

MUSIC IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC

The first half of the 19th century heralded the end of the aristocracy as the leading social class and was the epoch in which the affluent middle class consolidated its position and girded its loins for the successive takeover of society. Both categories had homes large enough to accommodate space for social intercourse, dancing, music, amateur drama and the like. This space, the drawing room, was the place where much of the music of the 1800s took place. Some genres were hardly heard at all outside these rooms, or rather the private sphere perhaps, if one includes the families that had no real drawing room as such, only a room in which music was performed. “Intimate” music, the folk song and the simple solo song were rarely heard at concerts, likewise most of the repertoire for solo piano or guitar, one of the favourite instruments of the time.

Concerts had a different, public-orientated repertoire. Opera numbers and orchestral works were written to be heard by large audiences, and virtuosic arts were better suited to the large concert hall than the small drawing room. Here, instead, was where the humble songs, the sentimental miniatures, and even the serious sonatas found a home. The drawing rooms were also where the men’s quartets – a popular genre from the 1830s to close to the turn of the century – were performed; men’s choirs were by nature more “public”.

Drawing-room education and domestic playing

The marked spread in domestic playing in the early 19th century can be ascribed to both music’s romantic aura and the rapidly expanding availability of relatively inexpensive instruments – the guitar in the 1820s and 30s, and then the piano. Another contributory factor was a similar rise in the availability of sheet music, which new printing methods made affordable, and the new, important role that music conferred onto the household’s females. While the daughters of well-to-do families could not aspire to any of the masculine professions, they were encouraged to acquire the virtues of the desirable young girl and the good hostess, which included skills in dance and music. The rationale for the “drawing-room education” – in keeping with the philosophy of Rousseau – was seen as an opportunity to cultivate “the talents” in order to develop a girl’s taste, appreciation of beauty and womanly moral sensibilities; anyone wishing to expand her intellectual horizons beyond the requirements of the drawing room was stymied by the principle of female “naturalness”. At the start of the 1800s, only aristocratic dames such as Marianne Koskull, Charlotte Silfverstolpe, Margareta Cronstedt and Mathilda d’Orozco, could obtain lessons in singing or playing the harp or clavier – naturally without any thought of public performance other than as anonymous “music lovers” (Öhrström 1987; Ballstaedt & Widmaier 1989).

The upper middle class in 1830s Stockholm was described by Fredrika Bremer in the quasi-autobiographical novels *Grannarna* (1837) and *Hemmet* (1839). The musical environment we glimpse amongst their pages dovetails with the Swedish music journal *Amphion* (1834–35), at least in the vocal field. The entire publication (edited by amateur musician Herman Schlytern) contains 105 songs, 41 of which with Swedish and 38 French lyrics, plus 22 Italian songs and a mere three in German. This reveals not only the linguistic interests of society’s upper echelons, but also the musical. Here were opera arias by Rossini, duets by Panseron, grand romances by Isouard, opera trios by Méhul and music by Kuhlau, Meyerbeer and Mozart. There were also three Italian nocturno duets by Blangini, who according to *Hemmet* captivated the drawing rooms. Only four pieces in the collection were Swedish, including “Fjerren i skog” by Isak Berg, which was one of Jenny Lind’s showpieces.

While *Amphion* required of pianists and singers a fairly high degree of technical proficiency, *Necken, veckoblad för guitar-spelare* (1832–33) reflected a more modest musical acumen that satisfied the demands of a broader market (as confirmed by the many similar publications for voice and guitar). Despite the Nordic-sounding name¹, it was mainly German and French songs that found their way into the magazine. Of the first edition's 39 songs, only three were composed by Swedish composers (Du Puy, Crusell and Bauck). All songs were, however, given in Swedish translation and were relatively easy in both the vocal line and the accompaniment, which suggests their use by the broader middle-class populace.

