morgan, “The Accompanied Sonata and the Domestic Novel in Britain at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century,” 88–89, 91.

to possesses the ability to construct gender and shape or inculcate gender into the body.²⁸ So when Nannette learned to play the piano and did so in private and public contexts (particularly as a young and, later, as a married woman), she was thrust into the gendered discourses that already circulated around the instrument. Playing the piano was a means through which Nannette could thus enact her gender for herself and for others, and writing about this became a useful tool when representing her to the public after the split from her brother in 1802. The content of the 1802 profile and announcement published by the Streicher-Stein couple about Nannette and her company suggests that they saw her gender as something that needed to be explained and managed.²⁹ Piano playing, much like her connection to her father, provided Nannette with a justification for working as a piano maker; it gave the musical public a legible link between her gender and her occupation. This context as essential for understanding her work as pianist and her public persona as a maker-player.

Nannette was widely known and praised as a pianist from the time she was a child and there are around nineteen individual accounts of her piano performances from the 1770s to the 1820s; most of these mention where and what she played but do not make note of her playing style. Additionally, many more brief comments are contained in her *Stammbuch* of 1787–93.³⁰ In this section, I focus on six accounts that provide the most detailed commentary on how she played: her father in his notebook in 1776; Mozart in a letter to his father the next year; Nicolai in his *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781* (published in 1787); Reichardt in accounts and letters from 1789; Schönfeld in the 1796 *Jahrbuch*; and Andreas in Nannette’s obituary in 1833.³¹ I explore several themes that emerge from these accounts regarding her as a pianist such as dynamics, expression and sensibility, praise and

²⁸ See Solie; Morgan, “Pertinacious Industry: The Keyboard Etude and the Female Amateur in England, 1804–20.” A classic text on gender, music, and the body is Cusick, “On Musical Performances of Gender and Sex.”

²⁹ The announcement declared that Nannette “will in future be responsible for making keyboard instruments under her own name” (as opposed to under Geschwister Stein). It was published in the *AmZ* on December 29, 1802, and signed by Andreas as a *Tonkünstler* (musician), though a letter from Griesinger to Härtel on December 8 suggests that Griesinger wrote it on the couple’s behalf. Translation by De Silva, Andreas Streicher, “Appendix II: Announcement by Andreas Streicher in the *AmZ*,” in *The Fortepiano Writings of Streicher, Dieudonné, and the Schiedmayers: Two Manuals and a Notebook*, ed. and trans. Preethi De Silva (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 96; Griesinger.

³⁰ A reproduction of the original *Stammbuch*’s text, along with editorial commentary and biographies of all those who signed the album, can be found in Goebel-Streicher, *Das Stammbuch der Nannette Stein*.

³¹ As noted in Chapter Two, there are presently gaps in our knowledge of Nannette’s life after 1803 and especially during the 1820s. Likewise, most accounts of her as a pianist come from the 1780s and 90s; I have identified only five accounts of her playing between 1809 and her death in 1833 (compared to twelve regarding the last two decades of the eighteenth century, which does not include those found in the *Stammbuch*).

criticism of her technique, as well as connections made between features of her playing and her gender.

1.2.1. Dynamics

Several accounts of Nannette's playing as a child and as a young woman focus on her finesse regarding dynamic variety and flexibility, and this is closely bound up with the features of Stein's inventions and her own instruments. Writing for the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* in 1793 about a visit he had made to the Stein family in 1789, Reichardt notes that Stein had "made his 17- or 18-year-old daughter a very original and beautiful Crescendo fortepiano, which she plays masterfully. The Crescendo emits sounds from the slightest breath to a thunderstorm, all of which she controls with her knees. She has a complete orchestra under her two hands."³² From Reichardt's explanation, Robin Blanton concludes that Nannette was likely playing the *Saitenharmonika*, an instrument which she describes as a triple-strung keyboard that had "the appearance and action of a grand piano, but it also incorporated an extra choir of strings that were probably plucked, not struck, by a register of jacks with plectra made from an unidentified, elastic material."³³ Blanton writes that dynamic range, especially in relation to "extreme decrescendo," particularly attracted contemporary witnesses like Reichardt in their responses to Nannette's performances on the instrument.³⁴ Latham sees dynamic range as a central element in both eighteenth-century definitions of expressivity on keyboard instruments and in Stein's experiments in search of a highly expressive keyboard.³⁵ Regarding pianos and other striking instruments, Stein's invention of knee levers to raise the dampers (noted by Reichardt) and the *prell* action (which became standard in German and Austrian pianos) also form part of this expressive picture.³⁶ Nannette's ideas and techniques for achieving dynamic range, both as a pianist and piano maker, were developed on these very instruments made by her father. Blanton and emphasize this symbiotic relationship between Nannette's playing and her father's

³² Quoted in Kopitz, 2.

³³ Blanton, "Johann Andreas Stein's 1781 Claviorganum," 13–14, 40, 40n94.

³⁴ Blanton, "Johann Andreas Stein's 1781 Claviorganum," 40–41.

³⁵ Michael Latham, "Swirling from One Level of the Affects to Another: The Expressive Clavier in Mozart's Time," *Early Music* 30, no. 4 (2002): 502–503.

³⁶ Latham, "The Expressive Clavier in Mozart's Time," 506, 510.

instruments (including and beyond dynamics) and the importance accorded to this relationship in contemporaneous commentary.³⁷

Accounts highlighting dynamic range regarding Nannette's performance on pianos also survive from the 1790s onwards. A few years after the Reichardt article, Schönfeld described her playing as a pianist (*Fortepianospielerinn*) in the second of his two entries about her in the *Jahrbuch*. This one followed a profile of her husband:

Streicher, Madame, [Andreas Streicher's] wife, a daughter of the famous instrument maker Stein from Augsburg. She is a very skillful amateur pianist, who is so perfect in her power over this instrument that all the feelings of her heart are at her disposal.

Under her fingers sounds grow and melt and lose themselves until they are inaudible.

Anyone who wants to get to know the qualities of a good piano must listen to her.³⁸

Schönfeld's depiction of sounds growing and melting away to nothingness echo Reichardt's account regarding the *Saitenharmonika* but situate this skill specifically at the piano.

Complimenting his wife's playing retrospectively in 1833, Andreas noted "the imperceptible blending of the shadings" in her playing, referring to the smooth swelling and tapering off of sound.³⁹ From these sources we can conclude that Nannette's dynamic nuance and control were striking to her contemporaries and that they connected it both with her own skill and the (at first) novel capabilities of her father's inventions. Schönfeld's and Andreas's accounts show too that this feature of Nannette's playing continued well beyond the lifespan of the *Saitenharmonika* and marked her performance on her own, later models of piano. It appears that her early experience of dynamically varied keyboards continued to influence her artistic outlook as a maker-player in later life.

1.2.2. Technique: Criticism and praise

Nannette's technique most prominently—and negatively—received attention in Mozart's account from 1777, when she was eight years old. In it he notes her heavy hand, slow fingers, use of too much arm (as opposed to finger) movement, and her trouble keeping time. Overall, he

³⁷ Blanton refers to the *Saitenharmonika*, writing that positive reception of the instrument found in Boßler's *Musikalische Real-Zeitung* in 1789 "was not due to the sound of the instrument alone, but depended very much upon Nannette Stein's manner of playing. It was 'extremely elevated' by the 'skill and taste of her performance' or 'Vortrag'; that is, by the by the particular ways that she was able to, and chose to, manipulate the sound of the instrument." Blanton, "Johann Andreas Stein's 1781 Claviorganum," 304.

³⁸ Talbot, 314.

³⁹ My translation, "in dem Verhauchen der Töne," Streicher, "Nekrolog," 377.

sees her style as mannered and heavy in comparison to his own. I quote this long description in full because it provides detailed information about Nannette's playing, but also reveals Mozart's motivations for describing her in such critical terms:

Recently, at Stein's, he brought me a sonata by Becché [Beecke] – I believe I have already written about that. *À propos*, regarding his little girl, whoever can see and hear her playing and does not have to laugh must, like her father, be made of Stein [stone]. The sitting position is right up opposite the top notes, by no means in the middle, and thus one has more opportunity to move around and make grimaces. Her eyes roll. There are grins. When something comes twice, it is played more slowly the 2nd time. If it comes the third time, more slowly again. The arm has to be lifted right up when a run is played, and when the run is articulated, this has to be done by the arm, not the fingers, and that with truly great efforts, heavily and clumsily. But the nicest thing is that when a finger cross-over is necessary during a passage which should flow like oil, there is no need to pay too much attention to that: rather, when the time comes, miss something out, raise the hand, and begin completely anew once again as convenient: that way one has higher hopes of hitting a wrong note, and this often creates a curious effect. I am writing this only so as to give Papa some idea about playing and teaching the clavier, so that Papa can profit from this at the appropriate time. Herr Stein is completely infatuated with his daughter. She is 8 and a half years old, she still learns everything by memory only. She could become something, she has genius, but this way nothing will become of her because she applies all her efforts to making the hand heavy. She will never acquire the most necessary and most difficult and the most central thing in music, namely the tempo, because, from her young days on, she has applied all her efforts to not playing in time. Herr Stein and I have spoken about this point for certainly 2 hours, but I have now pretty much converted him. He now asks my advice on everything. He was completely infatuated with Becché. Now he sees and hears that I play more than Becché; that I make no grimaces, and yet play so expressively that so far no-one, on his own admission, has known how to handle his piano forte so well. The fact that I always remain accurately in tempo causes amazement to them all.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Maria Anna Mozart, "Wolfgang Amadé Mozart an Leopold Mozart in Salzburg, Augsburg, 23. bis 25. Oktober 1777, mit Nachschrift von Maria Anna Mozart (BD 355)," trans. William Buchanan, *Mozart Letters and Documents – Online Edition* (Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg), <https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=919&cat=&l=1&l=2>.

Skowronek has pointed out that Mozart was not a neutral witness to this performance: he had political motivations for denigrating the pianistic and pedagogical style of Nannette's teacher, Franz Ignace von Beecke (also Beeke, Becke, 1733–1803), to Stein and other members of Augsburg's musical community.⁴¹ His account tells us that Nannette employed her teacher's idiosyncratic style of marked facial expressions and lifting the whole hand rather than employing finger changes, but it is also an example of Mozart using a description of her as a means of making a case for himself and his own "flow like oil" style of performance.⁴² It is also worth remembering that Nannette was a young child at the time. Reiterating Mozart's ulterior motives for this story, noting Nannette's age at the time, and presenting the many positive accounts of her playing throughout her 57-odd years as a public and semi-public pianist helps reframe this account, which cannot be taken at face value.

Mozart's early criticism of Nannette is indeed counterbalanced by praise from other quarters. As he observed, Stein took great pride in his daughter: the forgivably biased father wrote in 1776 that "My little girl, at the age of seven, played a keyboard concerto last Thursday in the *Herren Geschlechter Stube* and the following Wednesday at the merchants' concert—it was public; she did the introduction of her *Rondeaux* with great sensibility [*Empfindung*] and a kind of enthusiasm so that the majority of the company cried: 'Aha, that is Stein's daughter.'"⁴³ Reichardt also recalled Stein urging him to hear Nannette play the *Saitenharmonika* and "the old artist" exclaiming in response "with doubly happy awareness" that "This you must hear from my daughter herself: she knows how to handle it!" The instrument, Reichardt continued, "was [well]

⁴¹ My thanks to Tilman Skowronek for his analysis of the historical context surrounding this account. See our joint presentation, Tilman Skowronek and Hester Bell Jordan, "A Woman in the Workshop and the Concert Hall: Conflicting Tales of Nannette Streicher" (paper presented at the Diversity and Belonging: Unsung Keyboard Stories Conference, University of Michigan School of Music, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, January 29, 2022).

⁴² Despite Mozart's statement about converting Stein to his own style of playing, it is not clear whether Stein subsequently made any changes to his daughter's piano education (for example, by changing teachers). For further discussion of Beecke's style of playing and criticism of it (including regarding this passage), and Stein's responses to both Beecke's and Mozart's playing see Blanton, "Johann Andreas Stein's 1781 Claviorganum," 227–233. Mozart's comment that certain passages should "flow like oil" is oft-quoted in the secondary literature, for example Eva Badura-Skoda and Paul Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Mozart: The Performance of His Piano Pieces and Other Compositions*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2010), 369–370. On attitudes to legato articulation in this period and into the nineteenth century, see George Barth, "Mozart Performance in the 19th Century," *Early Music* 19, no. 4 (1991): 546; Clive Brown, "Dots and Strokes in Late 18th- and 19th-Century Music," *Early Music* 21, no. 4 (1993).

⁴³ Translation by Blanton, "Mein kleines Märgen [Nannette] von im 7ten Jahr hat letzten Donnerstag auf der H. Geschlechter stube und Mittwoch darauf auf der Kaufleuth Concert—es war publiquis—Clavier Concert gespielt; mit vieler Empfindung und einer arth Enthusiasmus machte sie die Einleitung ihrer Rondeaux, so daß die Mehrsten der Gesellschaft schrien: aha, das ist Steins Tochter." Blanton, "Johann Andreas Stein's 1781 Claviorganum," 230.

suited to the daughter, in whom I later met an excellent piano player.”⁴⁴ In these two descriptions, Nannette becomes an extension of her father: her pianistic skill or musicality is at least in part attributed to or received from her father. Stein’s pride, as Reichardt’s testimony conveys, is for both his “creations”: daughter and keyboard together express his life’s work.

Reichardt, Schönfeld, and other commentators provide a complimentary but more objective view of Nannette’s musical ability. On several occasions, she was compared favourably to her friend and well-known pianist Nanette von Schaden, another Beecke student.⁴⁵ For example, an article in the *Musikalische Real-Zeitung* that reported on a visit Nannette and her father made to Stuttgart in 1789 noted “the enchanting playing of Mlle. Stein, who, according to the judgement of the Kenner themselves, in the skill and taste of her performance [*Vortrag*] now competes for the advantage with the famous [Frau] von Schaden.”⁴⁶ In his reminiscences, Reichardt refers to Nannette as an “excellent piano player” who “plays masterfully.” This is echoed by Schönfeld, who calls her “a very skillful amateur pianist, who is so perfect in her power over this instrument.”⁴⁷ DeNora provides context for Schönfeld’s statements when she identifies the consistent language he uses to praise Viennese pianists throughout the *Jahrbuch*: namely, his “vocabulary centres around the values of skill, accuracy, dexterity, clarity, precision, and speed.”⁴⁸ (She also rightly notes that these descriptions resonate with the views expressed in *Kurze Bemerkungen*).

The most extensive account of and praise for Nannette’s playing comes from her obituary, in which Andreas describes his wife’s skill, dedication, and his perception of her approach to performance. Several of these threads invoke wider cultural conversations about gender:

For those who understand music not as a myriad of notes or difficulties that can be overcome by mere mechanical practice, but who want to be delighted, exalted, and moved by sounds, she was a piano player of the first rank. [...] With the greatest

⁴⁴ My translation, “Das müssen sie von meiner Tochter selbst hören, die weiß damit umzugehen! rief der alte Künstler mit doppelt frohem Bewußtsein. Es ward nach der Tochter geschickt, in der ich hernach eine vortreffliche Klavierspielerin kennenlernte.” Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe aus Paris geschrieben*, 1, 334.

⁴⁵ It should be noted that von Schaden received similar criticism to Streicher-Stein and Beecke about her pianistic style, see Whitelaw, 67.

⁴⁶ Blanton, “Johann Andreas Stein’s 1781 Claviorganum,” 303–304. Former Stein journeyman Johann David Schiedmeyer proudly copied this excerpt into his notebook, see De Silva, 564–565.

⁴⁷ Talbot, 314.

⁴⁸ DeNora, “Embodiment and Opportunity,” 190.

perseverance she overcame the new and strange idioms of these [musical] poets and was only satisfied when she had made them her own in such a way that they seemed to have sprung from her. The rarity of her beautiful playing consisted in calm, clarity, and accuracy, in the appropriate moderate expression, in the imperceptible blending of the shadings, in the whispering of the notes, which seemed to come from the most malleable of instruments rather than from the piano; in the interest that she knew how to give to her performance and which kept the listener always in suspense; in striving to never overstep the boundaries of truth, but only to attain the goal of the noble, of that which is pressing in heart and soul. No cursory haste, no deliberate hesitancy, no vanity of wanting to shine as a player disturbed the attentive listener; a complete surrender, the most precise adherence to the composition animated her performance and aroused enchantment, emotion or pleasure. Only such qualities could succeed in binding each large or small audience to herself so completely that they would already be drawn into her performance by the first measures and seek to form their own expression according to hers. The fact that these so rarely combined qualities necessarily succeeded in producing effects that were forever imprinted on the memory can only be explained by the exactness and naturalness of her sensibility. After years she was also rewarded by being hailed by a Clementi, a Haydn, a Beethoven because these great masters had received their best interpreter in her. [...] On the pianoforte, she applied—until the advanced age of 64 years—a diligence that nothing could tire, and thus proved to the younger generation how rich, how inexhaustible are the pleasures of an art that is more capable than any other of expressing and communicating feelings.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ My translation, “Für diejenigen, welche unter Musik nicht ein Unzahl von Noten oder Schwierigkeiten verstehen, die durch bloß mechanische Uebung überwunden werden können, sondern durch Töne ergötzt, erhoben, gerührt seyn wollen, war sie eine Klavierspielerin des ersten Ranges. [...] Mit grösster Beharrlichkeit überwand sie die neuen und fremdartigen Wendungen dieser Dichter und war erst dann befriedigt, wenn sie solche in der Art sich zu eigen gemacht hatte, dass sie aus ihr selbst entsprungen schienen. Das Seltene ihres schönen Spieles bestand in der Ruhe, Deutlichkeit, Genauigkeit, in dem richtigen, gemässigten Ausdrücke, in dem unmerklichen Verschmelzen der Schattirungen, in dem Verhauchen der Töne, die eher aus dem biegsamsten Instrumente, als aus dem Pianoforte zu kommen schienen; in dem Interesse, welches sie ihrem Vortrage zu geben wusste und wodurch der Zuhörer immer in Spannung erhalten wurde; in dem Streben, nie die Grenzen der Wahrheit zu überschreiten, sondern nur das Edle, in Herz und Gemüth Dringende sich zum Ziele zu setzen. Nicht flüchtige Eile, nicht absichtliches Zögern, nicht die Eitelkeit, als Spielerin glänzen zu wollen, störte den aufmerksamen Hörer; ein gänzlichliches Hingeben, das genaueste Anschliessen an die Tondichtung beseelte ihre Darstellung und erweckte Entzücken, Rührung oder Wohlgefallen. Nur solchen Eigenschaften konnte es gelingen, jede mehr oder minder zahlreiche Begleitung so ganz an sich zu fesseln, dass diese nach den ersten Tacten schon ihrem Vortrage sich anschloss und den Ausdruck nach dem ihrigen zu bilden suchte. Dass es diesen so selten vereinten Eigenschaften gelingen musste, Wirkungen hervorzubringen, die sich der Erinnerung für immer einprägten, lässt sich nur aus der Richtigkeit und der naturgemässen Art ihrer Empfindung erklären. Auch wurde sie von einem Clementi, Haydn, Beethoven nach Jahren noch mit Beyfall dafür belohnt, dass diese grossen Meister ihre beste Dolmetscherin an ihr erhalten hatten. [...] Auf das Pianoforte

First, Andreas highlights her skill level as “a piano player of the first rank” (*eine Klavierspielerin des ersten Ranges*) which he attributes to her expressive ability and not just her “mechanical” mastery. Second, he draws attention to her work ethic, namely her persistence in learning the new musical language of early Romanticism (“with the greatest perseverance she overcame the new and strange idioms of these [musical] poets”) and her continued dedication to music through piano playing up until her death (she exhibited “a diligence that nothing could tire”). Third, he invokes the idea of the performer as conduit for the composer’s work, to the point where she seems to embody their music and made it her own (“she had made them her own in such a way that they seemed to have sprung from her”); he later emphasizes her role as “translator” (*Dolmetscherin*) of Beethoven, Clementi, and Haydn. Framing Nannette as a figure through which others’ art could flow echoes how Clara Wieck-Schumann would be presented as a high priestess in relation to Robert Schumann, Brahms, and others in the 1850s; in Nannette’s case, though, these religious overtones are absent. April Prince has located this view of Wieck-Schumann in efforts “to regulate her sexuality and femininity in seemingly benign terms,” but one which also enabled the pianist to carefully craft her public image in a “masculine” arena through contemporary portraiture.⁵⁰

Another secularized element of the priestess trope appears when Andreas returns to Nannette’s playing style, where he traces a strong element of self-abnegation: “No cursory haste, no deliberate hesitancy, no vanity of wanting to shine as a player disturbed the attentive listener; a complete surrender.”⁵¹ He furthermore locates the beauty of her playing in “calm, clarity, accuracy, [and] in the appropriate, moderate expression,” thus emphasizing precision and restraint. Öhm-Kühnle has noted the similarities in terminology between Nannette’s obituary and *Kurze Bemerkungen* that he sees as idiosyncratic of Andreas’s writing and aesthetic preferences, namely references to “flexibility” or pliability” (*Biegsamkeit*) regarding tone and “moderated” (*gemässigt*) or “tempered” (*gemildert*) musical expression.⁵²

Such descriptions about Nannette’s playing sit alongside Andreas’s assertions about her excellence as a daughter, wife, and mother elsewhere in the obituary. When taken together, the

verwendete sie nun, bis in das hohe Alter von 64 Jahren, einen durch nichts zu ermüdenden Fleiss, und bewies dadurch der jüngern Welt, wie reich, wie unerschöpflich die Genüsse einer Kunst sind, die mehr als jede andere im Stande ist, Gefühle auszudrücken und mitzuteilen.” Streicher, “Nekrolog,” 377–379.

⁵⁰ Prince, 108–110.

⁵¹ Prince, 109, 120.

⁵² Öhm-Kühnle, 210.

themes of service, humility, restraint, precision, and diligence that appear in relation to her piano playing thus evoke the ideal Protestant woman expressed through musical performance. In tracing the emergence of the housewife as a dominant model of womanhood in early modern Germany, Heide Wunder argues that “a central place was assumed by the economic virtues of tidiness, diligence, and thrift, which were basic to the family’s material well-being” combined with “the virtues of obedience and humility, which the Christian church had been propagating for women since the Middle Ages.”⁵³ Not only Nannette’s commitment to typical gender roles but the way in which she performed them—including how she played piano—thus became a means by which Andreas could shape his wife in the mould of respectable middle-class womanhood, an image with which Wieck-Schumann would also contend.⁵⁴

1.2.3. Expression and sensibility

Nannette’s approach to expression and engagement with sensibility surface as other key themes in accounts of her playing. After hearing two vocal performances in Augsburg that he found displeasing, Nicolai responded to Nannette’s performance as follows:

My sentiment [*Empfindung*] was completely different when I heard the famous instrument builder [Herrn] Stein play a double concerto by Christian Bach of London in his house on his lovely Pianoforte with his twelve-year-old daughter Maria Anna. The child, especially, played with such fire, such precision, the passages so roundly, that we listened with pleasure and admiration.”⁵⁵

Blanton identifies the singing quality Nicolai perceived in Nannette and her father’s playing as the element that prompted the writer’s favourable reaction. For Nicolai and Stein, sensibility (*Empfindung*) itself, or the ability to induce it in others, was also paired with “fieriness” and “enthusiasm” in the young pianist’s performance. Though *Empfindsamkeit* culture and its poster child, C. P. E. Bach, are usually associated with the clavichord—Bach initially conveyed misgivings about the piano’s expressive abilities—Stein’s and Nicolai’s responses to Nannette’s

⁵³ Wunder, 82–83.

⁵⁴ See Prince’s discussion of the gendered script of passivity and subservience at play in a lithograph of Clara and Robert Schumann, ca. 1850. Prince, 124–126.

⁵⁵ “Ganz anders war meine Empfindung, als ich den berühmten Instrumentenmacher Hr. Stein in seinem Hause, auf seinem schönen Pianoforte mit seiner 12jährigen Tochter Maria Anna, ein Doppelkonzert von Christian Bach in Londen spielen hörte. Besonders die Kleine spielte mit solchem Feuer, mit solcher Genauigkeit, die Passagen so rund, daß wir es mit Vergnügen und Bewunderung anhörten.” Blanton, “Johann Andreas Stein’s 1781 Claviorganum,” 319, 319n367.

playing and their invocation of *Empfindung* suggest that, from their perspective, pianists and pianos were capable of sensibility.⁵⁶ Using Stein's own writings about his instruments, Blanton draws connections between the maker, his inventions (namely the *Claviorganum*, the *Melodika*, and the *Poly-Tono-Clavichordium*), *Empfindsamkeit* culture in Augsburg, and Bach's *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (1753/62).⁵⁷ In so doing, Blanton shows that sensibility was not only a general feature of the musical environment in which Nannette learned to become a maker-player, but a philosophical outlook with which her father actively engaged through his inventions and that was an important element of the context in which her performances were received.

Schönfeld and Andreas also comment on Nannette's ability to move listeners. For example, Schönfeld commented "that all the feelings of her heart are at her disposal."⁵⁸ DeNora connects this *empfindsam* attribute with gender: she points out that Schönfeld generally reserved mentions of "feeling" and "taste" for women pianists.⁵⁹ Andreas, meanwhile, claimed that features of Nannette's playing—including its calmness, precision, moderation, and dynamic variety—combined to form a lasting impression that could "only be explained by the exactness and naturalness of her sensibility."⁶⁰

Surveying this collection of accounts from 1776 through to 1833 makes clear that Nannette's playing, especially in the 1780s and 90s, was received positively by her listeners and that she was considered to play at a high level. Dynamics, expression, and sensibility emerge as

⁵⁶ Bach did acknowledge the admirable dynamic capabilities of the piano, in comparison to the harpsichord and organ, though he continued to favour the clavichord. Blanton, "Johann Andreas Stein's 1781 Claviorganum," 212–214, 220.

⁵⁷ Blanton, "Johann Andreas Stein's 1781 Claviorganum," 192–193. On *Empfindsamkeit* in late eighteenth-century Augsburg, including as it relates to Nannette's piano teacher Beecke, see 222–237.

⁵⁸ Translation by Talbot, "daß es dem ganzen Gefühl ihres Herzens zum Gebote stehen muß." Talbot, 314.

⁵⁹ For example, of Josepha Bösenhönig (Bessenig) née Auernhammer (1758–1820) he wrote, "she has indeed become a great pianist, has taste and feeling [*Geschmack und Gefühl*], and it is now up to her to make her art truly distinguished," and of Theresia Paradis (1759–1824) he commented that "what is most praiseworthy in the way she plays is the feeling [*Empfindung*], taste [*Geschmack*], nuance, clarity, and precision she shows. She is especially strong in the so-called pearly style (*giuoco granito*) in which all the notes in a run stand in the same relationship to each other in power, clarity, and tempo." It is perhaps significant that Auernhammer was a Mozart student and Paradis studies with Kozeluch; several other women pianists regarding whom Schönfeld mentions feeling and taste are cited as students of one or the other, including Countess Elisabeth Karoly née von Wallenstein, Baroness Anna von Saffran née von Hartenstein, and Fraulein von Seidschek. DeNora, "Embodiment and Opportunity," 190; Talbot, 294, 303, 309, 311, 313.

⁶⁰ My translation, "Dass es diesen so selten vereinten Eigenschaften gelingen musste, Wirkungen hervorzubringen, die sich der Erinnerung für immer einprägten, lässt sich nur aus der Richtigkeit und der naturgemässen Art ihrer Empfindung erklären." Streicher, "Nekrolog," 378.

key themes in reception of her playing, as well as subtler connections between her manner of playing and her gender.

1.3. Nannette as maker-player

Nannette's skills and reputation as a pianist were regularly invoked in descriptions of her as a piano maker, helping position her as a maker-player in the minds of the musical public. Her labour and image therefore blur the divide between production and consumption, making her an atypical but compelling example of a prosumer. Nannette *produced* by designing, overseeing, and physically crafting elements of her pianos; she *consumed* when she played one of her instruments. But players also produce when they create sound on an instrument while makers also consume when they buy and use raw materials and manufactured parts in the piano production process. Most importantly, production and consumption of pianos were directly connected activities for Nannette: she and her father viewed their own playing as a key step in completing an instrument and readying it for sale.

As gender was an integral part of piano discourse in this period, so it seems to have motivated Nannette's presentation as a maker-player: it became a tool for managing her public persona vis-à-vis gender. Like Mlles Erard, Nannette's status as a prosumer appears in promotional material about her and her company. It not only justified her work as a woman piano maker, but also claimed authority for her as someone who both made and played her own instruments: she was a double expert. Such justification in the form of piano playing appears not to have been essential for her male relatives or competitors and few male piano makers appear to have played the instrument, or at least discussed doing so publicly. Notable exceptions include Clementi and Ignaz Pleyel, both of whom began their musical careers as pianists before moving into piano making and music publishing.⁶¹ The other most prominent examples come from within Nannette's own family. A prime example on a different type of keyboard instrument was

⁶¹ Referring to an announcement placed in the Times on November 3, 1798, Rowland views Clementi as the public face of Longman, Clementi, & Co., in which his pianist reputation is a selling point: "Mr Clementi intends to devote a considerable portion of his time for superintending and directing the finishing of grand and small Piano Fortes, with additional keys, &c. they may, without hazard to their reputation, be reasonably allowed to assert, that from his known skill, experience, and judgment, their Instruments for richness, evenness and brilliancy of tone, and pleasantness of touch, will be equal, if not superior to any before offered to the Public." Clementi's precise involvement in piano manufacturing is difficult to pin down, but drawing on correspondence, Rowland notes that "he frequently referred to details of piano making and claimed in 1806 to have invented a new mechanism to produce 'a grand effect'." Rowland, 128–129.

her father, who played the organ he built at the Barfüßerkirche in Augsburg as their resident organist.⁶² And Andreas, like Clementi and Pleyel, began as a pianist before gradually contributing to administration and piano design within his wife's company. However, once he was established in Vienna as a musician and then as Nannette's partner in the family firm, references to his pianistic talents become less prominent.⁶³ As a man, his piano-making labour seems to have required rationalization for only a limited time, due to his inexperience, before it was accepted; for Nannette, reconciliation of her labour and gender was a project that continued even after her death.

How did Nannette's identity as a pianist interact with her identity as a piano maker in contemporaneous sources? In this section I focus on instances where making and playing are brought together by figures close to her like Andreas and Griesinger, and more distant witnesses like Schönfeld and the music teacher and writer Wilhelm Christian Müller (1752–1831). Having already addressed several of the relevant quotes in Chapter Two, I revisit them here with special focus on the maker-player concept.

Schönfeld implicitly links maker and player in the closing line of his entry on Nannette as a pianist, informing the reader that, "anyone who wants to get to know the qualities of a good piano must listen to her."⁶⁴ Schönfeld means that her performance instructs the listener on the capabilities of a worthy instrument, significantly not saying that the listener will learn about good piano playing, even though that can be inferred from his earlier compliments.

More explicit connections between making and playing can be found in Griesinger's 1802 profile of Nannette. As an advertisement for Nannette and her company in which she likely had direct involvement, this profile was an opportunity for her to fashion herself as a piano maker, a business owner, the new face of the company, and a woman for the *AmZ* readership. In the first few sentences of the article, Griesinger reflects on his personal connection with Nannette

⁶² That said, the work of displaying his pianos was mostly undertaken by Nannette. Goebel-Streicher et al., 10.

⁶³ Compare, for example, Griesinger's comments from 1802 and Reichardt's from 1809. In the profile of Nannette, Griesinger introduces Andreas as a musician, writing, "Nanette Stein will also in the future continue her own firm, Nanette Streicher, geborne Stein, beside her spouse, Herrn Streicher, whose musical reputation has long been established here." Reichardt, meanwhile, does not mention Andreas's status as a pianist and refers to him in the singular when describing technical changes to Streicher-Stein pianos ("Streicher has abandoned" and "he has given his instruments"). Griesinger, "Appendix IV: Georg August Griesinger's Article in the *AmZ*," 100; Latham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 281. Translations by Latham. For more on the foregrounding of Andreas in primary and secondary sources, see Chapter Two.

⁶⁴ Talbot, 314.

and his first-hand knowledge of her expertise as a pianist, and her transition to full-time piano making:

I was so happy to renew a very interesting acquaintanceship with Mad[am] Nanette Streicher née Stein. Previously, I had had the opportunity in Augsburg to admire her talent as a pianist, and it would have been very easy for her, through travel and had she so desired, to become widely known as a virtuoso. Now she mainly demonstrates her talent as a technical artist, in that she herself alone undertakes the more delicate work in the fortepianos made under her supervision, which actually gives the instrument its soul and substance.⁶⁵

Griesinger praises Nannette's pianistic skill as being of a professional level and he frames the fact that she is not a touring virtuoso as a matter of choice, of agency, on her part. The conjunction "now" (*jetzt*) then connects this experience in piano playing with her current occupation as a piano maker. This connection is underscored by his reference to her as a "technical artist" (*mechanische Künstlerin*), which casts both playing and making as art forms; her musical talent as something that may be expressed through both performance and making. And, significantly, Griesinger underscores Nannette's singular position of authority and practical expertise when he writes that "that she herself alone undertakes the more delicate work in the fortepianos made under her supervision." To canny readers, this could be seen as an assertion of Nannette's master-level status not only in the present iteration of the company, but also a reminder that she had been in charge of Geschwister Stein too.

Griesinger strengthens the association between making and playing a couple of sentences later by highlighting her personal participation in her father's inventing process:

Already from before her seventh birthday, she was introduced to all the secrets of her trade by her father, the late organ- and instrument maker Stein of Augsburg; she was witness to the many experiments (almost completely unknown to the public) through which Stein's work reached the high level of perfection, and she herself always had to

⁶⁵ Translation by De Silva, "Ich war so glücklich, eine sehr interessante Bekanntschaft mit Mad. Streicher, geborne Nanette Stein zu erneuern. Ehedem hatte ich schon in Augsburg Gelegenheit, sie als Klavierspielerin zu bewundern, und es wäre ihr, wenn sie nach dem Rufe eine Virtuosin gegeist hätte, sehr leicht gewesen, sich in dieser Eigenschaft durch Reisen einen ausgebreiteten Namen zu machen. Jetzt zeigt sie sich hauptsächlich als mechanische Künstlerin, indem sie bey den unter ihrer Aufsicht erbauten Fortepianos die feinere Arbeit, welche eigentlich dem Instrumente seinen Geist und Gehalt giebt, ganz allein selbst besorgt. Griesinger, "Appendix IV: Georg August Griesinger's Article in the *AmZ*," 100–101.

participate hands-on thereby, which, for the practicing artist, is of the utmost importance.⁶⁶

This description of Nannette's training affirms the special link between her and her father's instruments made by commentators on her youthful playing, like Reichardt and Nicolai. For readers in the know, this statement associates Nannette with specific Stein inventions, like the *prell* action and knee lever, or with his instruments, like the *Saitenharmonika* or vis-à-vis keyboards. Through Griesinger, Nannette asserts that the father-daughter bond was a deep one, based on thorough and technical knowledge of the craft gained from instruction, observation, and practice.

By opening the article with his memory of Nannette performing, Griesinger introduces her to the reader *as a pianist*: this situates her among the ranks of women pianists who graced the pages of the German musical press and positions her both within and against the vast discourse surrounding women and keyboards. Another effect of introducing Nannette as a pianist and of connecting playing with making is to reconcile her gender with her atypical profession. Readers understand what a woman pianist is—she is instantly recognizable—but a woman piano maker demands rationalisation. Yet if readers come to meet Nannette the maker through Nannette the player, if her ability to do both kinds of work shares an origin, then they can more easily bridge that conceptual gap. Through the stylistically casual yet calculated way Griesinger and Nannette introduce her through the maker-player image, they make a case not only for her as an individual piano maker but for working women at large: the profile subsequently frames her work in this profession as something to be emulated.⁶⁷ Nannette and her collaborators present her as a real person worthy of respect, a multi-talented musical worker, the face of her company, and an appropriately feminine woman—all in a compelling attempt to shape public narratives about her.

A comment contained in Müller's published letters affirms that figures more distant from Nannette also made connections between making and playing.⁶⁸ This time, Andreas's double skill set is also included. Writing in 1820, Müller noted that "[Andreas] is a clever and curious mechanic and friend of everything good, and [Nannette] is a lively brilliant artist and friend of

⁶⁶ Translation by De Silva, Griesinger, "Appendix IV: Georg August Griesinger's Article in the *AmZ*," 100.

⁶⁷ Griesinger writes: "Lately, it has often been discussed that the stronger sex has taken almost all the trades away from women. Madame Streicher demonstrates through her example that in the arts another wide and rarely used opportunity is open to the fairer sex." De Silva, 100–101.

⁶⁸ For a short biography of Müller see Clive, 242–243.

everything beautiful. They are both fortepiano players—and technical skill must of course have a great influence on the mechanics of the instruments.”⁶⁹ That Müller views the pianistic expertise of both wife and husband as impacting on their instruments is a new development in written reception of the couple. Müller also gestures at a gendered distinction in their labour by suggesting a science/art binary when he calls Andreas a “clever and curious mechanic” (*ein kluger forschender Mechanikus*) and Nannette a “a lively brilliant artist” (*eine lebendig geniale Künstlerin*). But unlike sources such as Reichardt’s 1809 account (regarding the new sound of Streicher-Stein pianos) that spotlight Andreas as the piano maker, Müller affirms the couple’s joint influence on their pianos and explicitly connects “technical [piano] skill” to “the mechanics of the instruments.”⁷⁰ Müller was a musician but not a fellow piano maker and what he means by this comment is unclear: is he suggesting that their playing experience influenced the design of the action? Regardless, he makes a link between pianistic experience and the piano’s “mechanics,” and the casual comment that “technical skill” would “of course have a great influence” conveys that contemporaries would have made this connection too.