From the middle of the century, as the piano became an increasingly common feature of middle-class homes, publishers drifted more and more towards piano music and piano-accompanied songs. Apart from dance music, marches and a selection of Viennese classical pieces, an oft-played genre – and one that blossomed as the century wore on – was the “drawing-room piece”, which included a flora of single-movement mood and character pieces by composers such as Louis Lefébure-Wely (*Klosterklockorna*), Fritz Spindler (*Valse brillante*) or Thekla Badarzewska (*Jungfruns bön*) – to name but three popular figures from around the continent. But more artistically minded composers also composed to the same genre, from Schumann (*Kinderszenen*) to Peterson-Berger (*Frösöblomster*).

Another characteristic piano genre was music *à quatre mains* – for four hands – which was lovingly cultivated at the court of King Oscar I and his children, amongst them Princess Eugénie and Prince Gustaf². The genre had an enormous impact, not least on amateur musicians outside the Stockholm concert scene. In the provinces, the four-handed arrangements were effectively the *only* opportunity people had to hear symphonies, operas and other large-scale musical works. In his memoirs, entitled *Minnen* (publ. 1915), Geijer writes of the music that surrounded him during his childhood years at home in Ransäter in Värmland, where works by, amongst others, Boccherini, Haydn or Mozart were often arranged for two pianos – the more exclusive variant of four-handed playing – by his friend Captain Rappholt.

Half a century later, things were little different at another factory owner's mansion, Åkers Krutbruk in Sörmland, where Carl Rupert Nyblom³ describes in his own memoirs the musical activity from his time as tutor during the 1850s. Here he was much influenced by lieutenant and singer Baron Posse, who taught Nyblom to sing Schubert songs and Mozart arias. Factory owner Rönqvist himself played easier pieces, such as Åhlström's folk songs and Bellman's melodies, while his wife Nanna (daughter of industrialist and Par Bricole Grand Master Per Westerstrand), was an excellent pianist, as was Julie Forsberg, both of whom tirelessly played the classical *à quatre mains* repertoire – Mozart's last symphonies, Beethoven's *Eroica*, septet and quartets, and Mendelssohn's symphonies. (Nyblom 1908:2, p. 20–35.)

Likewise, Peterson-Berger writes in his memories how during his school years around 1880 in Östersund he played four-handed piano with his mother:

“This gave me early insight into musical form, from which I benefited many years later when taking up the study of music theory in earnest.” (Peterson-Berger 1943, p. 39f.)

Nature singers, charlatans and virtuosos

Music as a profession was not so highly regarded by society. Only through some form of authorisation could the musician garner prestige, a merit acquired through employment at the Royal Opera as an instrumentalist or singer, or by becoming a church or regimental musician.

¹ Necken was a mythical Scandinavian woodland sprite

² Both of whom went on to become accomplished composers in their own right

³ Poet, singer, honorary president of Orphei Drängar and Member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music

But a musician who performed publicly without authorisation tended to be likened to the jesters and acrobats of olden times, and had to win over audiences with his or her virtuosic skills or singular numbers.

During the first half of the century, it was not uncommon for foreign musicians to seek their fortune in Sweden in this way. In 1827, the traditional “disting” market in Uppsala was visited by J.H. Kock, “Chief Drum Major in Emp. Napoleon’s Guard”, who demonstrated “his unusual skill in beating 15 variously tuned drums in full accordance with the rules of music”. In 1828–29, the country was visited by the Binnes siblings. In the words of *Upsala tidning*, Joseph Binnes was to “mimic, without instruments and with only his mouth, the songs of several species of bird and the cries of many animals”. They also visited Stockholm, and in Gothenburg, the local newspaper announced that Mr Binnes “imitated birdsong and performed ventriloquism”, while Mme Lazar Binnes sang opera arias to guitar accompaniment. (After Berg 1914, p. 163).