A final example of Nannette as a maker-player comes from the 1833 obituary, where Andreas yet again provides us with a rich fragment of text, full of superlatives:

The lessons in singing and piano playing [by Nannette] continued as well with unceasing enthusiasm, and guided by the most precise knowledge of mechanics in eliciting the most beautiful sound from the instruments, her playing became increasingly accomplished. It attracted such favour, even compared to excellent musicians, that the father would only allow strangers to try one of his pianofortes if the daughter had first drawn from it what he or she had worked into it.⁷¹

Andreas suggests that Nannette’s understanding of the internal workings of a piano (the mechanism) “perfected” her ability to play the instrument and he draws a direct line from making to playing when he frames the act of playing a piano as the final step required from Nannette or her father to complete the making process.

⁶⁹ This quote comes from a letter written in Vienna and dated Oct 24, 1820; it is the third in this volume to mention the Streicher-Stein couple. My translation: “Er ist ein kluger forschender Mechanikus und Freund Guten, und sie eine lebendig geniale Künstlerin und Freundin alles Schönen. Sie sind beide Fortepianospieler -- und die technische Fertigkeit muß natürlich einen großen Einfluß auf die Mechanik der Instrumente haben.” Wilhelm Christian Müller, *Briefe an deutsche Freunde von einer Reise durch Italien, über Sachsen, Böhmen und Oestreich, 1820 und 1821 geschrieben und als Skizzen zum Gemälde unserer Zeit*, vol. 1 (Altona: J. F. Hammerich, 1824), 127.

⁷⁰ Latham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 281.

⁷¹ My translation, Streicher, “Nekrolog,” 374–375.

We recall from Chapter Two that Andreas identified tuning and “perfecting” instruments as tasks that Nannette learnt as a child. Latcham concludes that this would encompass the late-stage responsibility of regulating the action.⁷² This would also match Griesinger’s summary of Nannette’s role on the workshop floor. Though Griesinger’s use of “delicate work” might initially evoke gendered association (which may well have been his intention), this accords with the role of master craftspeople, who typically takes over from their assistants for the final stages of the building process.⁷³ Regulation is the complex process of adjusting the piano action itself, which controls how the player interfaces with the strings. It concerns at what speed a player’s fingers must depress the keys for a hammer to strike the strings, how responsive one wants the action to be, how deep or shallow the height of a key ideally is, and to establish evenness of touch across the keyboard.

This logically involves the piano maker testing the keyboard, as Mozart described Stein doing in 1777: “When he has finished making one of these claviers, he sits down to it and tries all kinds of passages, runs and jumps, and he shaves and works away until it can do anything.”⁷⁴ Andreas’s idea that Stein viewed Nannette playing a piano as an essential step that “drew out” what she or her father “had worked into” an instrument encapsulates the regulation process, but also suggests that there was something particular about her ability to “elicit the most beautiful sound from the instruments” that prepared them for customers. Perhaps her competency as a pianist enabled her to put the instruments through their paces in the way discerning customers might and thus allowed the Stein workshop (and later her own) to iron out “bugs” with greater accuracy than those who did not have in-house access to such an instrumentalist.

Nannette’s experience across all points in the making-playing process manifests also in *Kurze Bemerkungen*. This booklet was a means of disseminating how Nannette and Andreas believed her pianos should be played and treated. As one of the first published examples of its kind, it suggests that they were especially interested in remaining present in the on-going lives of Nannette’s instruments. Going to the time and expense of writing and publishing such a

⁷² Streicher, “Nekrolog,” 374; Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 231.

⁷³ This is in contrast to Nex’s findings in her study of women in instrument-making in London: she provides evidence that “lighter,” detailed tasks such as jack making and string silvering were taken on by women in the trade in part because women were perceived to be adept at such work, see Nex, “Women in the Musical Instrument Trade in London, 1750–1810,” 333, 346, 354–356. The process of the master undertaking the final tasks is also employed by modern piano makers like Chris Maene; my thanks to Tom Beghin for sharing this point in relation to his experience on working with Maene to build a range of replica pianos.

⁷⁴ Mozart and Mozart, 2, 479.

pamphlet suggests particular investment by Nannette, Andreas, and Matthäus in trying to control what happened to her pianos after they left the workshop; while other makers may also have desired control, few took the steps to create such a publication.⁷⁵ From this perspective, *Kurze Bemerkungen* can be seen as another expression of the maker-player impulse, now in relation to Andreas and Nannette's expanding collaboration within the Streicher-Stein piano firm.

2. Andreas Streicher's *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano* (1801)

Kurze Bemerkungen is undoubtedly a useful source on piano technique and to a lesser extent historical instruments, but the tendency to compare it with either keyboard treatises or instrument manuals has naturalized the unusual character of this piece of writing. As Preethi De Silva points out, *Kurze Bemerkungen* may be one of the first manuals for a specific instrument produced by a piano-making company and its influence is indicated by its almost verbatim reproduction by two other companies in the 1820s and 30s.⁷⁶ This significant booklet therefore sits at the threshold between a keyboard treatise and a user manual, a hybrid text whose function shifts depending on its context.

Andreas probably began writing *Kurze Bemerkungen* in 1800; the first and second editions were published in Vienna in 1801 and 1802 respectively.⁷⁷ We recall that, after nine years of marriage with Nannette, Andreas had not yet begun to work extensively in the workshop and that he was primarily a piano teacher and administrator for the company at this time. The booklet therefore presents a snapshot of Nannette's and Andreas's collaborative relationship as

⁷⁵ That producing a text like *Kurze Bemerkungen* was a significant undertaking that other makers did not have the resources or motivation to do themselves is suggested by the fact that it was essentially reprinted by the Stuttgart makers Carl Dieudonné and Johann Lorenz Schiedmayer in 1824. This repurposing of course also suggests that they viewed the text as valuable. Dieudonné and Schiedmayer were connected to the Streicher-Stein workshop and may have met there. Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 250–251. See Part II of De Silva for a translation of the 1824 text. The Streicher-Stein company's particular investment in exercising some control over the afterlife of their instruments (and thus the company's reputation) is also supported by the fact that Johann Baptist visited numerous owners of Streicher-Stein pianos, such as Dr. Engelmann in Frankfurt, to check on and service their instruments during his travels in 1821–22; see Streicher, Goebel-Streicher, and Streicher, 5, 75.

⁷⁶ De Silva, 11–13; Christoph Öhm-Kühnle, introduction to *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano, welche von den Geschwistern Stein in Wien verfertigt werden: Ausschliessend nur für die Besitzer dieser Instrumente aufgesetzt*, ed. Christoph Öhm-Kühnle, Faksimile-Edition Theoretica (Stuttgart: Cornetto-Verlag, 2008), 43–44.

⁷⁷ A letter from Lisette Berhard to Andreas in November 1800 shows that Andreas had a draft of the text by that point. Letter from Lisette Bernhard in Dusseldorf and Wesel to Andreas in Vienna, November 6 and 7, 1800, Streicher Archive Sign. Ber 03, quoted in Goebel-Streicher et al., 88–93; Öhm-Kühnle, introduction, 42–43.

maker-player on the one hand and teacher-player-organizer on the other, during a time when brother Matthäus was breaking away and, consequently, the couple's working dynamic was about to be reconfigured. Extant copies of the pamphlets in collections today bear physical traces of these changes inked on their title pages, making visible the messy, physical human presences that haunt and hover within and around the text.

The following discussion draws on reproductions and descriptions of four extant copies of *Kurze Bemerkungen*. My research has identified eleven surviving original copies (eight of the 1801 imprint and three from 1802) and there may be others still in existence: see Table 4.1 below.⁷⁸ The principal source for the booklet remains De Silva's 2008 English translation, based on an 1801 edition held by the Kunstmuseum Den Haag (formerly the Haags Gemeentemuseum) in The Hague, subsequently referred to as Copy A.⁷⁹ De Silva also includes facsimiles of title pages from two copies held by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde from both 1801 and 1802 (Copies B and D).⁸⁰ Öhm-Kühnle's facsimile of the 1801 edition owned by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Copy C) and published with commentary in German and English has also been useful.⁸¹ The remaining copies are held by a range of European institutions (Copies E–G and I–K), while one was reported to be in private hands as of 2008 (Copy H).⁸²

The body of the pamphlet contains four chapters, a note, and an illustration. The first two chapters make up the treatise section and deal with piano playing and technique; chapter one is untitled but deals with playing in general while chapter two is called "On Tone" (*Vom Tone*). The manual section also comprises two chapters, titled "On Tuning the Fortepiano" (*Über das Stimmen des Fortepiano*) and "On the Maintenance of a Fortepiano" (*Über die Erhaltung eines Fortepiano*). Between the two sections appears a note or comment (*Anmerkung*) and at the back of the booklet there is a fold-out illustration depicting parts of a Streicher-Stein piano, including a bird's eye view of the instrument with lid removed and a cross section of a key. Aside from the

⁷⁸ The 1801 imprints were published by Anna Alberti, widow of Ignaz Alberti, see the entry on her in Anton Mayer, *Wiens Buchdrucker-Geschichte, 1482–1882*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Vienna: Verlag des Comité zur Feier der vierhundertj. Einführung der Buchdruckerkunst in Wien, 1883), 148.

⁷⁹ De Silva, 13–14.

⁸⁰ De Silva, 14, 102–103.

⁸¹ Andreas Streicher and Christoph Öhm-Kühnle, *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano*, Faksimile-Edition Theoretica, (Stuttgart: Cornetto-Verlag, 2008).

⁸² De Silva, 14.

printed and handwritten changes to the title page, there are no differences in texts of the 1801 and 1802 editions.⁸³

In terms of the function and distribution of the pamphlet, Latcham, Skowroneck, and Richard Fuller assume that a copy would have accompanied instruments when they left the workshop *en route* to their prospective customers. This would indeed fit the function expressed by the text's title and the genre of user manual.⁸⁴ Pianist and family friend Lisette Bernhard suggests other potential functions for the pamphlet in a letter to Andreas in November 1800, before it was published. Writing of a piano dealer named Weissenstein, whom she had met in Elberfeld (in the Westphalian region, now in north-west Germany), Bernhard points to the text's potential use as a source of information for dealers selling Streicher-Stein pianos:

I will send a copy of the description of the fortepiano [i.e. *Kurze Bemerkungen*] to Herrn Weiss[enstein], [since] it will certainly please him when he reads it, as I at least find you very clear, correct and *engageant* for the connoisseurs of the instruments. It will also be of great benefit to you, since Herr W. will then be in an even better position to describe to intending buyers the advantages of the Stein [fortepianos] over the other fortepianos.⁸⁵

This reminds us that Geschwister Stein pianos were being sold on the international market: the company had dealings with the Leipzig-based Hoffmeister & Kühnel in 1801–02 and were also sending pianos to Breitkopf & Härtel in the same city by 1802.⁸⁶ By the 1810s, Streicher-Stein pianos were being sold not only in Austria, Germany, and Bohemia, but also in France and Russia.⁸⁷ This meant that there was an increasing need for written promotional and

⁸³ Öhm-Kühnle, introduction, 38.

⁸⁴ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 246; Skowroneck, *Beethoven the Pianist*, 74; Richard A. Fuller, "Andreas Streicher's Notes on the Fortepiano: Chapter 2: 'On Tone'," *Early Music* 12, no. 4 (1984): 462.

⁸⁵ My translation: "Ich werde eine *Copie* der Beschreibung des F.p. Hr. Weiss: überschicken, <da> es wird ihn gewiß freuen, wenn er sie liest, den ich finde Sie wenigstens sehr deutlich, richtig und *engageant* für die Liebhaber der Instrumente. Es wird auch Ihnen von einem großen Nutzen seyn, da Hr. W. als dann noch besser in Stand gesetzt wird, den Kauflustigen, die Vorzüge der *Steinisch*: vor den andern F.p. zu <bemer> [sic] beschreiben." Bernhard in Düsseldorf and Wesel to Andreas in Vienna, November 6 and 7, 1800, Streicher Archive, Sign. Ber 03, quoted in Goebel-Streicher et al., 90–93; Öhm-Kühnle, introduction, 42–43.

⁸⁶ See Griesinger's letters to Härtel of September 18 and December 30, 1801, and March 20 and April 30, 1802, Griesinger, "Appendix II: Excerpts from Georg August Griesinger's Letters," 93–95; Griesinger, Härtel, and Biba, 123–124, 153, 166. On October 1, 1802, a contrast was signed between the Streicher couple and Breitkopf & Härtel making the latter exclusive suppliers of Nannette's instruments in Saxony. The contract is now lost and it is unclear from Lütge's account of it whether Nannette, Andreas, or both signed it. Lütge, 61–62. The December 15, 1802, announcement in the *AmZ* calls Breitkopf & Härtel exclusive Streicher-Stein dealers for Leipzig.

⁸⁷ Bursy reports Andreas's commenting on exporting pianos to Russia in 1816, Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 288; Clemen, 112.

instructional material about the instruments and the company that could be distributed with ease to dealers, customers, and pianos tuners.⁸⁸ Bernhard's letter also highlights this advertising function of the pamphlet: she comments that it could provide verbal material to dealers like Weissenstein, enabling them to use Andreas's own language when pitching Streicher-Stein pianos to customers.⁸⁹ When pianos were sold by third parties in distant locations with little or no direct contact with the company, the pamphlet gave voice to the instrument's makers, becoming a medium for conveying Streicher-Stein ideas about proper use of their pianos when they themselves were not present.

But the pamphlet was also sold separately from the instruments and thus available to readers beyond their customer base. By 1817, for example, it is listed in the *Handbuch der musikalischen Litteratur* of 1817 for the accessible price of 8 Groschen.⁹⁰ As an item that could be bought as a standalone text in later years, *Kurze Bemerkungen* begins to resemble other treatises—becoming one method among several for keyboards in general and less a manual connected to a specific brand of piano. Once *Kurze Bemerkungen* was circulating as a treatise, it could also serve a promotional purpose through specific references to Nannette's instruments in the text itself, thus encouraging readers who did not yet possess a Streicher-Stein instrument (or owned an older model) to consider the brand when they wished to buy a new piano. After 1802, it furthermore participated in the Streicher-Stein couple's efforts to spread and controlling Nannette's public image as a woman piano maker.

Two key purposes of *Kurze Bemerkungen* were therefore to convey Streicher-Stein ideals regarding pianos and piano playing and to promote the company and Nannette as a piano maker. It conveys the promotional, rhetorical stance—but nevertheless one based in reality—that Nannette was a maker-player, and that being a player made her a better maker. After 1802, it participated in establishing Nannette's identity as a woman piano maker. It also foreshadowed and spoke to the new era of collaboration between Nannette and Andreas that was to mark the next thirty-odd years of their lives and the piano company.

⁸⁸ Skowroneck notes that such guides were used by maintenance professionals such as tuners when an instrument was not by a local maker and thus unfamiliar, see Skowroneck, "Dorothea Krug's Streicher Piano," 91.

⁸⁹ Öhm-Kühnle, introduction, 42–43.

⁹⁰ De Silva, 13, 13n18.

2.1. Title pages

The changes and alterations undergone by the surviving pamphlets' title pages tell a story of shifting roles: we recognize in them the human actors behind the piano company. The original, unaltered title page of the 1801 pamphlet, represented by Copy C, reads “Kurze Bemerkungen / über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten / der Fortepiano, / welche von den Geschwistern Stein in Wien / gefertigt werden. / Ausschliessend nur für die Besitzer dieser / Instrumente aufgesetzt” (“Brief Remarks on the Playing, Tuning, and Maintenance of Fortepianos, Made in Vienna by the Stein Siblings. Prepared exclusively for the owners of these Instruments”). Details of all the title pages can be found in Table 4.1 (below).

In contrast to Copy C, Copies A and B (also from 1801) have been altered by hand in ink. On Copy A, “den Geschwistern Stein” (of the Stein siblings) has been scratched out; on Copy B, the same text has been crossed out. On both, this has been replaced by hand with “Nannette Streicher, geborne [geborene] Stein” (Nannette Streicher, born Stein). Copies A and B also have “von Andreas Streicher” added to the end of the subtitle to indicate his authorship. According to information available in De Silva, Öhm-Kühnle, and library catalogue entries, Copies H and I also have Nannette’s and Andreas’s name added, the latter in Andreas’s own handwriting.⁹¹ Copies E and F appear to have no additions (like Copy C); and Copy G has substituted her brother Matthäus’s name (“Andreas Stein”) for “Geschwistern Stein.”

The 1802 imprint (Copies D, J, and K) made two changes to the printed text: “der Fortepiano” is now capitalized and “den Geschwistern” has been removed. But Nannette’s and Andreas’s names continued to be added by hand, as on Copy D. The overall layout of the 1801 and 1802 title pages remains almost identical, so the reason for this may have been purely practical. Perhaps, for example, the printer sought to keep costs down by reusing the 1801 plates and was unable to add the piano maker’s and author’s names in the space provided.

⁹¹ De Silva, 13–14, 14n19; Öhm-Kühnle, introduction, 37, 37n97.

Table 4.1, Extant copies of *Kurze Bemerkungen* (1801–02)

	Title page text¹	Notes	Pub. details	Location and call number	English translation
Copy A.	Kurze Bemerkungen / über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten / der Fortepiano, / welche von Nannette Streicher / geborne <i>Stein in Wien</i> / gefertigt werden. / Ausschliessend nur für die Besitzer dieser / Instrumente aufgesetzt, von Andreas Streicher²	“den Geschwistern” scratched out; “Nannette Streicher geborne” and “von Andreas Streicher” added by hand in ink. *“Nannette” is also added above the printed text of the <i>Anmerkung</i> . ³	Vienna: Alberti, 1801	Kunstmuseum Den Haag (formerly Haags Gemeentemuseum), The Hague. ⁴	De Silva, 2008
B.	Kurze Bemerkungen / über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten / der Fortepiano, / welche von ~~den~~ Nannette Streicher / geborne / ~~Geschwistern~~ Stein in Wien / gefertigt werden. / Ausschliessend nur für die Besitzer dieser / Instrumente aufgesetzt, von Andreas Streicher⁵	“den Geschwistern” crossed out; “Nannette Streicher geborne” and “von Andreas Streicher” added by hand in ink.	Vienna: Alberti, 1801	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archive, Vienna; 2585/41	—

¹ I viewed Copies B and D in person at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archive in November 2022 and have used printed facsimiles of Copies A and C. All other information about extant title pages comes from the cited sources, rather than my own observation, and may reflect errors in transcription. Note: In the left hand column, bold indicates printed text; non-bolded indicates handwritten. Capitalisation and italics are original.

² De Silva, 38.

³ Andreas Streicher, *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano*, ed. Dirk Jacob Hamoen (Utrecht: Stichting voor Muziekhistorische Uitvoeringspraktijk, 1987), 28.

⁴ See also the 1987 facsimile of this copy, Streicher, *Kurze Bemerkungen*.

⁵ Streicher, “Appendix V: Two Variants of the Title Page of *Kurze Bemerkungen* from 1801 and 1802,” 102.