Occupying a prominent place in this catalogue of sensational artists is military musician Lars Westerdahl, who in his youth had appeared in a play which was performed in Linköping in the 1830s, *Kapellmästaren* by Bianchi, and which afforded the actor ample opportunities to sing and play instruments. Westerdahl hit on the idea of putting on his own show, *Den musikaliska instrumentmakaren*, in which he exhibited his skills on fifteen or so instruments. With this and other numbers, he travelled the length and breadth of the country (apart from in 1847–49, when he served as a flautist in the Royal Court Orchestra).

Amongst the body of itinerant musicians were also “nature singers”, which were often entire families that performed “evening entertainments” in various drinking establishments, singing to the harp, zither, dulcimer or guitar for whatever coins their audiences were willing to drop into a hat. They included Danish “*synge-piger*” (singing maids) and groups of German girl singers performing to harp accompaniment – which Wennerberg portrays in the *gluntsång* (student song) *Harpospelet på Schylla* (1848) – as well as Tyrolean and Styrian companies of both instrumentalists and singers. Part of the appeal, perhaps, of such “nature singers” was the absence of “the slightest hint of the melancholy that is so peculiar to Nordic folk songs” (H. Säterberg in *Alprosor* 1855, quoted by Höijer 1864, item “Schweitzersånger”). Eduard d’Aubert, later a Royal Court Orchestra violinist, travelled to Gothenburg in 1832 – when his surname was still Daubert – with some “Styrian Alp singers”. He remained in the city, where he debuted with his violin variations on *Der Schweizerbub*. In the years immediately following, he became the most enterprising holder of “musical soirées” in Gothenburg. Another Styrian company, which visited Sweden on its way to America in 1847, gave the city Joseph Czapek, who stayed to soon become the backbone of the Gothenburg music scene. Notable amongst the many other touring companies are Mr and Mrs Hauser and “Tyrolean Alp singer” Collberg, who held soirées in Uppsala in the autumn of 1835 and later in Gothenburg, and again in May 1836 at Börssalen⁴ in Stockholm. In 1849, a German “Harz-Music Society” appeared in Uppsala and Malmö with soirées “à la Strauss” under the direction of clarinetist Albert Heinzelmänn.

Audiences loved to listen to these musicians with their popular mixed programmes, in which Tyrolean and other folk music – more or less arranged – constituted the most important element of the “nature song”. But their standing in society, given their itinerant lives as opportunists and their means of appealing to audiences with diverse popular pieces, was low. Author Wilhelm von Braun reveals contemporary opinions of the musician’s profession when he has a major advise his grandson against taking up a musical career with the words:

⁴ The grand hall of the Stockholm Stock Exchange

“God preserve me! You would be one of those good-for-nothing fiddlers who prowl the country swindling the money out of the pockets of guileless folk. Enough of this! Use music by all means for your pleasure, but not for your bread and butter.” (W. Von Braun 1853).

Even the more serious artists could suffer such disdain. The famous Norwegian violinist Ole Bull travelled from St Petersburg to Stockholm in 1838 to hold one concert of his own works and a second with the Royal Court Orchestra and Jenny Lind. However, after his departure came the public censure, a symptom more than anything else of how the cultural debate was turning against exaggerated virtuosity, a practice of which the romantics were particularly suspicious. In the autumn of 1839 C.J.L. Almqvist inserted a couple of articles in *Dagligt Allehanda*, which, without naming Ole Bull directly, laid quite heavily into the virtuosos:

“It [charlatanry] performs all the frolics of the quint [the highest violin string] on the G string [the lowest string], plays four-part piano music with the left hand alone, and knocks out incessant trills in the treble with a couple of fingers that were intended by the Creator to reside only in the bass.”

Ole Bull’s next visit in January 1843 was preceded by an even fiercer critical salvo, this one penned by harpist Edvard Pratté, who lambasted the virtuoso taste to which violin playing was alleged to have switched; the charlatanry that sought to captivate audiences with pizzicati, staccato runs, harmonics and other “equilibristic arts” (Pratté, 1843).

As a result of such criticism, Bull was able to hold concerts in Karlstad, Örebro and Västerås but not in Uppsala – where the violinist turned back at the city gates after being abused by a student – or Stockholm. However, he returned to Uppsala on Geijer’s insistence and at the concert on 17 February, the Carolina Hall was just as packed as at Jenny Lind’s performances; Bull was able to reprise the show two days later.

His success continued in Norrköping, Linköping – where the regimental band was praised for needing only one rehearsal – Jönköping and Lund.

Pratté was himself a touring artist. Hailing from Bohemia, he performed for the first time in Sweden in 1809 with his father, who travelled around with a form of puppet show called a “Perspective Theatre”. Between the plays at Uppsala’s “disting” market in 1813 and 1814, “the young Master Pratté executed some overtures, variations and sonatas on a David’s harp” (*Upsala tidning*). Pratté, who remained in the country, continued to tour as a harpist, usually at his own concerts but also sometimes with orchestras (such as the Akademiska kapellet in Uppsala in 1822). He often performed his own compositions, which could themselves be virtuosic enough, such as his variations on *Näckens polska* (1818) and *Grande fantaisie romantique* of Swedish folk songs (in Uppsala, 1854).

D’Aubert, Czapek and Pratté can serve as examples of musicians who passed from the popular, public-wooing music to the more serious art music, for which there was also an audience, albeit smaller. But many musicians stayed in the popular sector, which from the 1860s on acquired something of a new face as restaurants, cafés and *schweizers* (Swiss patisseries) started to engage ensembles and orchestras paid for by the owners and not through public collection. Singing and playing companies had performed in Stockholm’s restaurants at least since 1838, when confectioner Wilhelm Davidson had a French “café-chantant” company perform in his newly opened “southern pavilion” on Drottninggatan. In 1863 there was lighter orchestral entertainment at 24 venues in Stockholm (Grönstedt 1913), and, commonly during the 1860s, also in parks, garden societies, spa pavilions and so forth. At the same time, it became more common for regimental bands, or sections of them, to be engaged, and for musical bands to become available through “sharpshooter” associations, temperance lodges, mill towns, etc.

As we have seen, itinerant artists could often be branded as market jesters and charlatans (as in Ole Bull's case). Only a handful could, through their repertoire and manner, be considered the equals of the middle classes and be fully accepted in the drawing rooms of the finer houses. In fact, up until around 1880, the more ambitious touring musicians and singers lived as much off the goodwill of the salons as they did their own public concerts. Pianist Anna Römer's visit to Sweden in 1845 is a good illustration of the recommendation system and the private performances and concerts. From Stockholm, Adolf Fredrik Lindblad had sent a recommendation to Malla Silfverstolpe in Uppsala, and she passed the recommendation on. Thekla Knös writes in a letter to Jacob Axel Josephson:

"Yesterday evening I was at the neighbours' with Pianist Mlle Römer, who was to hold a concert here and who is recommended to Mrs S[silfverstolpe] by Lindblad... [Mlle Römer] is an upright, vivacious young girl who plays Fugues by Bach and sonatas by Scarlatti for W-g [Wennerberg]. At the concert she displayed Thalbergian dexterity." (Quoted after Lotten Dahlgren 1923, p. 60 f.)

The number of concert-performing artists was larger than one might think before the advent of the railways. A preliminary compilation of information from the contemporary press and descriptions of the music scene in different Swedish towns and cities gives the following results for the fifty years between 1810 and 1860 (the figures in brackets being the number of women):

Singers	161	(90)
Pianists	82	(21)
Violinists	107	(8)
Cellists	33	(1)
Harpists	7	(1)
Flautists	21	
Other wind	32	
Organists	20	
Guitarists	20	
Total	483	(121)

Women, then, made up over half the number of singers and a quarter of pianists. One might expect a larger number of female harpists, since the harp was part of the domestic "instrumentarium" during this epoch and was often played by women. But here the practical hardships of travel presumably decided the matter – the female harpist was more commonly a feature of the travelling family groups on the popular music scene.