C.	Kurze Bemerkungen / über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten / der Fortepiano, / welche von den Geschwistern Stein in Wien / gefertigt werden. / Ausschiessend nur für die Besitzer dieser / Instrumente aufgesetzt. ⁶	No additions.	Vienna: Alberti, 1801	Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Mus. Fk 35 Rara	Öhm-Kühnle, 2008
D.	Kurze Bemerkungen / über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten / DER FORTEPIANO, / welche von Nannette Streicher / geborne / ~~von~~ Stein in Wien / gefertigt werden. / Ausschiessend nur für die Besitzer dieser / Instrumente aufgesetzt, von Andreas Streicher ⁷	“Nannette Streicher geborne” and “von Andreas Streicher” added by hand in ink. *“Geschwistern” not printed in the 1802 edition.	Vienna: 1802	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Archive, Vienna; 2585/41	—
E.	“Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano, welche von den Geschwistern Stein in Wien gefertigt werden [...] ausschliessend nur für die Besitzer dieser Instrumente aufgesetzt” ⁸	Unknown	Vienna: Alberti, 1801	Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg; Tonk 2118	—
F.	“Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano, welche von den Geschwistern Stein in Wien gefertigt werden ... / ausschliessend nur für die Besitzer dieser Instrumente aufgesetzt” ⁹	Unknown	Vienna: Alberti, 1801	Jacob-und-Wilhelm-Grimm-Zentrum, Bibliothek der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin; Nz 66208:F8	—

⁶ Streicher and Öhm-Kühnle, [1].

⁷ Streicher, “Appendix V: Two Variants of the Title Page of *Kurze Bemerkungen* from 1801 and 1802,” 103.

⁸ Andreas Streicher, *Kurze Bemerkungen*, 1801, Tonk 2118, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Augsburg, <https://sbatp61.bib-bvb.de:443/TouchPoint/perma.do?q=+1035%3D%22BV039769477%22+IN+%5B2%5D&v=sba&b=0&l=de>.

⁹ Andreas Streicher, *Kurze Bemerkungen*, 1801, Nz 66208:F8, Jacob-und-Wilhelm-Grimm-Zentrum, Bibliothek der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Berlin, https://hu-berlin.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/koadvg/HUB_UB_ALMA_DS21618196790002882.

G.	“Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano, welche von Andreas Stein in Wien verfertigt werden : ausschliessend nur für die Besitzer dieser Instrumente aufgesetzt” ¹⁰	“Andreas” (i.e. Matthäus’s name) added by hand.	[Vienna : Alberti] 1801	Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam; Q 96 A: 10 L	–
H.	–	Nannette’s and Andreas’s names added in ink. ¹¹	Vienna: Alberti, 1801	Location unknown; previously owned by Leopold Hirschberg	–
I.	–	Nannette’s and Andreas’s names added in ink in Andreas’s own hand. ¹²	Vienna: Alberti, 1801	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna	–
J.	“Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Forte-Piano, welche von Stein in Wien verfertigt werden” ¹³	Nannette’s name is not added (unclear if Andreas’s name is added). ¹⁴	Vienna: 1802	Druckschriftensammlung, Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Wien, Vienna; A-37153	–
K.	“Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Forte-Piano” ¹⁵	Unknown	Vienna: 1802	Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Universität Zürich, Zurich; B82541	–

¹⁰ Andreas Streicher, *Kurze Bemerkungen*, 1801, Q 96 A: 10 L, Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Holland, <https://pid.uba.uva.nl/ark:/88238/b1990007775560205131>.

¹¹ De Silva, 14.

¹² Öhm-Kühnle, introduction, 37, 37n97.

¹³ Andreas Streicher, *Kurze Bemerkungen*, 1802, A-37153, Druckschriftensammlung, Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Wien, Vienna, Austria, <https://permalink.obvsg.at/wbr/LQD0035266>; Streicher, *Kurze Bemerkungen*.

¹⁴ Öhm-Kühnle, introduction, 37–38, 38n98.

¹⁵ Andreas Streicher, *Kurze Bemerkungen*, 1802, B82541, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Universität Zürich, Zurich, Switzerland, https://uzb.swisscovery.slsp.ch/permalink/41SLSP_UZB/1d8t6qj/alma990085474200205508.

The shift from the plain, printed title page of Copy C to the inked, amended versions that are Copies A, B, and D (as well as G, H, and I) crystalizes the acrimonious split in the company in 1802. For Nannette and Andreas, these alterations represented the Streicher couple's desire to craft a revised public identity for Nannette and her company (and, indeed, Andreas) and to stake a claim to the Stein legacy without the expense of reprinting the whole text. That her brother Matthäus or his associates also altered at least one copy of the booklet suggests that he sought to do the same.

Though the Streicher couple did not go so far as to redesign the printed title page for the 1802 edition, the handwritten changes to *Kurze Bemerkungen* and the promotional texts that followed can be seen as part of a broader, gendered public-relations effort. Repurposing existing copies helped Nannette assert her inheritance of the Stein name and present herself on the pamphlet's cover as a piano maker and business owner. That Nannette and Andreas believed this to be a necessary step is evidenced by the both content of the *AmZ* profile and Andreas's angry remarks in September 1802 about Matthäus's public conduct towards his sister.¹ As I explored in Chapter Two, Matthäus's gender, occupation, and claim to the Stein name were not in question; the strikes against him were his age, inexperience, and his perceived disreputable behaviour towards his sister. Thus, while Matthäus and his allies Hoffmeister & Kühnel placed several notices announcing the split, insulted her by trying to claim her privilege, and reportedly disparaged Nannette in an 1802 advert, the Streicher-Stein couple and the Breitkopf & Härtel team focused their print efforts on building a new persona for Nannette.²

2.2. A promotional note

The central note (*Anmerkung*) is one of two moments in the text where human names are invoked besides the title page. Though short, it is significant because of its bridging position

¹ That Andreas invokes Nannette's honor, his duty to defend her as his wife, as well as using terms like to respect (*achten*) and perfidy/incorrigibility (*Unverbesserlichkeit*)/ See Chapter Two for further discussion of this letter and the context surrounding the company split.

² Matthäus placed notices regarding the separation in the *Wiener Zeitung* on October 13 and 20, 1802. Hoffmeister & Kühnel placed further notices in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* and its *Intelligenzblatt* on January 22 and July 2, 1803. The last notice may have riled Andreas and Nannette as it included the following note: "We request [that] the honored public distinguish specifically these fortep. [fortpianos] of Herrn Andreas Stein, privileged maker of the same, from those of Mad. Streicher, née Stein." (*Wie ersuchen das geehrte Publikum, diese Fortep. des Hrnn. Andreas Stein, privilegirten Verfertigers derselben, von jenen der Mad. Streicher, geb. Stein, genau zu unterscheiden*). Hoffmeister and Kühnel, "Forte-piano's," *Intelligenzblatt der Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, no. 28 (July 2, 1803): 543.

between the two sections, but also because it presents themes that are key to the pamphlet as a whole. In it, Andreas employs a self-consciously advertisement-like tone. After explicating his ideas about piano technique and sound production, he links this style of playing directly “the Stein instruments” (*die Steinischen Instrumente*) or “the Nannette Stein instruments” (*Nannette Steinischen Instrumente*) and their material and sonic qualities, represented by the keyboard (*die Tastatur*) and tone (*der Ton*). Like its altered title page, Copy A includes the handwritten addition of her name above the line to this part of the text:

Although all that has been mentioned here is applicable, *more or less*, to the manner of performance on most fortepianos, it particularly applies to that of the *Nannette Stein instruments* [*die Nannette Steinischen Instrumente*]; they are made (especially in regard to the keyboard and tone) by hands that are themselves highly trained in keyboard playing, and for that reason alone are able to prepare for the musician *all* he needs in order to *achieve* with the greatest ease what has been stated above about good performance on the fortepiano.³

Whether the note read “Stein” or “Nannette Stein,” anyone familiar with Nannette personally or through the many accounts of her playing they might have encountered in newspapers, journals, or by word of mouth, would have known that the hands “highly trained in keyboard-playing” were hers.⁴ It is unlikely that they would think of Matthäus here. To date, there appears to be no evidence that Matthäus played any instruments: as various sources attest that their father was a keyboardist, it seems improbable that he would conceal such skills, even while in the shadow of a talented older sister. Andreas’s description also specifically connects those highly trained hands to the instruments’ keyboards and tone, indicating that these are the elements Nannette made as head craftsperson. Nannette and her labouring body, with hands that make and hands that play, thus have a clear presence at the centre of the text. Note, however, that the labouring bodies of Nannette’s journeymen remain, by comparison, hidden.⁵ References to

³ De Silva’s translation of Copy A. “Ob zwar wohl alles, was hier gesagt worden, auf die Spielart der meisten Fortepiano *mehr oder weniger* angewendet werden kann, so betrifft es doch vorzüglich die *Nannette Steinischen Instrumente*, deren Bearbeitung (besonders in Rücksicht der Tastatur, des Tones), durch Hände geschieht, welche des Clavierspieles in einem hohen Grade selbst mächtig und auch nur dadurch in den Stand gesetzt sind, dem Tonkünstler das vorzubereiten, was er nöthig hat, um mit größter Leichtigkeit *alles machen zu können*, was oben von dem guten Spiele des Fortepiano angeführt worden.” For an unaltered version of the *Anmerkung* see facsimile of Copy C. De Silva, 72, 73; Streicher and Öhm-Kühnle, 28.

⁴ See Skowronek, “Andreas Streicher and Piano Building,” 60; Skowronek and Bell Jordan.

⁵ The most thorough account available of Streicher-Stein employees throughout the life of the company can be found in Donhauser and Langer, 60–65.

Nannette making or manufacturing (*verfertigt werden*) and making or producing by hand (*deren Bearbeitung [...] durch Hände geschieht*) on the title page and in the note recall moments in Griesinger's article, which appeared in print while *Kurze Bemerkungen* was already in active circulation. There he calls Nannette a "applied artist" (*mechanische Künstlerin*) and writes that in experiments conducted during her training with her father "she herself always had to participate hands-on thereby, which, for the practical artist [*praktischen Künstler*], is of the utmost importance."⁶ Griesinger also draws attention to Nannette's gendered body when he casts her as a model for others to follow in a context of supposedly shrinking economic opportunities for women.⁷

2.3. Piano ideals and ideal pianos

The chapters of *Kurze Bemerkungen* communicate a clear picture of what Andreas and Nannette believed an ideal piano to be in 1801 and it comes as no surprise that they present her pianos as "the most perfectly constructed instrument[s]."⁸ When we remember that one of the booklet's functions is to advertise, then statements about what constitutes an ideal piano reflect how the makers saw their instruments or, perhaps more to the point, how they wished them to be perceived by others. Claims to perfection are both a marketing tool and statement of self-belief. The booklet includes numerous assertions about what constitutes a perfect piano, including its tone, dynamic range, touch, articulation, and expressive capabilities. Andreas often favours defining the ideal piano by describing what it is not; for example, he writes (original emphasis):

It is unfortunate that although very many people play the fortepiano, there are nevertheless so few who strive to play it according to its natural capabilities. Nothing is more common than to hear this many-faceted instrument so *abused*, that it often has no better effect than a tinkling harp or a miserable dulcimer.

⁶ "Sie musste, was für den praktischen Künstler das Wichtigste ist, immer selbst dabey Hand anlegen." De Silva translates "*praktischen Künstler*" as "practicing artist" but contemporaneous dictionaries suggests "practical" may be more historically in-keeping: Adelung, 3, 821–822; Georg Heinrich Noehden, *Rabenhorst's Dictionary of the German and English Languages in Two Parts*, 2 vols., vol. 1–2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown; Cadell and Davies; T. Boosey, and J. Mawman, 1814), 311. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn6b2r>; De Silva, 100–101.

⁷ "Lately, it has often been discussed that the stronger sex has taken almost all the trades away from women. Madame Streicher demonstrates through her example that in the arts another wide and rarely used opportunity is open to the fairer sex." De Silva, 100.

⁸ My translation. The full sentence reads: "Sollte er so wenig Einsicht haben zu glauben, daß auch die vollkommenste Mechanik ihm ein Instrument erschaffen könne, welches immer den richtigen Ton gibt, es möge gut oder falsch behandelt werden?" De Silva, 55.

Even if some believe that this instrument might be quite inferior *in expressive playing* to other instruments, this criticism can only apply to such fortepianos *that have little flexibility in tone, where the keyboard's touch is very stiff, and in which the action does not support the movement of the fingers*. Were one to hear a really sensitive performer on an instrument *that produced all degrees of loudness and softness of tone, even in the finest nuances, the keyboard of which was made in such a manner that the player didn't think of anything mechanical, and on which you could with the greatest of ease produce everything—play a fast staccato, sing, and allow the tone to simply fade away—*wouldn't the highest standards of art then be met?⁹

By compiling this and other descriptions in *Kurze Bemerkungen*, we can conclude that the couple's ideal piano possesses the following features: a great capacity for expressive playing; a tone that is flexible, silvery, full, well-rounded, and mellowed; touch that is flexible, very responsive and easy, with an “infinitely varied” range of possible articulations (from staccato to singing); and dynamic variety, with a wide and nuanced range of light and shade. It should not sound like “a tinkling harp or a miserable dulcimer” but instead “should as much as possible resemble the best wind instruments.”¹⁰ Such an instrument would be “perfectly constructed” because it met “the highest standards of art,” but Andreas's use of the conditional tense is rhetorical because that “perfect” instrument already exists, embodied by Streicher-Stein pianos. Unlike their French, English, and many Viennese counterparts at this time, who were experimenting and developing new takes on “perfection,” the Viennese firm remained steadfast in its commitment to a pianistic and technical outlook as conceptualized (or “perfected”) by Johann Andreas Stein.¹¹

Tone emerges as one of the most developed topics in the booklet, showing that it was a paramount aesthetic concern for the Streicher couple. Andreas contrasts the “silver tone” of a well-played Streicher-Stein with the “iron tone” of a badly or heavily played one. In comparison, he characterizes other styles of piano as “dry, thin, and meager” or “piercing, cutting, [and] shrill.” He emphasizes the tonal superiority of Nannette's instruments by writing, “On a Stein fortepiano the tone is fashioned in accordance with this specified ideal [*nach dem angegebenen*

⁹ De Silva, 41.

¹⁰ De Silva, 41, 43, 45.

¹¹ Beghin and Blanton explore the specific significance of perfection as a manufacturing concept and marketing tool in relation to Erard pianos, see Chapter Five, “The Perfect Instrument,” in Beghin, *Beethoven's French Piano*, 100–123. Blanton elaborates on this theme in a related publication: Blanton, “Perfection's Purchase.”

Ideale gebildet] just as everything the player needs for every kind of musical performance is already prepared in the keyboard action.”¹² This statement also invokes touch by describing the action as providing “everything the player needs”—that is, all they have to do is to touch the keys correctly and they will produce the ideal sound.¹³

Kurze Bemerkungen’s descriptions of dynamics and dynamic range have an affinity with accounts of Nannette as a pianist. The value of a piano that can achieve “all degrees of loudness and softness of tone, even in the finest nuances” and on which one can easily “allow the tone to simply fade away” hark back to her *Saitenharmonika* performances and Schönfeld’s claim that, on the piano, “under her fingers sounds grow and melt and lose themselves until they are inaudible.” This affinity is affirmed in Andreas’s description of a “true musician” (*ein wahre Tonkünstler*) whose command of dynamic light and shade also evoke Nannette’s playing: “Under his [the pianist’s] hands, the keyboard is like a soft pliable mass out of which he can produce whatever tones he wishes. Like the beautiful line of a painter, all nuances of increasing and decreasing tone are blended into one another.”¹⁴

There is thus a feedback loop in *Kurze Bemerkungen*’s descriptions of dynamics, tone, and other features in which making style is closely tied to playing style—Nannette made pianos that she and her husband personally liked to play, and which suited their preferred technique at this time. Referring to the approach outlined in the first two chapters of the booklet, Latcham views Andreas’s technique as “old-fashioned” by 1801.¹⁵ From this perspective, *Kurze Bemerkungen* becomes an apologia for Nannette and Andreas remaining committed to their style of making and playing in a changing musical environment. Nannette’s position as a maker-player, with her own playing preferences and training shaped on and by her father’s instruments, may have meant that she was more reluctant to incorporate newer innovations into her pianos. Maintaining her father’s legacy and her personal connection with him through pianos also appears to have held great importance to Nannette, potentially adding an emotional dimension to

¹² Translation by De Silva, “Bey einem Steinischen Fortepiano ist der Ton ganz nach dem angegebenen Ideale gebildet, so wie in seiner Tastatur schon alles vorbereitet ist, was der Spieler zu jeder Gattung des musikalischen Vortrags braucht.” De Silva, 52, 53.

¹³ For an extended mediation on the interaction between touch and tone in Erard versus Viennese piano replicas see Beghin’s Chapter 3, “Malleability of Tone,” which I discuss further below. Beghin, *Beethoven’s French Piano*, 49–71.

¹⁴ De Silva, 55.

¹⁵ Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 247. Skowronek traces the shift from detached to legato as standard articulation on the piano across the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in relation to Beethoven, see Chapter 7, “Common Touch and Legato,” in Skowronek, *Beethoven the Pianist*, 172–216.

her stylistic ideal. Together with a desire to support and grow the piano-making business, these would be strong motivations for Andreas to disseminate his and Nannette's preferences about pianos through a text like *Kurze Bemerkungen*.

3. Nannette as maker-player and composer after 1805

Kurze Bemerkungen presents Nannette as a maker-player, providing valuable insight into how she and Andreas viewed her instruments and how they portrayed her as a woman piano maker. But Nannette also explored interactions between piano making and piano playing in her own work as a composer. Two of her three published compositions—*Deux Marches pour le Piano-Forte* and *Marche à huit Instruments à vent*, both published in 1817—and one testimony about the piano pieces illustrate how piano making and piano playing continued to intertwine for her in the period after *Kurze Bemerkungen* and the re-designs of 1805 to 1807.¹⁶ I present these marches as a text that encapsulates many of her musical roles at once. Written by her—a rarity in itself—these scores offer unique insights into her views on piano music and her instruments. Published under her professional name, “Madame Nannette Streicher née Stein,” the marches are short and sweet musical *amuse-bouches* that show her pianos in their best light.¹⁷

¹⁶ The first of Nannette's known compositions was a *Lied* for voice and keyboard commemorating the death of her friend Ursula Stage (1764–88); it used a text by the lawyer and amateur poet Peter Neuß (1763–1815) and was paired with another setting by a registrar from Salmannsweiler named Anton Keller (dates unknown), the whole titled *Klage über den frühen Tod der Jungfer Ursula Sabina Stage in Augsburg* (“Lament over the early death of the maiden Ursula Sabina Stage in Augsburg”). The work was published in 1788 by Ursula's father, Augsburg music publisher Konrad Heinrich Stage. See Nannette Streicher-Stein and Andreas Streicher, *Johann Andreas Streicher: La pensée de l'objet chéri; Anna Maria (Nannette) Streicher: Klage über den frühen Tod der Jungfer Ursula Sabina Stage in Augsburg*, ed. Christoph Öhm-Kühnle, 10 vols., vol. 7, Johann Andreas und Anna Maria (Nannette) Streicher Gesamtausgabe der Originalwerke (Cologne: Verlag Dohr, 2007). Original edition held by the Musikbibliothek Leipzig, Poel. Mus. 17. See Goebel-Streicher for further biographical information on the Stage and Neuß family and their connections to the Steins; Neuß dedicated a long poem to Nannette and his second cousin, Friederica Baraba Neuß, was one of Nannette's music pupils in Augsburg. Goebel-Streicher, *Das Stammbuch der Nannette Stein*, 38, 96–98, 117.