During the early 1800s, it seems that a great many of the more serious artists lived more on the hospitality of music-interested families than on concert proceeds, no matter how well attended they were. One interesting example is pianist and composer Carl Schwencke from Hamburg, who visited Sweden for the first time in September 1815 as an 18-year-old in Lund. He spent his life on the road, and we know from notes in his compositions that he travelled a great deal around the Nordic countries, often stopping at country manors and vicarages. One particularly eager host was Erik Drake at Föllingsö in Östergötland, who copied all his compositions (complete works up to 1824; 20 volumes in the library of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music) and doubtlessly wrote letters of recommendation and helped him on his continuing journey. Schwencke held concerts in a number of Swedish provincial towns and was admired in 1816 in Uppsala by docent Ekmarck. When he returned to the 1823 market, this arbiter of taste was more sceptical – fully in keeping with the neo-romantic aesthetic of simplicity:

“The Forte-piano *Concerts* played on this occasion were played with great precision and proficiency, but since, with respect to their composition, they could not be regarded as anything other than exhibitionism, I at least found myself scarcely edified. As a musical oddity I will also mention that a *Marche for six hands* was also executed at this concert.” (Ekmarck 1837.)

Individual female singers from Europe also ventured to come to Sweden in spite of the hardships of the journey. Marianna de Gregori appears to have been in the country for half a year. She held concerts in Gothenburg in 1819 and travelled to Uppsala for the 1820 “disting” market. For a couple of February weeks at this lively event, when the university more or less cancelled all teaching, there were almost daily concerts of all kinds. Generally speaking, such annual markets were an important means of attracting itinerant musicians to provincial towns.

In 1827, two Italian women, Mme Guagliarini and the European celebrity Angelica Catalani visited the country, both demanding three times the price of a ticket at the Opera. English soprano Anne Bishop toured in 1840 with harpist Nicolas Bochsa, who, for once, gave their concert without the “kind assistance” of the local musicians, prompting *Upsala tidning* to write:

“This means of performing without any assistance or the normal presentation of one or other symphony number reveals [either] an overestimation of personal talent; something that could possibly be forgiven of Mad. B[ishop] but on no account could be forgiven Mr B[ochsa].”

Female Swedish singers also gradually began to appear in public. We are unusually well-informed of the fate of Johanna von Schoultz thanks to Otto Andersson’s biography (1939). She grew up in Stockholm in an aristocratic family, but her mother was soon made a widow and reduced to very meagre circumstances. The musically gifted girl was noticed by Crown Prince Oscar and she started singing lessons for the Opera’s singing teacher Carl Magnus Crælius. One problem, however, was von Schoultz’s desire to make a career of it. On the one hand, it was at odds with the principles by which the aristocracy lived – artists were a base folk, akin to servants; on the other, the family was poor and needed to tap every possible source of income. The budding liberal tendencies of the time eased the way for a solution. The daughter was not going to perform at the theatre – that would be taking things too far; she was going to be trained as a concert singer. A debut concert was eventually arranged for the 15-year-old girl, which gave her the best start imaginable. The concert was held in Ladugårdsland Church⁵ on 3 May 1828 on the second birthday of Prince Karl (later Karl XV), kindly assisted by the Royal Court Orchestra, and opened with a “cantata for the day’s celebration” by Schwencke. Johanna von Schoultz then sang three bravura numbers, the orchestra played works by Glück, Brendler and Spohr, and “50 Gentleman Amateurs” performed choruses.

Johanna went on to pursue a brilliant career as a concert singer. Once on the continent she took up the opera profession, singing both in Paris and Italy in 1833–38, after which she returned to the Nordic concert stage and married in 1842. It was only then that she was, so to speak, home. In contemporary novels, the social sanctions were usually severe on those who went beyond the drawing-room and chose artistry over marriage. In her 1839 novel *Hemmet*, Fredrika Bremer has Sara break with the family to venture into the hazardous world of the singer, only to return lonely, impoverished and sickly to her caring, forgiving family.