¹⁷ Nannette's piano works recently received their first official recording by pianist Tobias Koch, alongside several pieces by Andreas and a lied by Schubart. *Deux marches* were performed on an 1814 Streicher-Stein piano (Landesmuseum Württemberg, Inv.-Nr. W 26,2) and her lied on a 1784 Stein piano (Landesmuseum Württemberg, Inv.-Nr. GG 4185) with soprano Sarah Wegener. Tobias Koch and Sarah Wegener, *Nannette Streicher, Andreas Streicher: Works for Pianoforte* (recorded 2021), SWR 2/cpo CD 555 483-2, 2023.

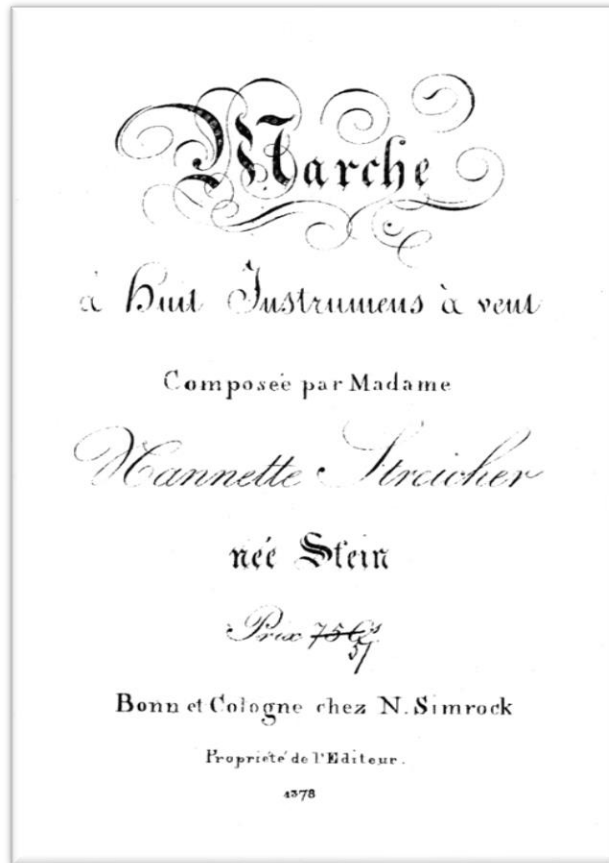


Figure 4.2, Title page of Nannette's *Marche à huit Instruments à vent* (1817), Musikbibliothek Leipzig, PM 8959 and PM 8990. Public domain.

Nannette's *Deux Marches*, along with a wind band version of the first march, *Marche à huit Instruments à vent*, were published by Simrock in 1817.¹⁸ (The title page of the piano marches employs similar typefaces and layout to the wind band march version, shown in Figure 4.2, above). However, the piano marches must have begun circulating in manuscript by 1808, as evidenced by a letter from organist and Streicher-Stein customer Johann Heinrich Friedrich Schütz (1779–1828) in Berka (near Weimar) to Andreas in May of that year.¹⁹ Catalogue entries

¹⁸ A letter from the Streicher-Stein company to Peter Joseph Simrock (son of Nikolaus) in 1827 shows that Simrock was a dealer for the piano company in Cologne (May 9, 1827, Beethoven-Haus Bonn, HCB Br 385). The Streicher couple may well have become acquainted with the Simrocks well before this time through their mutual connection to Beethoven.

¹⁹ Nannette Streicher-Stein, *Deux marches, Fassung für Klavier solo (Nr. 1 u. 2), Fassung für acht Bläser (Nr. 1)*, ed. Christoph Öhm-Kühnle, 10 vols., vol. 10, Johann Andreas und Anna Maria (Nannette) Streicher Gesamtausgabe der Originalwerke (Cologne: Verlag Dohr, 2007); Goebel-Streicher et al., 139. Original editions held by Musikbibliothek Leipzig, PM 8959 and PM 8990. See also Letter from Schütz to in Berka to Andreas in Vienna, May 25, 1808, Streicher Archive, Sign. Sch 07, quoted in Goebel-Streicher et al., 137–140.

for the pieces also show that they continued to be advertised by Simrock and other publishers from the 1840s well into the 1870s.²⁰ Schütz's letter is currently the only known evidence of Nannette's piano marches receiving a performance. After writing about a piano order and its transport, Schütz recounts the following musical event:

For the beautiful march from your wife I offer my heartfelt thanks, along with my most courteous regards. I played them before a number of distinguished ladies who were visiting me, and I remarked that your wife was not only an instrument maker, but also a composer and keyboard virtuoso. The ladies were all enchanted with the instrument and the march, and the wife of *Geheimrat* [privy councillor] von Linkern said: 'She would also like to be Nanette Streicher.'²¹

Schütz's letter neatly captures many of Nannette's occupations and skills, tying them into her composition. He combines reception of Nannette, her composition, and her piano, and frames them as skills and objects much admired by other "distinguished" women.

Schütz implies that the composition was performed on one of Nannette's own pianos, and the "enchanted" response of his listeners was a collective response to the effects of the march and the instrument. The multitalented Nannette becomes an inspirational and aspirational figure of respect for the unnamed women who witness her work firsthand, a far cry from Carl Bursy's appellation of "notorious lady" (*berüchtigte Dame*) in 1816.²² The letter furthermore demonstrates the process of emulation in practice. As suggested in Chapter Three regarding

²⁰ *Deux marches* (for piano) is listed in Adolph Hofmeister, *C. F. Whistling's Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur, oder allgemeines systematisch-geordnetes Verzeichniss der in Deutschland und in den angrenzenden Ländern gedruckten Musikalien auch musikalischen Schriften und Abbildungen mit Anzeige der Verleger und Preise* vol. 2, Musik für Pianoforte, für Orgel, Harfe und Harmonika (Leipzig: F. Hofmeister, 1844), 315; N. Simrock and Musikverlag von N. Simrock, *Verzeichniss des Musik-Verlags von N. Simrock in Bonn / Catalogue de Musique de N. Simrock à Bonn* (Bonn: Simrock, 1851, 1870), 55. *Marche à huit Instruments à vent* is listed in Anon., *Leipziger Kunstblatt für gebildete Kunstfreunde: Erster Jahrgang, 1817–1818* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1818), 151; Adolph Hofmeister, *C. F. Whistling's Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur, oder allgemeines systematisch-geordnetes Verzeichniss der in Deutschland und in den angrenzenden Ländern gedruckten Musikalien auch musikalischen Schriften und Abbildungen mit Anzeige der Verleger und Preise* vol. 1, Musik für Streich- und Blas-Instrumente und Guitarre (Leipzig: F. Hofmeister, 1844), 21.

²¹ My translation. "Für den schönen Marsch von Ihrer Frau Gemahlin statt ich nebst höflichsten Empfehlungen meinen ergebensten Dank ab. Ich habe ihnen vor einer Anzahl hoher Damen, welche mich besuchten gespielt, wo ich bemerkte, daß Ihre Frau Gemahlin nicht blos Instrumentenmacherin sondern auch Componisten und Claviervirtuosin sey. Da wurden die Damen alle über Instrument und Marsch entzückt und die Frau Geheime Rätthin v Linkern äußerte: 'Sie möchte auch Nanette Streicher seyn.'" There is an additional margin note which calls Nannette "a lady like an angel" (*eine Dame wie ein Engel*). Schütz to Andreas, May 25, 1808, Streicher Archive, Sign. Sch 07, quoted in Goebel-Streicher et al., 137–140. The "*Geheimrat* von Linkern's wife" may refer to the spouse of Ferdinand Freiherr von Lyncker (1728–1811), see "Lyncker, Ferdinand Freiherr von," ed. Klaus Kempf and Malte Rehbein, *Deutsche Biographie* (2023), <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117333271.html>

²² See Introduction: Carl Bursy quoted in Clemen, 111.

Miles Erard's self-dedicated scores, here we read that one of the listening ladies expressed a desire to "be like" her. Experiencing and learning about Nannette's musical labour as a composer, pianist, and piano maker thus prompted interest among women listeners about what it might be like to follow her example.

3.1. A maker-player reading of *Deux Marches pour le Piano-Forte (1817)*

One may imagine "be[ing] like Nannette Streicher" by visualizing a performance of *Deux marches* by the piano maker on one of her own instruments from 1813—an ideal expression of her identity as a maker-player.²³ I picture her drawing up a seat at the newly finished piano now sitting in the Streicher-Stein showroom, preparing to demonstrate its features to a pair of potential customers: let's say they are a pianist and her husband, a wealthy lawyer, visiting Vienna from the Austrian countryside.²⁴ Nannette smooths down her grey silk dress (she keeps the patched, cambric ones for the workshop) and takes a moment to centre herself, gazing with satisfaction at the piano in front of her that she and her journeymen have brought to perfection (see Figure 4.3, below).²⁵ The white, diamond-shaped name plate with "Nannette Streicher geb. Stein" painted delicately on its surface contrasts with the decorative bronze gilt work of fruit and vines surrounding it and the mirrored, walnut-veneered surface of the case (Figure 4.4, below).

²³ Detailed images of and information about this instrument and its restoration between 2013 and 2017 can be found in Ina Hoheisel and Alfons Huber, "The Restoration of the Fortepiano by Nannette Streicher Opus 961, Vienna 1813 (SAM 844)," *Technologische Studien: Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna* 14 (2021), https://www.khm.at/fileadmin/content/technologische-studien-14/KHM_Technologische-Studien_14_Kern_EN_Hoheisel_Huber.pdf.

²⁴ Many visitors of the professional classes came to see the Streicher-Stein workshop, such as Carl Bursy (a doctor), Müller (a music teacher and writer), and Vincent and Mary Novello (the music publisher and his wife); such visitors were often treated to a meal with the family, see accounts in Clemen, 111–112; Müller, 1, 110; Vincent Novello, Mary Sabilla Hehl Novello, and Rosemary Hughes, *A Mozart Pilgrimage: Being the Travel Diaries of Vincent & Mary Novello in the Year 1829* (London: Eulenburg Books, 1975), 186.

²⁵ This description of Nannette's appearance draws on the clothing mentioned in her 1833 probate inventory and on Bursy's 1816 comment that "her dress had neatly mended tears and holes in several places" (*ihr Kleid hatte an mehreren Stellen reinlich zugestopfte Risse und Löcher*). Pemmer, 38; Clemen, 111.



Figure 4.3, Streicher-Stein *Hammerflügel* (1813), Kunsthistorisches Museum, SAM 844, Vienna. Photo by author, 2022.



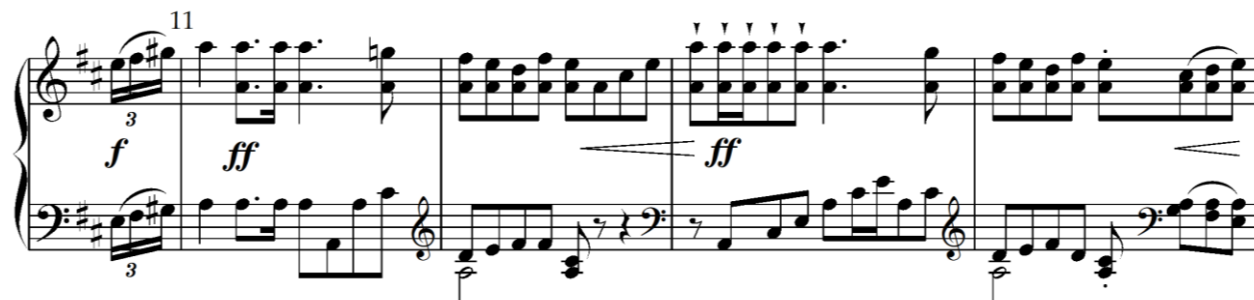
Figure 4.4, Close up of *Hammerflügel* gilt decoration and nameplate that reads "Nannette Streicher née Stein à Vienne" (1813), Kunsthistorisches Museum, SAM 844, Vienna. Photo by author, 2022.

Placing her hands at the ready, with her elbows held gently at her sides and her fingers rounded, just a hair above the keys—as her husband and, at one time, Nannette herself taught their piano students to do—she begins the first march.²⁶ Consciously imitating the opening flourish of a wind band, she starts the introductory phrase with ascending triplet octaves followed by a dotted march rhythm (also in octaves) and then a more refined, iambic dotted motif (Example 4.1, mm. 1–6). She has already moved from *f* to *mf* in this first phrase and will cycle through *p* and back to *f* by the end of the A section: she is playing with dynamic contrast, a skill for which she is well known. In the B section, Nannette takes this skill further still, presenting a fanfare using *staccatissimo* octaves and *ff* (Example 4.2, mm. 10–14). When she circles back to A in m. 20, she adds a run and turn here and there to show off her dexterous fingers, still kept in shape by stealing moments to practice between finalizing piano actions, directing her maids, and entertaining whichever musical tourist happened to drop by her house and workshop that day.



Example 4.1, Opening phrase of March No. 1, mm. 1–6, from Nannette Streicher-Stein's *Deux Marches pour le Piano-Forte* (1817)

²⁶ In *Kurze Bemerkungen* Andreas writes, “The arm should rest *against* the body, without being pressed against it [...]. The fingers must be curved while playing, i.e. one must draw them back far enough to be in line with a naturally held thumb,” and “a key must not be touched before the moment in which the sound should be heard, for even the slightest weight will push the key down somewhat, causing the beak of the hammer to begin forcing backward the pivoted *Tangente*.” De Silva, 45, 47. See also Beghin, *Beethoven's French Piano*, 56–62. Nannette taught various piano pupils as a young woman in Augsburg, including Lisette Bernhard, Katherina Lang, and Jeanette von Paumgarten, see Goebel-Streicher et al., 84; Öhm-Kühnle, “Der Musiker und Klavierbauer Johann Andreas Streicher,” 157, 253; Goebel-Streicher, *Das Stammbuch der Nannette Stein*, 38–39.



Example 4.2, Fanfare from B section of March No. 1, mm. 10–14

That Nannette wrote the first march for both solo piano and eight-piece wind band evokes a key phrase from *Kurze Bemerkungen* about the ideal piano sound. In the chapter on tone, Andreas writes: “Without actually forming too firm an opinion, one can surely assume that the tones of a fortepiano, sounding alone or together, should as much as possible resemble the best wind instruments, if they are to arouse pleasure or move one’s feelings.”²⁷ Andreas makes the case that the pianist should evoke a woodwind-like tone if they are to effectively induce an affective response from listeners. This is reiterated in the description of the “true” musician’s performance, where he imagines “how pure, how flute-like the treble notes sound.”²⁸ From these comments on tone we can infer that Andreas and Nannette valued and strove to reproduce this sound in their pianos: Nannette, fittingly, plays with this idea of piano-woodwind resonances in her first march.

The first march is the simpler and less ornamented of the two and the differences between the piano and band versions are relatively minor.²⁹ Yet because of the instrumentation, the functions of the two iterations of March No. 1 are very distinct: the band version could be used as an actual military march while the piano version is for domestic music-making. Denise Gallo has examined the relationship between these two genres by looking at piano arrangements of Rossini’s military marches, originally composed for court bands. She notes that the straightforward melodies and four-part writing, as well as the predominance of doubling in

²⁷ De Silva, 53.

²⁸ De Silva, 59.

²⁹ The wind band march is scored for two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, and two horns and is written in E-flat major (as opposed to D major), as befits the tuning of the clarinets and horns. There are slight alterations in articulation and dynamics and a few moments of rhythmic difference. In general, the oboes and clarinets match the treble hand of the piano, while the horns and sometimes the oboe perform the bass hand function, though the lower instruments are accorded more held notes and some rhythmic variation in comparison to the piano version.

military marches made them ideal for adapting into simple and diverting piano arrangements, which could foreground their characteristic rhythms.³⁰ Piano adaptations domesticated a military genre for polite use in the home and Nannette explores both extremes of the genre's possibilities.

Let's return to our imagined performance: Nannette takes a brief pause, leaving her audience guessing what she'll do next. Will she continue to evoke the parade ground, or will she take us somewhere new? Nannette imperceptibly checks the placement of her feet in relation to the four pedals that radiate out from the wooden lyre (*una corda* on the far left, bassoon and moderator in the middle, sustain on the right), and repositions her hands.³¹ As she begins anew, March No. 2 instantly feels more idiosyncratically pianistic and dance-like: clearly, Nannette has tailored it to the showroom and the parlour.³² Now more playful, she skips through jaunty dotted figures and combines ornaments like appoggiaturas (m. 2) and turns (m. 6) with colourful rolled chords (Example 4.3, mm. 1–8).



Example 4.3, Opening phrase of March No. 2, mm. 1–8

³⁰ Denise Gallo, "Selling 'Celebrity': The Role of the Dedication in Marketing Piano Arrangements of Rossini's Military Marches," in *The Idea of Art Music in a Commercial World, 1800–1930*, ed. Christina Bashford and Roberta Montemorra Marvin, Music in Society and Culture (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 26–28.

³¹ Some surviving models from between 1807 and 1823 have variations on this pedal configuration, such as a double moderator or an additional janissary pedal: see "Table 5. Stops and Action" in Latcham, *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, 306–307.

³² Gallo contrasts the parade ground with the parlour in her article, see Gallo, 26–28.

Entering the trio section (Example 4.4, mm. 17–28), also in the key of in C major, her right hand traces octaves in the upper register while her left rolls out an extended lower-note trill, oscillating between tonic and seventh scale degrees (C₂ and B₁), followed by the fifth and raised fourth degrees (G₁ and F₁-sharp, mm. 21–22) and the same again down yet another octave (mm. 23–24). Although she decided not to notate pedal markings when she committed her march to paper, Nannette knows that this mysteriously soft and rumbling gesture perfectly demonstrates the veiled sound of the moderator, which she began to include in her instruments from 1807.³³ Pushing down with her right foot, she engages the pedal mechanism that inserts that piece of felt between the hammer and the strings. When she combines that effect with the damper pedal, the resulting, undamped sound is truly magical—a fitting contrast with the outer sections, in spite of the shared C major key.

The musical score for the Trio section of March No. 2, mm. 17–28, is presented in three systems. The first system (mm. 17–20) is marked 'Trio' and 'pp'. The right hand plays octaves in the upper register, and the left hand plays a trill on C₂ and B₁. The second system (mm. 21–24) is marked 'cresc.' and 'dim.'. The right hand plays a melodic line, and the left hand plays a trill on G₁ and F₁-sharp. The third system (mm. 25–28) is marked 'Marcia D. C. sin' al Fine'. The right hand plays octaves in the upper register, and the left hand plays a trill on C₂ and B₁.

Example 4.4, Trio section of March No. 2, mm. 17–28

³³ Beghin discusses how Beethoven may have experimented with the moderator and other pedals on his Walter and 1803 Erard pianos, including their interaction with tremolo figures, in part as a response to Steibelt's use of this effect on French pianos, see Beghin, *Beethoven's French Piano*, 41–45, 80.

Nannette creates a relatively wide registral gap between her right and left hands (see Example 4.4 again), building on the enigmatic and distinctly un-march-like quality of the B section by including the lowest and highest pitches of the two marches here, F₁-sharp (mm. 23 – 24) and F₆ (m. 19 and 27). Gallo notes this appealing feature of piano marches: she argues that the genre was “an opportunity to exploit the full expanse of the piano’s keyboard to replicate the band’s broad range from the highest sopranino of the piccolos to the monumental depths of an extraordinary variety of bass brasses.”³⁴ The lowest pitch of the march is a half step above this six-octave instrument’s bottom note (F₁), but the piece by no means reaches the piano’s upper limit of F₇, instead adhering to the conventional five-octave range of her youth and most of her adult life. Perhaps, Nannette leaves the more precipitous explorations of the upper octaves to others, like her friend Beethoven.³⁵ The *D.C. al fine* transports us back to the Streicher-Stein showroom and a more normative sound world, bringing Nannette’s marches to a tidy conclusion. Her listeners clap admiringly as she rises from the piano and now invites the lawyer’s wife—enamoured with the instrument, the piece, and their creator—to try out the piano for herself.

In the space of two short movements, Nannette explores a surprising variety of effects, despite not being particularly adventurous from a harmonic or formal point of view. Still, the almost experimental array of effects shows Nannette the piano maker merging with Nannette the pianist and composer: we hear her play with the instrument’s pre-made sound through her choice of dynamics, articulation, ornamentation, range, and use of the pedal, as implied in the score. The marches include meticulous dynamic markings that cover a wide range, from *pianissimo* to *fortissimo*. If March No. 1 stands as a “real” military march that moves smoothly between band and piano, then March No. 2—with its ornamentation and pianistic effects—presents a tailoring of the march genre to her piano’s capabilities. Together, they show a maker-player using her own composition to display her instruments as yet another method of showing off her pianos to their best advantage, a practice she learnt as a child when she demonstrated her father’s creations. But Nannette was also adding a new dimension to her public persona as a woman piano maker. By composing and publishing these marches she displayed her musicality to the world in a way that

³⁴ Gallo, 26.

³⁵ Beghin explores how Beethoven used the “limit” of the range of his Broadwood piano as an opportunity to experiment with composition in his Piano Sonata in E major, Op. 109: Tom Beghin, “The C-natural That Wants to Be a C-sharp: Visions and Realities of Beethoven’s Broadwood,” in *Artistic Research in Music: Discipline and Resistance. Artists and Researchers at the Orpheus Institute*, ed. Jonathan Impett, Orpheus Institute Series (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2018).

was, as Schütz testified, warmly received. Through the ways that *Deux marches* explore her instrument and engage with her existing public image, Nannette thus uses composition to promote her persona as maker-player and multifaceted musical woman.

4. Conclusion

Deux marches encapsulates the unique features of Nannette's career as a maker-player that had been present from her earliest years in the musical world. She initially learnt making and playing from her father but succeeded in uniting these roles to a greater extent than he had ever attained or aspired to. That playing was so integral to her work and her role as a musical figure speaks to gendered expectations of her as a middle-class nineteenth-century woman. It also highlights the gendered worldview through which those around Nannette perceived her. The connection between her gender and skills as a pianist certainly captured the imagination of her husband, associates, and commentators—all of whom were men—to the extent that some chose, consciously or not, to erase her work as a maker in favour of the more legible role of pianist. Although the tendency in primary sources to prioritize Nannette's role as a pianist over her role as a maker has led to interpretive problems in the secondary literature, I have shown in this chapter that if we read contemporaneous sources about Nannette for more than the facts, together they reveal complementary insights into her musical labour.

Examining the maker-player concept through *Kurze Bemerkungen* helps us gain insight into how Nannette and her husband wanted people to use her instruments and into their personal aesthetic values about pianos and pianoism. As a document tailored to her pianos and her way of playing, shared with Andreas, *Kurze Bemerkungen* stands as a central expression of the couple's views in 1801: it presents her pianos as the ideal ones at that moment in time. *Kurze Bemerkungen* also attests to the maker-player's desire to control the maintenance and use of their pianos once they were out in the world. The pamphlet and other published sources about Nannette by her associates furthermore used the maker-player idea as a tool through which to sell her as a woman piano maker to the musical public, upon which their livelihoods depended.

Conclusion

Nannette Streicher-Stein, Marie-Françoise Bonnemaison, and Catherine-Barbe Delahante were among the most prominent musical businesswomen in early nineteenth-century Europe. Though their level of public visibility and representation in the historical record is atypical, their stories nonetheless reveal some of the social and economic experiences likely faced by many of their fellow women in the music industry. An important goal of my project has been to recover hitherto overlooked elements of the lives and work of Nannette and the Marcoux sisters, but my aims also go beyond this by proposing approaches—such as family and collaboration, multimodal engagement with music, and historically-grounded understandings of gender—that alter how we might think not only about these specific women, but also about their counterparts of all genders and their industries at large. Attending to gender in music publishing and instrument making is already an atypical project within musicology: the extent of documents and social context I have brought together in this dissertation suggests that exploring the work and experiences of other musical actors from similar perspectives would be beneficial for our broader musicological understanding of those trades.

A sizeable body of scholarship now exists on historical women as singers, composers, instrumentalists, educators, but drops off considerably when we move away from the recognizably “feminine” forms of labour that are performing and teaching. My research builds on existing work by expanding how we might conceive of both women’s musical labour and the relationships between gender and music in this period, specifically by focusing on professional middle-class women and their music businesses. The efforts of Nannette and the Marcoux sisters to fashion public identities for themselves that engaged with gendered and classed ideas around women’s musical performance, dedicateeship, concert organizing, and “appropriate” femininity furthermore speak to their musical, social, and economic agency. This provides another alternative to the containment/liberty binary that governs much discussion of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women’s engagement with music.

My project drew on a wealth of primary documents including marriage contracts, letters, probate proceedings, contracts, sales ledgers, periodical articles, obituaries, diaries, and more to

explore how gender, labour, class, and family interacted in the lives and businesses of Nannette and the Marcoux sisters. In this process, I have identified, analyzed, and/or translated a range of sources relating to these women that reveal new perspectives on their work—particularly as pertains to gender—thus adding substantially to our knowledge of these figures and their milieu. There are significant differences in the types of extant evidence available for my two case studies that have shaped the character of the stories I have told. Nannette and the Streicher-Stein family left behind considerably more personal material such as letters—allowing me to recreate a clearer sense of her as a person and her relationships with others—while very few sources of this kind survive for the Marcoux sisters, meaning they remain somewhat shadowy figures. Conversely, there are more surviving business records by or relating to the Marcoux sisters’ work and Mlles Erard, such as business letters to and from the sisters, financial records like Féréol Bonnemaïson’s probate documents, and the Erard Frère company records (sales ledgers, workshop registers, and letters). When paired with Marie-Françoise’s and Catherine-Barbe’s marriage contracts, these documents provide insight into the particulars of their day-to-day work as music publishers, while the complex nature of Nannette’s collaboration with Andreas and his dominance of the Streicher-Stein business correspondence make Nannette’s daily role in her company more difficult to discern post-1802.

The nature of the documents available in each case also called for different methods. I applied feminist-influenced close reading to letters, title pages, and published texts for both Nannette and the Marcoux sisters, attending to whether and when these documents make reference to gender, labour, class, the body, and (of course) music. In Nannette’s case, I also looked for connections made between her and her instruments. On the other hand, I noted absences and erasures, where other evidence suggested that my subjects should have been present but were instead minimised or hidden. In my interpretations of the sisters’ marriage contracts and the Erard-Marcoux financial records, I used secondary literature from the disciplines of legal and business history to compare articles and assets detailed in the contracts with other contemporary examples, and to understand how the contracts related to the dictates of the Civil and Commercial Codes. For the Erard Frères sales ledgers, I drew on research conducted by Beghin, Blanton, and Adelson to decode and draw meaning from Mlles Erard-related entries, and subsequently connected those findings to the Marcoux sisters’ catalogues, letters, and musical networks.

Both the Marcoux sisters and Nannette crafted public identities as musical experts by conveying their multilayered engagements with music through the medium of print, including title pages, sheet music, advertisements, and periodical articles. Nannette and her associates presented her as a maker-player of pianos, while the Marcoux sisters conveyed their experience as amateur musicians and—in Marie-Françoise’s case—as a salonnière. They used their positions as prosumers to encourage emulation among their woman-dominated clientele, a strategy that we saw had a positive impact for the women who heard Nannette’s *Deux Marches* in 1808. The Marcoux sisters’ self-dedications and Nannette’s maker-player identity also served as strategies of reconciliation between gender and profession. These approaches negotiated a middle way between elements of middle-class femininity and the professional musical labour of music publishing and piano making that may have struck the public as contradictory. For Nannette in particular, we cannot fully understand her public persona or achievements as a piano maker without thinking about how that interacts with her experiences as a player. Approaching primary sources about women like Nannette and the Marcoux sisters with attention to gender thus recovers or uncovers some of their agency as a musical woman in early nineteenth-century Vienna and Paris.

My research has shown that Nannette and the Marcoux sisters were effective musical businesswomen who undertook a vast array of tasks in the course of their work. This included but was not limited to corresponding with customers, agents, and other music businesses; placing advertisements for their products; organizing the production and manufacturing of their products (and, for Nannette, making those products by hand); managing employees; operating retail spaces and sending goods to far-off customers; building relationships with composers and performers; soliciting new compositions; bookkeeping; and taking legal action or appealing to government officials. This strongly suggests that their daily labour was not constrained by their gender. For tasks where legal conditions sometimes restricted their actions—such as entering into contracts—they made use of their relationships with their husbands and male relatives to get the job done.

The centrality of family and household to late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century businesses like Mlles Erard and the Streicher-Stein piano company make clear that questions of labour, gender, and family were closely bound together in these contexts. My case studies complicate and challenge the patrilineal and homosocial narratives that dominate much music

history of this period by highlighting relationships between siblings, mothers and children, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews, fathers and daughters, and between spouses. They present numerous examples of transference of musical knowledge and property from women to women, men to women, and women to men (and thus not just from fathers to sons) and show that these relationships had great significance to the survival and success of a music business, including across generations. My research therefore demonstrates that it is essential when speaking of historical women (but also of people of all genders) to think about how family and work interact. This is not about eliding women and family within a maternalist outlook or about limiting our view of where and when women could act. Rather, it is about enriching our understanding of how kinship and relationships shape our worlds as social beings and about including work within that. Surviving documents on Nannette, the Marcoux sisters, and their music businesses show that there were no clear divisions between public and private, the worldly and domestic, nor definitive gendering of work activities. The familial-commercial relationships they cultivated with their male relatives—cooperation between the Marcoux sisters and their uncles through Mlles Erard and Erard Frères, collaboration between Nannette and her husband with the Streicher-Stein company—furthermore proved mutually beneficial. This dissertation thus demonstrates what is possible when we look beyond the inadequate but influential divisions of private/public, leisure/work, amateur/professional, and women/men.

The pianos made by Nannette and the scores published by the Marcoux sisters (especially those for piano, harp, and voice) in many ways symbolized and enacted the increasing feminization of domestic space in nineteenth-century Europe. By producing musical objects like pianos and sheet music, my subjects furnished themselves and other middle- and upper-class women with key objects for cultivating femininity, leisure, and domesticity. These objects were coopted into an idealized separation of work and home life in this period that framed a woman's place as situated in the home. Yet ironically, Nannette's and the Marcoux sisters' professional roles as music businesswomen also called such conceptions of femininity and class into question. The physical spaces they occupied furthermore blended home and work life together: the Erard-Marcoux and Streicher-Stein families both had living quarters and workspaces situated on the same site. Their lives thus blur simplistic distinctions between public and private in European musical culture.

In Nannette's case, a notable distinction emerged between how Streicher-Stein family members conceived of labour and gender within the company and their family, and how outside commentators perceived it. Private, internal documents from Andreas and Nannette were more likely to emphasize her labour and contributions, while external documents were more likely to frame Andreas as the sole piano maker. This speaks to the differing approaches to gender within and outside of this influential family and may reflect the nuance, complexity, and paradoxes that play out within all families in terms of gender, position, and age in contrast to the straightforward clarity offered by top-down ideology.

Such internal and external distinctions have contributed to the posthumous recasting of figures like Nannette in more stereotypically feminine roles of carers, helpers, and supporters. Traditional scholarship on the Streicher-Stein couple and company resists talking about Nannette as a worker, but these sources have no problem with framing her as a wife and a pianist—roles that affirm typical nineteenth- and twentieth-century gender ideology. Arguably, the shorthand practice of referring to the company as “Streicher” in modern secondary sources—rather than including both Nannette's maiden and married names, as the company title did for most of her life—contributes to the minimizing of her in histories of the business and of piano making more broadly. Because there is so little published work on the Marcoux sisters, their legacy displays different forms of erasure: though not misrepresented, until recently they had been straightforwardly underrepresented in secondary scholarship.

Because of her comparatively high profile in Beethoven scholarship, when Nannette has been represented positively, it is often within the framework of the exceptional woman narrative (described by Tucker), a backhanded compliment that celebrates her while foreclosing the possibility that other women might also have contributed to piano history.¹ Antidotes that I have employed to the exceptional woman trope include grounding my subjects in their socio-historical contexts and understanding the historical conditions around gender and work that shaped their lives. It turns out that for middle-class women like Nannette and the Marcoux sisters, running a business while also being wives and mothers was not an exceptional triumph over gender norms, but fairly typical for their class and artisan backgrounds. Intervening in the cycle of perpetual emergence—where every historical woman identified is framed as “the first”—can also have a positive, real-life impact. For example, discovering Nannette's life and work has influenced the

¹ Tucker, “Big Ears.”

careers of least two modern-day women, the historical fortepiano makers Margaret Hood and her student Anne Acker. For Acker, as she related in an interview, Nannette is a figure of inspiration. In addition to finding Nannette's instruments musically and technologically engaging, her gendered experiences of managing life as a working mother clearly also resonated deeply with this maker.² Learning about predecessors and challenging the exceptional woman trope can have positive material consequences for women in the music industry today.

Exploring Nannette's and the Marcoux sisters' work in distinct but related industries and contexts side by side reveals the similarities and specificities of their experiences as working women in this period. There were continuities in the conditions and attitudes working musical women faced, but local traditions and particularities could influence how gender ideology and the law impacted women's daily lives. For example, my subjects faced different legal conditions regarding gender: customary law and the introduction of the Civil and Commercial Codes in France, and gender guardianship in the Habsburg lands. Like much of Europe, the Holy Roman Empire emulated France by undertaking wide-reaching legal reforms in the 1810s, so exploring how this may have impacted Nannette and other Viennese businesswomen in the music trades would be a productive avenue for future research. Other large scale economic and political conditions like the privilege system also impacted the two businesses differently. As outsiders to music publishing, it is unlikely that Mlles Erard could have been established under the *ancien régime*'s privilege system. Nannette, meanwhile, used the Viennese privilege system to her advantage, appealing directly to the Holy Roman Emperor to establish her company in the imperial capital. Viewing my subjects' experiences in tandem is another, hopefully impactful, means of undermining the exceptional woman trope.

There are many biographical resonances between my subjects' stories. Nannette and the Marcoux sisters were Protestants in Catholic-dominated cities and internal migrants who moved from the edges of their respective polities to the centre. They lived in the same historical period,

² Elizabeth Dale, "Instrument Craftswoman Continues Legacy Inspired by Woman Who Made Beethoven's Pianos," *Playback Blog*, <https://ww1.namm.org/playback/around-globe/instrument-craftswoman-continues-legacy-inspired>. For Hood's response to Nannette and her work, see Hood, "Nannette Streicher and her Pianos: Part I—A Brief Look at her Life."; Hood, "Nannette Streicher and her Pianos continued [Part II]." Perhaps ironically, Part I of Hood's article on Nannette renders her exceptional: "It is clear that without the backing of Andreas, [Nannette] would have had a most difficult time; any woman, no matter how talented, would have been unlikely to succeed in any business at that time, with those laws and customs." Acker and Hood also feature in an article that marked the 250th anniversary of Nannette's birth in 2020, see Patricia Morrisroe, "The Woman Who Built Beethoven's Pianos," *New York Times* (November 5, 2020), <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/06/arts/music/beethoven-piano.html>.

were closely tied to the keyboard-making trade, participated in overlapping musical networks, and shared mutual acquaintances. Though they never met, this indicates the interconnectedness of European music industries at this time. They acquired their music businesses from older male relatives that accorded them substantial economic agency and relative wealth before they entered marriage, and built up successful, long lasting, and international music businesses. They married, had children, and—in Nannette’s and Marie-Françoise’s cases, though not Catherine-Barbe’s—lived long lives for their time that enabled them to retire. There were, of course, also differences in their stories. These included their geographic location, which meant that Mlles Erard’s trade primarily focused on France, the Low Countries, and Britain, while the Streicher-Stein company centered further east on Germanic and Hapsburg-ruled states. Catherine-Barbe and Nannette predeceased their husbands, while Marie-Françoise experienced many years of widowhood, through which she entered a distinct period of legal, economic, and social agency for women.

In terms of relationships, Nannette’s relationships with her father and then with her husband were foundational to her company, whereas for Marie-Françoise and Catherine-Barbe it was their relationships with each other and with their uncles upon which their company was built; their father was absent from their later lives and their husbands ran their own art dealing business. There was also conflict within these two musical families. As I recounted, the rift between Nannette and Andreas on the one hand and her brother Matthäus on the other was both personal and professional and appears to have had a life-long impact on Nannette. Pierre Erard’s letters also suggest internal tensions in the Erard-Marcoux family: he appears to have personally disliked or disapproved of Marie-Françoise’s husband Féréol. Erard Frères and the Paris Erard household also experienced major financial strife throughout the 1800s and 1810s that directly effected Catherine-Barbe and her mother, though it is unclear if these troubles impacted Mlles Erard too.

My project has revealed innumerable avenues for future research, more than I ever could have imagined when I began this work in 2016. For instance, exploring interactions between other women in the music industry—like the Parisian music publishers Jeanne-Élisabeth Duhan and Suzanne Girard, who together ran Mme Duhan et Cie—would be a fruitful pursuit.³ The Erard Frères ledgers present an excellent opportunity to study a large group of music customers and intermediaries in this period, especially in relation to gender and class, that would provide us

³ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs*, 1, 60–62.

with further data on who was consuming music and musical goods. Artistic research on and performance of the repertoires related to Nannette, the Marcoux sisters, and their musical gatherings, as well as interactions between that repertoire and the affordances of Streicher-Stein and Erard pianos, would serve as another means of diversifying and broadening modern performance repertoire. It is my hope that this work can act as a springboard for further research into the true extent of women's participation not only in instrument-making and music publishing, but also music engraving and printing, music writing and journalism, and all imaginable corners of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music industries in Europe and beyond. Furthermore, the themes I deploy here—family, collaboration, accounting for multifaceted engagement with music, music businesses—can provide further tools for taking seriously the musical labour of not only middle-class white women, but poor women and women of colour.

By asking “different questions” of primary sources about these musical women, I have found new channels for understanding the labour and lived experiences of Nannette and the Marcoux sisters as businesspeople, craftspeople, performers, concert organizers, family members, household leaders, and nineteenth-century women. In both cases, existing scholarship on my subjects did not explore their lives and experiences as women in depth. Until now, only one dedicated piece of research existed on the Marcoux sisters: by building on that work my project has developed the most substantial history of the Marcoux sisters and Mlles Erard to date. I have brought feminist theory and historical understandings of gender to bear on Nannette and the Marcoux sisters for the first time in a substantial and consistent manner and my combination of frameworks from across feminist theory, musicology, and history makes this an interdisciplinary project that contributes to each of these fields. My research enriches existing literature on piano culture around 1800 through its focus on women as publishers and piano makers and adds to debates in feminist history around production and consumption by providing a sustained focus on the music industry. By considering the interplay of gender and labour, occupational and non-occupational musical activities, and unseating gendered binaries about historical women and music, the stories of Nannette Streicher-Stein and her piano company, Marie-Françoise Bonnemaïson, and Catherine-Barbe Delahante, and Mlles Erard, expand and diversify our understanding of the nineteenth-century music industry and European musical culture at large.