The great Swedish superstar of the time, opera singer Jenny Lind, also had a great penchant for concerts – perhaps especially welcome in Uppsala, where she regularly sang in grand oratorios between 1839 and 1845 as well as, naturally, at the home of E.G. Geijer and at Uppsala Castle, the residence of the county governor. Onto her were projected all notions

⁵ Now Hedvig Eleonora Church

of the “naive”, “pure” and “simple” – even if some listeners preferred the amateur Ava Wrangel when it came to folk songs. The 1840s and 50s were replete with excellent Swedish concert and opera singers, notable amongst the males being Julius Günther and Olof Strandberg, and amongst the females a dozen or so who competed with Lind for the public’s favour: Julie Berwald, Mathilda Gelhaar, Wilhelmina Fundin, Mathilda Ebeling, Betty Boije, Mathilde In de Bétou, Louise Michal (Michaëli), Henriette Nissen, Hilda Sandels, Adelaide Valerius, Amalia Walin and Betty Wibelius. Their careers were mostly brief and usually ended in marriage or, in some cases, an untimely death. When Hilda Sandels visited Uppsala in 1851, she was wiser than Anne Bishop and interspersed her arias and songs with the student singers’ Swedish folk songs and concert numbers by Marschner, Mendelssohn and Wennerberg.

One of the first Swedish pianists to travel the country was Emelie Ugglå, who debuted in 1830 in Börssalen in Stockholm at the age of 11 and proceeded to tour under the supervision of her father. The following year she held a concert in Uppsala with the “kind assistance of Gentleman Amateurs” and a part-chamber music programme that was comparatively “modern”:

1. Piano quartet in E-flat major by Beethoven
2. Quartet for men’s voices
3. Piano concerto by Hummel
4. String quartet by Rode
5. *Bataille de Fleurus* by Metzger

What makes this concert remarkable is that otherwise male dominated chamber music was being performed by a woman. Perhaps even more remarkable is the fact that Ugglå later went on to become a highly successful singer up until her marriage in 1847, at which point she disappears from public view.

One of the foremost Swedish pianists at this time was Wilhelmina Josephson, elder sister of Jacob Axel and Ludvig Josephson. She had a broad repertoire and played contemporary virtuoso pieces by Czerny, Herz and Liszt as well as works by Schumann and Chopin; she was also probably also the first pianist to play Beethoven’s fifth piano concerto in E-flat major in Sweden (1831; Uppström 1973, p.51).

Many Swedish pianists studied on the continent. Merchant’s daughter Fanny Ståhl became one of Chopin’s few students (c. 1842). Carl Ludvig Hallencreutz studied for Liszt and was able to settle down in Paris, where he changed his name to Louis Hall – under which he performed in 1843 in the grand hall of the Riddarhuset (the House of Nobility) in Stockholm. Gothenburger Leonard Ludvig Löwegren was (along with Wilhelmina Josephson) one of the first pianists in Sweden to perform the music of Chopin (*Allegro de concert*, Gothenburg 1838). Chopin did not make a name for himself until the 1840s, when he was regarded as a salubriously poetic composer far from the “the deafening clatter of the rather superficial fortepiano virtuosos of our day” (*Stockholms music-tidning* 1844).

After the expansion of the Swedish railways in the 1860s – a couple of decades later than on the continent – the number of overseas artists visiting the country exploded, and partly as a result of the stiff competition this engendered, dazzling feats of virtuosity gradually commanded less attention. Instead, audiences came to appreciate geniuses in the programmes and the personal and expressive facets of interpretation. Beethoven and other classicists returned to favour and the programmes became less variegated, a general European trend that can be observed, amongst other places, in the concerts of Anton Rubinstein.

He displayed his skills during countless tours of Europe, in Sweden for the first time in 1842 at the age of 13, with a virtuoso and, to some extent, drawing-room repertoire. In 1875, he

switched to a more classical track, as demonstrated in Stockholm in 1884 and even more so in seven other European cities in 1885 and 1886, each time presenting a seven-evening review of piano music masters from the oldest to newest. It was a music-pedagogical undertaking of almost unprecedented dimensions.