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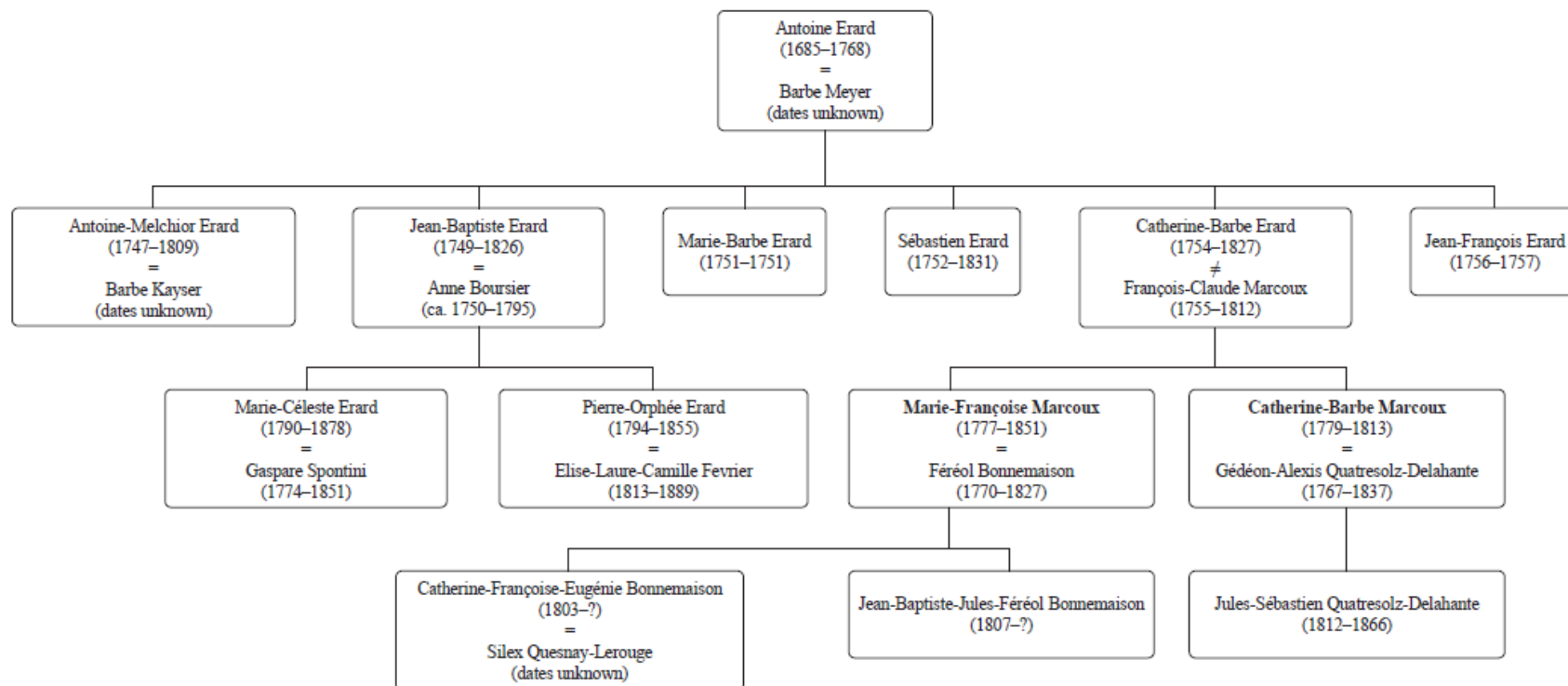
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Appendix 1

Erard and Marcoux family tree



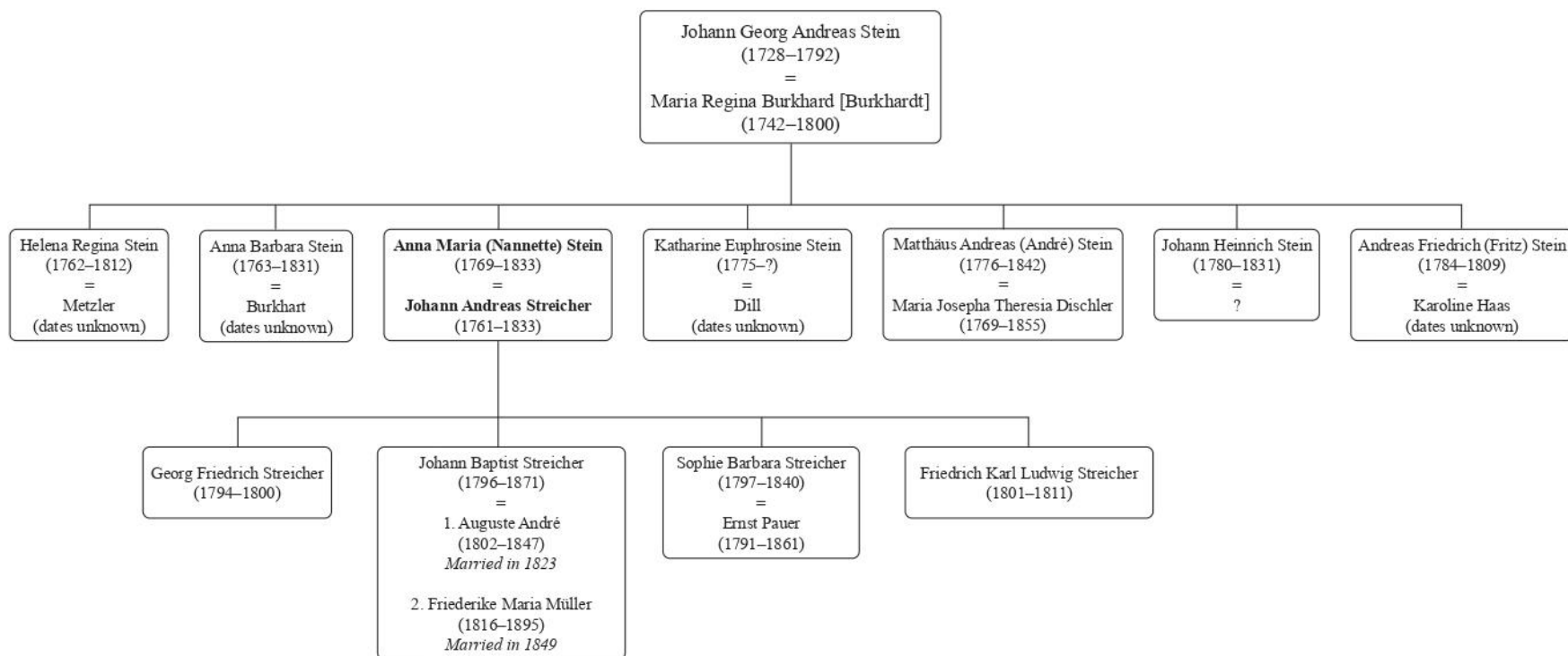
Appendix 2

Mlles Erard and Erard-Marcoux family timeline

1777	Marie-Françoise Marcoux born in Strasbourg
1779	Catherine-Barbe Marcoux born in Strasbourg
ca. 1795	Marcoux sisters move to Paris with their mother, Catherine-Barbe Marcoux née Erard
ca. 1800	Mlles Erard founded by uncles Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien Erard
1802	Marie-Françoise marries Féréol Bonnemaïson
1803	Catherine-Françoise-Eugénie (Marie-Françoise and Féréol's daughter) born in Paris
1807	Catherine-Barbe marries Alexis Quatresolz-Delahante Jean-Baptiste-Jules-Féréol (Marie-Françoise and Féréol's son) born in Paris
1812	Jules-Sébastien (Catherine-Barbe and Alexis's son) born in London
1813	Catherine-Barbe dies in London
1826	Jean-Baptiste dies in Paris
1827	Catherine-Barbe <i>aînée</i> dies in Paris Féréol dies in Paris; Marie-Françoise widowed
1831	Sébastien dies in Pais
1833	Marie-Françoise retires; her nephew Jules-Sébastien Delahante takes over Mlles Erard, renaming it "J. Delahante"
1837	Alexis dies (location unknown)
1839	Jules-Sébastien declares bankruptcy
1840	Mlles Erard/J. Delahante stock sold off
1851	Marie-Françoise dies in Paris

Appendix 3

Stein and Streicher family tree¹



¹ J. A. Stein and his wife Maria Regina had fifteen children in all; the eight who died in childhood are not included in this family tree. See Uta Goebel-Streicher, “Zwei musikalische Nannetten in Augsburg. Nanette von Schaden und Nannette Streicher née Stein,” in *“Ein unerschöpflicher Reichtum an Ideen...”*: *Komponistinnen zur Zeit Mozarts*, ed. Elena Ostleitner and Gabriele Dorffner (Strasshof: Vier-Viertel-Verlag, 2006), 81.

Appendix 4

Streicher-Stein company and family timeline

1761	Johann Andreas Streicher born in Stuttgart
1769	Anna Maria (Nannette) Stein born in Augsburg
1776	Matthäus Andreas (André) Stein born in Augsburg
1792	Johann Andreas Stein (Nannette's father) dies Nannette assumes leadership of the piano company
1793/94	Nannette and Andreas marry
1794	Nannette, Andreas, and her brothers move to Vienna Georg Friedrich (Nannette and Andreas's first child) born in Vienna
ca. 1795	Company renamed "Frère et Sœur Stein" (Geschwister Stein)
1796	Johann Baptist (Nannette and Andreas's second child) born in Vienna
1797	Sophie Barbara (Nannette and Andreas's third child) born in Vienna
1800	Georg dies in Vienna
1801	<i>Kurze Bemerkungen</i> published Friedrich Karl (Nannette and Andreas's fourth child) born in Vienna
1802	Frère et Sœur Stein partnership dissolves Company (re)named "Nannette Streicher, née Stein" Griesinger's profile of Nannette appears in the <i>AmZ</i>
1811	Friedrich Karl dies in Vienna
ca. 1812	Johann Baptist joins company
1824	Johann Baptist become an official partner Company renamed "Nannette Streicher, née Stein, et fils"
ca. 1825	Nannette retires
1833	Nannette dies in Vienna Andreas dies in Vienna Johann Baptist assumes leadership and renames company "J. B. Streicher"

Appendix 5

Nannette Streicher-Stein's obituary in the AmZ (1833):

Partial translation and facsimile

[Andreas Streicher], "Nekrolog," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Year 25 no. 23 (June 5, 1833), 4
Mus.th. 1800-35, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany. Public domain.

Obituary

If in this journal the life and influence of those who excelled as superior through musical compositions or their performance are rightly preserved for contemporaries and descendants, then a special place of honour is due to a woman who in her earliest youth not only aroused admiration in piano playing and declamatory singing, but was also prompted by unusual circumstances to master the building of pianofortes - now so widespread - to such a degree that in her more mature years she was put in a position to found as her own firm a business which subsequently became very important. Few connoisseurs of the pianoforte will be unfamiliar with a name that the closest relatives as well as numerous friends now pronounce only with sorrow. It must be a real joy to the feminine portion of the musical public if the merits of Nannette Streicher, née Stein -who at the beginning of this year passed from the circle of her own people into a better world - are made known through the following brief particulars.

Nannette Stein was born in Augsburg on January 2nd, 1769. Her father was Andreas Stein, who was justly famous as a thoroughgoing piano and organ player; as the builder of one of the most splendid organs, as the inventor of a mechanism that transformed the crude *Pantolon* into the piano forte, now adopted everywhere; as well as several keyboard instruments, which at the same time received wide acclaim, but never came into general use. Already in her first tender years, the musical talent of this daughter developed to such a degree that her father eagerly took over her lessons himself and brought her on so well that, at barely five years old, she was playing publicly in concerts. When a few years later he made a trip to Vienna to show off his new pianofortes to potential buyers - especially a very ingeniously designed instrument, which combined the grand piano and the pianoforte by means of three keyboards and which could be

played by two people sitting opposite each other - he took his eight-year-old daughter with him and accustomed her to displaying the advantages of her father's new work, just as readily before figures from the highest society as before musicians and unknown listeners. Her keen, accurate ear, which instantly distinguished the slightest deviation of tone from its required purity, prompted him to also guide her into singing, knowing well what effect an absolutely pure voice can in itself produce through just this quality. Since none of the older sisters betrayed as much talent for music as little Nannette, and since she also showed the most tender devotion to her father and teacher at every opportunity, the child became so valuable to him that she had to be his constant companion. Although she was only 10 years old, he encouraged her, kindly but seriously, first in making individual parts for the mechanism of the time, as well as eventually setting up the keyboards, tuning and completing his pianofortes entirely. The lessons in singing and piano playing continued as well with unceasing enthusiasm, and guided by the most precise knowledge of mechanics in eliciting the most beautiful sound from the instruments, her playing became increasingly accomplished. It attracted such favor, even compared to excellent musicians, that the father would only allow strangers to try one of his pianofortes if the daughter had first drawn from it what he or she had worked into it. No traveler—still less an important musician—passed through Augsburg without visiting the famous Stein. And he knew how to make proud use of the talents of his daughter and three-fold student. Thus, her reputation spread far and wide at a young age, and was further increased through various trips. Just as she had been her father's most faithful assistant for fully fourteen years in his demanding work, she also proved herself during his continuous ill health to be a most conscientious daughter in her incessant care of the man who devoted every hour to furthering her moral and musical training, and she thereby became an object of the highest love and admiration. During the last years of his illness she felt it was not enough to have completed the day's required work, she also shared his sleepless nights and gave him comfort and encouragement when the anxieties of dropsy brought him to despair. However, neither her filial sacrifice, which threatened to destroy her health, nor medical skill were able to prolong a life that was entirely dedicated to the tools of musical art and excelled in its successes. For this exceptional man passed away on February 29th, 1792 in his 63rd year. Although the wound that this terrible loss caused her spirit remained deep and incurable, she did not forget that it was now her duty to take care of the well-being of her mother and six siblings and to do everything possible to maintain the honour which her father's name

had acquired. With the courage of a man, with the love of a daughter and a sister, she undertook - in conjunction with her brother, who was then only 16 years old - to continue the former business and to pass on the benefits of it to her relatives for two years. [...] As daring as it might seem that a woman, a mother of three children, should place herself at the head of one of the most demanding businesses; and although it was unprecedented that such an enterprise was carried out under a female name, her husband nevertheless insisted on it, because she had acquired not only the most just claims to such a public recognition through her filial loyalty and sacrifice to such a fine father, but also [because she] had the most precise knowledge of that mechanism which gives a pianoforte its true value [...]. Even though this rare and excellent woman had been able to operate with little for many years in this laborious work, she was nevertheless sufficiently compensated by the knowledge of seeing the sacrifice of her youthful years and the many years of application - when she was already a wife and mother - rewarded with the best results. With maternal pride, she savoured the joy of henceforth seeing in the company 'Nannette Streicher, née Stein, and Son' a business which has so much influence on one of the most important aspects of music, started by the great-grandfather, continued by the grandfather [J. A. Stein] and herself, then developed to the peak of perfection by her only son. For those who understand music not as a myriad of notes or difficulties that can be overcome by mere mechanical practice, but who want to be delighted, exalted, and moved by sounds, she was a piano player of the first rank. [...] With the greatest perseverance she overcame the new and strange idioms of these [musical] poets and was only satisfied when she had made them her own in such a way that they seemed to have sprung from her. The rarity of her beautiful playing consisted in calm, clarity, and accuracy, in the appropriate moderate expression, in the imperceptible blending of the shadings, in the whispering of the notes, which seemed to come from the most malleable of instruments rather than from the piano; in the interest that she knew how to give to her performance and which kept the listener always in suspense; in striving to never overstep the boundaries of truth, but only to attain the goal of the noble, of that which is pressing in heart and soul. No cursory haste, no deliberate hesitancy, no vanity of wanting to shine as a player disturbed the attentive listener; a complete surrender, the most precise adherence to the composition animated her performance and aroused enchantment, emotion or pleasure. Only such qualities could succeed in binding each large or small audience to herself so completely that they would already be drawn into her performance by the first measures and seek

to form their own expression according to hers. The fact that these so rarely combined qualities necessarily succeeded in producing effects that were forever imprinted on the memory can only be explained by the exactness and naturalness of her sensibility. After years she was also rewarded by being hailed by a Clementi, a Haydn, a Beethoven because these great masters had received their best interpreter in her. [...] On the pianoforte, she applied - until the advanced age of 64 years - a diligence that nothing could tire, and thus proved to the younger generation how rich, how inexhaustible are the pleasures of an art that is more capable than any other of expressing and communicating feelings. [...] —Much involvement with the arts, and a continually active, lively interest in them, generally push the virtues of the wife, housewife, and mother into the background. However, the deceased was an honourable exception to this not uncommon phenomenon. She willingly sacrificed her inclination for the arts [here referring to singing] to the duties that daily life required, and was just as exemplary in her home life as a tender, attentive wife and a loving mother to her children and grandchildren.—Never wavering in friendship, capable of the greatest affection, courteous towards the stranger, forbearing towards all opinions, she was highly respected by all who knew her, and her loss was universally lamented. She died on January 16th of this year, after two months of suffering from pulmonary edema, and breathed her last in the arms of her husband, son and daughter.

Her name will be preserved for posterity, because her son counts it an honour that he also speaks her name in speaking his own. In the same cemetery where Mozart's ashes rest lies also her grave, marked by a memorial stone.

ALLGEMEINE MUSIKALISCHE ZEITUNG.

Den 5^{ten} Juny.N^o. 23.

1833.

N e k r o l o g.

Wenn in dieser Zeitschrift das Leben und Wirken derjenigen, welche durch Tondichtungen oder Ausübung derselben sich vorzüglich ausgezeichnet, mit Recht für die Zeitgenossen und ihre Nachkommen aufbewahrt wird, so gebührt ein besonderer Ehrenplatz einer Frau, die nicht allein in frühesten Jugend schon im Klavierspiele und declamatorischen Gesange Bewunderung erregte, sondern auch durch selten sich ereignende Umstände veranlasst wurde, die Verfertigung des nun so allgemein verbreiteten Pianoforte in dem Grade zu erlernen, dass sie bey reiferen Jahren in den Stand gesetzt ward, ein in der Folge sehr bedeutend gewordenes Geschäft dieser Art unter ihrer eigenen Firma zu begründen. Wenigen Liebhabern des Pianoforte wird ein Name, den die nächsten Angehörigen eben so, wie zahlreiche Freunde jetzt nur mit Trauer aussprechen, unbekannt seyn; und es muss dem weiblichen Theile des musikalischen Publicums zur wahren Freude gereichen, wenn die Verdienste von Nannette Streicher, geborne Stein, welche im Anfange dieses Jahres aus dem Kreise der Ihrigen in eine bessere Welt überging, durch nachfolgende kurze Angaben bekannt gemacht werden.