A similar approach was adopted by pianist Hans von Bülow, who visited Stockholm in the spring of 1882. At one orchestral concert he played nothing but works by Beethoven, and at a solo evening – a hitherto extremely rare occasion in Stockholm – works by Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Chopin and Liszt. More typical was violinist Eugène Ysaÿe's concerts in Sweden in 1885 and 1886, which were assisted by other artists, Swedes amongst them, and which offered fairly mixed programmes. By his next visit in 1909, however, he too had segued to the classical line in his concerts.

In the letters he wrote on his travels, Bülow praises music dealer George Beer, who seems to have been Stockholm's first internationally connected concert arranger (Bülow 1882). For a long time, Swedish artists had to manage their own provincial tours themselves, and while several people, such as Emil Linden (1894), tried to start concert agencies in the capital, none were long-lasting – until, that is, the establishment of Konsertbolaget in 1915. International luminaries, on the other hand, were taken care of by powerful impresarios from the 1880s onwards, such as Hermann Wolff in Berlin or Maurice Strakosch and brothers in Paris & London (Christina Nilsson's agent).

The number of concerts soared in the 1880s. In 1890, 90 concerts were advertised in Stockholm; by 1900 this figure had risen to 176 and by 1910 to no fewer than 335 (Tegen 1955, p. 116, 181). To some extent, this dramatic escalation was a result of the gradual public-isation of private soirées and while many mixed-programme soloist concerts were still being arranged in the 1890s as private affairs in drawing rooms or as semi-private events by one or other society – to avoid the danger of empty seats – audiences proved enough for the major cities, both for the lighter mixed programmes and the heavier classical. Still in the 1880s, audiences were capable of being drawn to concerts arranged for some charitable purpose, but after the turn of the century, this motive had by and large disappeared.

The chamber musician

Although string quartets performed back in the early 1800s, they did not make much of an impact. For much of the century, the quartet was a lovingly nurtured occupation in the homes of certain enthusiasts and, as was also the case in the smaller towns with quartet music cliques, exclusively a male preserve; as we have already seen, Professor E.G. Geijer's home in Uppsala was one such node. Meanwhile, already during the 1820s, precocious attempts were being made to establish subscription concerts at Gillet⁶ (see Ekmarck 1837).

In Stockholm, merchant Johan Mazer made his home a central point for the genre. His journal of the performances in his summer residence on Djurgården between the years of 1823 and 1832 – the so-called *Djurgårdsbolaget* – reveals the extent of his endeavour. No fewer than 342 occasions were arranged, involving members of the Royal Court Orchestra, led by Johan Fredrik Berwald, as well as amateurs like Mazer himself, customs inspector Johan Falkenholm and city official Johan Anders Biörck. With time, more were to join them so that for the ten years of its existence, the enterprise engaged a total of 54 musicians, not to mention all the audience members, amongst the more famous being A.F. Lindblad, composer of several of its string quartets. *Djurgårdsbolaget* sourced its repertoire primarily from the Viennese classical centred on Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, although it also played the big

⁶ A large restaurant in Uppsala

contemporary names, such as Bernhard Romberg, Onslow and Hummel. The most modern music of the times, such as Mendelssohn's, however, left them rather cold.

After 1832, quartet music continued to be cultivated in other homes, including that of Royal Court musician Olof Willman, composer A.F. Lindblad and lawyer Henrik Munthe (Munthe 1960). From 1849, interest in quartet music obtained a permanent focal point in the shape of the Mazer String Quartet Society, established through a donation by Mazer and still active to this day. As the years passed, the society jealously guarded its exclusive character as a strict gentlemen's club and held public concerts only by way of exception; instead, it provided an environment steeped in early 19th century customs and manners where professional musicians and amateurs could gather around a shared interest in chamber music.