Nannette Stein war geboren zu Augsburg am 2ten Januar 1769. Ihr Vater war Andreas Stein, mit vollem Rechte berühmt als gründlicher Klavier- und Orgelspieler; als Erbauer einer der herrlichsten Orgeln, als Erfinder einer Mechanik, die den rohen Pantalon in das, jetzt überall eingeführte Pianoforte umwandelte; so wie mehrer Tasten-Instrumente, die zu selbiger Zeit zwar allen Beyfall erhielten, aber nie in allgemeinen Gebrauch gekommen sind. Schon in den ersten zartesten Kindesjahren entwickelte sich das Musik-Talent dieser Tochter in so hohem Grade, dass der Vater mit

allem Eifer ihren Unterricht selbst übernahm und sie so weit brachte, um, kaum fünf Jahre alt, mit einem Concerte sich öffentlich hören lassen zu können. Als er einige Jahre später eine Reise nach Wien machte, um seine neuen Pianoforte, besonders aber ein sehr sinnreich eingerichtetes Instrument, welches durch drey Tastaturen den Flügel und das Pianoforte vereinigte und von zwey sich gegenüberstehenden Personen zugleich gespielt werden konnte, den Liebhabern vorzuzeigen; nahm er auch die achtjährige Tochter mit sich und gewöhnte sie daran, eben so zwanglos vor den höchsten Standespersonen, wie vor Musikern und unbekannten Zuhörern, die Vorzüge der neuen Arbeiten ihres Vaters bemerklich zu machen. Ihr scharfes, richtiges Gehör, welches die kleinste Abweichung eines Tones von seiner erforderlichen Reinheit augenblicklich unterschied, bewog diesen, sie auch zum Gesange anzuleiten, wohl wissend, welche Wirkung eine ganz reine Stimme durch diese Eigenschaft allein schon hervorbringe. Da keine der älteren Schwestern so viele Anlage zur Musik verrieth, als die kleine Nannette; sie auch die zarteste Anhänglichkeit für ihren Vater und Lehrer bey jeder Gelegenheit bewies, so wurde diesem das Kind so werth, dass es seine immerwährende Gesellschafterin seyn musste, und er sie, in ihrem 10ten Jahre schon, erst zur Verfertigung einzelner Theile der damaligen Mechanik, so wie endlich zum Einrichten der Tastaturen, zum Stimmen und gänzlicher Vollendung seiner Pianoforte mit freundlichstem Ernste anhielt. Dabey wurde der Unterricht im Gesange und Klavierspiele mit unausgesetztem Eifer fortgeführt, und durch die genaueste Kenntniss der Mechanik geleitet, dem Instrumente den schönsten Ton zu entlocken, wurde ihr Spiel immer vollkommener; es erhielt, selbst gegen ausgezeichnete Musiker gehalten, einen solchen Vorzug, dass der Vater nur dann erst dem Fremden erlaubte, eines

seiner Pianoforte zu versuchen, wenn zuerst die Tochter dasjenige aus demselben gezogen, was er oder sie hineingearbeitet hatten. Da kein Reisender, noch weniger aber ein Musiker von Bedeutung den Weg über Augsburg nahm, ohne den berühmten Stein zu besuchen, und dieser mit Stolz die Talente seiner Tochter und dreyfachen Schülerin geltend zu machen wusste; so erhielt sie schon in frühen Jahren einen sehr ausgebreiteten Ruf, der noch durch verschiedene Reisen vermehrt wurde. Wie sie während vierzehn vollen Jahren die treueste Gehülfin ihres Vaters bey seiner schwierigen Arbeit war, so bewies sie sich auch bey dessen lange dauernder Kränklichkeit als die sorgsamste Tochter in der ununterbrochenen Pflege des Mannes, der ihr jede Stunde widmete, um ihre sittliche und musikalische Ausbildung zu befördern und ihr dadurch ein Gegenstand der höchsten Liebe und Verehrung geworden war. Es schien ihr während der letzten Jahre seiner Krankheit nicht genug, am Tage die bestellten Arbeiten verfertigt zu haben, sie theilte auch seine schlaflosen Nächte mit ihm und sprach ihm Trost und Ermunterung zu, wenn die Beängstigungen einer Brustwassersucht ihn zur Verzweiflung bringen wollten. Jedoch weder ihre kindliche Aufopferung, die ihre Gesundheit zu zerstören drohte, noch die ärztliche Kunst vermochten ein Leben noch länger zu erhalten, das gänzlich den Werkzeugen der Tonkunst geweiht und in seinen Erfolgen so ausgezeichnet war; denn der seltene Mann entschlief am 29sten Februar 1792 in seinem 65sten Jahre. So tief und unheilbar auch die Wunde blieb, welche dieser schreckliche Verlust ihrem Gemüthe verursachte, so vergass sie doch nicht, dass es nun ihre Aufgabe sey, für das Wohl ihrer Mutter und sechs Geschwister zu sorgen und Alles anzuwenden, um dem Namen des Vaters die erworbene Ehre zu erhalten. Mit dem Muthe eines Mannes, mit der Liebe einer Tochter, einer Schwester, unternahm sie es, in Verbindung mit ihrem damals erst 16 Jahre alten Bruder, das bisherige Geschäft fortzuführen und den Nutzen davon während zwey Jahren ihren Angehörigen zu überlassen. — Mittlerweile lernte sie ihren nachmaligen Gatten Herrn Streicher, der sich in München als Klavierspieler und Lehrer ausgezeichnet, kennen, und beschloss, mit diesem und ihrem Bruder Augsburg zu verlassen. In Wien hatte einst ihr Vater — wie früher in Paris — die beste Aufnahme gefunden, weshalb sie beschloss, in ersterer Stadt seine ehema-

ligen Gönner und Freunde aufzusuchen, um mit deren Beystand ihre Uebersiedelung an diesen musikkiebenden Ort zu erleichtern. Durch die Gnade Sr. Kaiserl. Maj. selbst, so wie durch die hohen Behörden wurde ihr Gesuch bewilligt, und sie kehrte mit dem festen Entschlusse nach Augsburg zurück, nach Beendigung der zwey zugesagten Jahre mit allen Vorräthen und den nöthigen Werkzeugen ihre Werkstätte nun für immer in Wien zu errichten. Im July des Jahres 1794 begab sie sich mit ihrem nunmehrigen Gatten, ihrem ältesten und jüngsten Bruder — einem vielversprechenden Musiktalente — dahin, und betrieb das ihr zum Bedürfniss gewordene Geschäft in Gemeinschaft mit Ersterem, unter der Firma: „Geschwister Stein“ bis 1802, in welcher Zeit diese sich trennten und jeder Theil seinen eigenen Namen führte. — So gewagt es auch scheinen mochte, dass sich eine Frau, eine Mutter von drey Kindern an die Spitze eines der schwierigsten Geschäfte stelle; und obwohl es ohne Beispiel war, dass ein solches Unternehmen unter einem weiblichen Namen ausgeführt wurde, so bestand ihr Gatte dennoch darauf, weil sie nicht nur durch ihre kindliche Treue und Hingebung gegen einen so trefflichen Vater die gerechtesten Ansprüche an eine so öffentliche Würdigung sich erworben, sondern auch die genaueste Kenntniss derjenigen Mechanik hatte, die einem Pianoforte erst den eigentlichen Werth ertheilt; dass nämlich jede Taste eben so willig und folgsam den Ton ansprechen mache, wie der sie berührende Finger es erheischt. Die Leitung und Aufsicht des Ganzen blieb ihrem Gatten, der auch in den nächstfolgenden Jahren den Bau und die innere Mechanik so einrichtete, dass alle Forderungen der neuern Klaviermusik, die einen gehaltvollern Ton als die frühere verlangte, befriedigt werden konnten, und die unter dem Namen Nannette Streicher, geb. Stein, um so mehr einen ausgebreiteten Ruf erhielten, als sie aus keiner deutschen Werkstätte geliefert wurden. Am schönsten und reichlichsten sah sie aber ihre ausdauernde Treue und Anhänglichkeit an den Vater dadurch belohnt, dass ihr einziger, zu ihrem Geschäft gänzlich erzogener Sohn bey reiferm Alter bewies, dass das musikalisch mechanische Talent seines Grossvaters auf ihn vererbt worden sey. Denn im Jahre 1825 löste er die schwere, schon bey Entstehung des Pantalons angedeutete, bisher oft gewünschte, aber noch nie mit günstigem Erfolge gekrönte Aufgabe: den Hammer der Taste

von oben herab auf die Saiten anschlagen zu lassen, damit diese bey dem Anschläge gegen den Steg, gegen die Stifte gedrückt, den schönsten Ton, der erreicht werden kann, zu geben vermögen. Konnte diese seltene treffliche Frau schon seit vielen Jahren nur noch mit Wenigem in dieser mühevollen Arbeit wirken, so wurde sie dennoch hinreichend durch das Bewusstseyn entschädigt, die Aufopferung ihrer Jugendjahre, die mehrjährige Verwendung, als sie schon Gattin und Mutter war, mit dem besten Erfolge belohnt zu sehen. Mit mütterlichem Stolze genoss sie die Freude, von nun an unter der Firma: „Nannette Streicher, geb. Stein, und Sohn“, ein Geschäft, welches so vielen Einfluss auf einen der bedeutendsten Theile der Musik hat, vom Urgrossvater anfangen, vom Grossvater und ihr fortgesetzt, durch ihren einzigen Sohn zu möglichster Vollkommenheit gediehen zu sehen. Für diejenigen, welche unter Musik nicht eine Unzahl von Noten oder Schwierigkeiten verstehen, die durch blos mechanische Uebung überwunden werden können, sondern durch Töne ergötzt, erhoben, gerührt seyn wollen, war sie eine Klavierspielerin des ersten Ranges. Selbst den leichteren Compositionen aus ihrer Jugendzeit von Beeke, Kozeluch, Sterkel, Haydn, Mozart u. s. w. wusste sie eine Bedeutung, einen Reiz zu geben, der sie von ihrer vortheilhaftesten Seite darstellte und Schönheiten enthüllte, die ihre Verfasser selbst überraschten. Als in späterer Zeit Clementi, Cramer, Dussek, Beethoven, Berg, Halm, Prinz Louis Ferdinand von Preussen auftraten und für das allmählig auf $5\frac{1}{2}$ und 6 volle Octaven erweiterte Pianoforte nun viel grossartiger und vollstimmiger schrieben; so waren es die zwey letzteren Autoren, deren Werke sie vorzüglich liebte und die ihrem Gefühle am besten entsprachen. Mit grösster Beharrlichkeit überwand sie die neuen und fremdartigen Wendungen dieser Dichter und war erst dann befriedigt, wenn sie solche in der Art sich zu eigen gemacht hatte, dass sie aus ihr selbst entsprungen schienen. Das Seltene ihres schönen Spieles bestand in der Ruhe, Deutlichkeit, Genauigkeit, in dem richtigen, gemässigten Ausdrucke, in dem unmerklichen Verschmelzen der Schattirungen, in dem Verhauchen der Töne, die eher aus dem biegsamsten Instrumente, als aus dem Pianoforte zu kommen schienen; in dem Interesse, welches sie ihrem Vortrage zu geben wusste und wodurch der Zuhörer immer in Spannung erhalten wurde; in dem Streben, nie die Grenzen

der Wahrheit zu überschreiten, sondern nur das Edle, in Herz und Gemüth Dringende sich zum Ziele zu setzen. Nicht flüchtige Eile, nicht absichtliches Zögern, nicht die Eitelkeit, als Spielerin glänzen zu wollen, störte den aufmerksamen Hörer; ein gänzlich Hingeben, das genaueste Anschliessen an die Tondichtung beseelte ihre Darstellung und erweckte Entzücken, Rührung oder Wohlgefallen. Nur solchen Eigenschaften konnte es gelingen, jede mehr oder minder zahlreiche Begleitung so ganz an sich zu fesseln, dass diese nach den ersten Tacten schon ihrem Vortrage sich anschloss und den Ausdruck nach dem ihrigen zu bilden suchte. — Dass es diesen so selten vereinten Eigenschaften gelingen musste, Wirkungen hervorzubringen, die sich der Erinnerung für immer einprägten, lässt sich nur aus der Richtigkeit und der naturgemässen Art ihrer Empfindung erklären. Auch wurde sie von einem Clementi, Haydn, Beethoven nach Jahren noch mit Beyfall dafür belohnt, dass diese grossen Meister ihre beste Dolmetscherin an ihr erhalten hatten. — Ihr Gesang lieferte den Beweis, um wie Vieles wichtiger eine genaue, scharfe Auffassungsgabe der Worte, als eine umfangreiche, blos wohlklingende Stimme ist. Die Reinheit ihres Contralts, die äusserste Deutlichkeit der Aussprache, die feinen Biegungen des Tones, die sich jedem Worte, jeder Sylbe anschmiegen, liessen auch die kleine Scala von kaum einer Octave bald vergessen: und der zarte, nur nach der Schönheitslinie abgemessene Ausdruck, welchen sie dem schnellen, witzigen, ernsten oder schwermüthigen Gange des Inhalts mittheilte, musste in Jedem die regste Theilnahme hervorbringen und das Ende als zu früh bedauern machen. Ihr Vater, der auch hierin ihr Führer war, erlaubte sich öfters die Genugthuung, nach dem Vortrage einer Kunstsängerin seine Tochter mit ihrem einfachen Gesange auftreten zu lassen, und genoss mit stiller Freude den Sieg, den einfache Naturlaute über Kehlenfertigkeit errangen. — Dieselben unveränderlichen Grundsätze, die in der Vocal- oder Instrumentalmusik ihren Zweck nie verfehlen, beobachtete sie auch bey theatralischer oder gewöhnlicher Declamation. Was hierin so selten erreicht wird, und was nur den grössten Künstlern gelingt: nämlich die Worte so zu betonen, dass dem, der sie vernimmt, einzelne Bilder wie ganze Gruppen derselben deutlich vor der Einbildungskraft erscheinen, war bey ihr eine, nur durch Aufmerksamkeit geschärfte, angeborne Gabe.

Denn nur diese vermag die Täuschung zu bewirken, als ob Alles, was gesprochen wird, aus der Person selbst käme; als ob es ihre eigene Begeisterung oder Empfindung wäre. Wie aber da, wo die Seelenkräfte sehr thätig sich äussern und die Aufmerksamkeit jede Nerve spannt, immer die edleren Theile des Körpers, besonders aber die Brust-Organen geschwächt werden, so war es auch hier. Der mütterliche Stand erheischte es als Pflicht, dem Gesange und der Declamation zu entsagen und sich demjenigen Zweige der Musik, der ohne Gefahr für die Gesundheit immer gepflegt werden kann, allein zu widmen. Auf das Pianoforte verwendete sie nun, bis in das hohe Alter von 64 Jahren, einen durch nichts zu ermüdenden Fleiss, und bewies dadurch der jüngern Welt, wie reich, wie unerschöpflich die Genüsse einer Kunst sind, die mehr als jede andere im Stande ist, Gefühle auszudrücken und mitzutheilen. — Obwohl das Reich der Töne auch das eigentliche Element ihres geistigen Lebens blieb, so war sie dennoch für andere würdige Gegenstände so wenig gleichgültig, dass sie, der französischen Sprache vollkommen mächtig, das grosse Werk des als Hausarzt in Wien und dann in Paris bis an sein Ende ihr befreundeten Dr. Gall übersetzte und nur noch die zweyte Hälfte des sechsten Bandes unvollendet zurückliess. — Viele Beschäftigung mit der Kunst, ein stets reges, lebhaftes Interesse für dieselbe drängen gemeinlich die Tugenden der Gattin, Hausfrau, der Mutter in den Hintergrund. Von dieser nicht seltenen Erscheinung machte aber die Verewigte eine ehrenvolle Ausnahme, indem sie ihre Neigung für die Kunst den Pflichten, welche das tägliche Leben erfordert, willig zum Opfer brachte und in ihrem Hauswesen eben so musterhaft, als eine zärtliche, aufmerksame Gattin und ihren Kindern und Enkeln eine liebende Mutter war. — In der Freundschaft nie wankend, der grössten Zuneigung fähig, zuvorkommend gegen den Fremden, duldsam gegen jede Meinung, war sie von Allen, die sie kannten, hoch geachtet und ihr Verlust allgemein bedauert. Sie starb am 16ten Januar d. J. nach zwey Monate langem Leiden an der Lungenlähmung und verhauchte ihren letzten Athem in den Armen ihres Gatten, Sohnes und ihrer Tochter.

Ihr Name wird der Nachwelt erhalten werden, denn der Sohn rechnet es sich zur Ehre, mit seinem Namen auch den ihrigen zugleich zu nennen. Auf demselben Friedhofe, wo Mozart's Asche

ruht, befindet sich auch ihr, durch einen Denkstein bezeichnetes Grab.

NACHRICHTEN.

Wien. Musikalische Chronik, Erstes Quartal.

Die Pacht-Administration des k. k. Hofopern-Theaters bleibt unverrückt in Verabreichung von Novitäten möglichst sparsam. Sie hat im ersten Jahres-Viertheil nur Donizzetti's „Anna Bolena“ servirt, die zu den unverdaulichen, Geist und Magen schwächenden Gerichten gehört. Alle Mühe und Anstrengung der ihrem Geschäfte vollkommen Gewachsenen war eitle Verschwendung; die Gäste blieben fern und kehrten nimmer wieder. — Hr. Breiting, welcher täglich als Gast auf dem Anschlagzettel prangt, obschon alle Welt weiss, dass er seit Monaten im fixen Gehalte steht, gab unter mehren Particeen auch den Ferdinand Cortez, ohne bedeutenden Erfolg. Er hatte zwar, wie fast immer, einige glückliche Momente, liess aber dagegen so manche Hauptpointe ganz fallen; Beyspiels halber gleich die herrliche Introduction, worin er eine abgemessene, eisig starre Kälte, welche vielleicht die vielbesprochene spanische Grandezza repräsentiren sollte, gar nicht verwirten konnte. — Mad. Ernst (Amazily) und Herr Wild (Telasko) waren vortreflich, und trugen nicht wenig dazu bey, den Eroberer Mexico's mehr noch in den Schatten zurückzudrängen.

Dem. Heinefetter ist — um alle Berichterstatte — o der Schande! — Lügen zu strafen — nicht nach Italien gegangen. Sie erschien neuerdings in ihren bekannten Rollen; es war Friede, nur nicht von langer Dauer, und Signora Sabina emigrierte abermals in die Josephstadt hinaus, nachdem alle hiesigen Blätter amtlich verlauteten, dass die Kärnthnerthor-Theater-Direction freywillig auf das ihr zuständige Untersagungsrecht verzichtet habe. Wie gegenwärtig die Actien stehen, dürfte die eine Partey kaum etwas verlieren; die andere vielleicht weniger noch gewinnen. — Zwey kleine Singspiele: „Der Amtmann in der Klemme“ und „das Küchenregiment“, nach französischen Lustspielen, erlebten das gewöhnliche Schicksal; sie sind schon wieder vergessen. — Die Tänzerin Mad. Robert Mees St. Romain aus Berlin stattet uns gegenwärtig einen erneuerten Besuch ab und gefällt besonders in dem