In Gothenburg, wine dealer Rudolph Koch was a generous benefactor of music, with a particular interest in Bedrich Smetana's work in the west-coast metropolis (1856–62). Before a concert, a trio or quartet could hold its final rehearsal in Koch's own home, after which the host would invite them for supper at the Börsen's⁷ restaurant. Two decades later, Czapek embarked on an initiative that ultimately led to the Eugène Sundberg Quartet Society (from a donation by merchant Sundberg), based on roughly the same lines as the Mazer. In this way, the music scene had both a public and a private face.

During the latter half of the 19th century, attempts to propagate concerts devoted to a certain genre, such as the string quartet, piano music or solo song, intensified. At such events, described as "soirées", "matinees", and "music evenings", musicians would more or less break with the traditional mixed programme form. They were also often held in subscribed series. Public quartet evenings were first arranged in 1847 in Stockholm by Hermann Berens, and in 1850 Royal Court musicians Andreas Randel, Eduard d'Aubert, J.F.H. Meyer and Theodor Sack began relatively extensive quartet concert tours of the country – Jönköping, Gothenburg, Visby and so forth. A "Quartet Soirée" in Uppsala on 12 November 1850 had the following programme:

1. Haydn *String Quartet in C major* (op. 76 no. 3)
– "the one with var. on Austrian folk songs"
2. Mendelssohn *String Quartet in A minor*
3. Beethoven *String Quartet no. 10 in E-flat major*

In the 1860s, Randel formed a new touring quartet with Conrad Nordqvist, Anders Pettersson and Fridolf Book.

In Gothenburg, similar quartet soirées were arranged from 1856 by numerous hosts, most importantly August Meissner, who went on to arrange subscription chamber music evenings with Czapek and Smetana in 1858, with programmes based exclusively on trios and quartets with piano by Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Rubinstein and Smetana.

In Stockholm, chamber music concerts were held in the 1860s by sisters Maria Neruda and Wilhelmina Norman, with Ludvig Norman at the piano. A little later (1869), the sisters formed a quartet with d'Aubert and Meissner – Maria being by then Mrs Arlberg. The repertoire was the classical – Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven – and the romantics Schubert and Schumann. In 1874, it was considered "a sign of brighter times that the wider public is starting to embrace chamber music with interest and partiality" (*Ny Ill. Tidning*). Now it was Book, Richard Hagemeister (or Adolf Lindroth), Nordqvist and Fritz Söderman (half-brother of August S.) who held subscription chamber concerts, sometimes assisted on piano by Hilda Thegerström or Norman.

⁷ The Gothenburg Mercantile Exchange

Public chamber music performances thereafter fell into oblivion, although there was a revival when the Aulin Quartet (Tor Aulin, Edvin Sjöberg, Axel Bergström, Berndt Carlsson) picked up the threads in 1887. Its programme (Brahms, Beethoven, Norman, F. Berwald, Schumann and others) was, compared with that of the more conservative Mazer society, fairly progressive (Wallner 1, p 455).

The Aulin Quartet's tours in the years around 1900 came to play a significant part in Swedish music. The same is also true of the chamber music festivals, including the ones in Ystad actuated in 1909–10 by Salomon Smith and August Körling, and the Lappland music weeks in Kiruna in 1912–28. Sven Kjellström and his quartet took over from Aulin in 1911.

Symphony concerts

The Royal Court Orchestra had started to hold annual concerts back in the early 1800s for the benefit of its pension savings with chiefly instrumental numbers on the programme. However, no real attempts at pure “symphony concerts” were made until those of music director Jacopo Foroni in the early 1850s. One of the first was the pension-raising “Grand Symphony Concert” of 10 February 1852. But Foroni's symphony concerts failed to catch on, the next efforts in the field being masterminded by Czapek in Gothenburg, who in the autumn of 1855 and spring of 1856, arranged six subscription “symphony concerts”, the fourth with the following programme:

Mozart, *Symphony in D major*
Mendelssohn, *Overture to Ruy Blas*
Mendelssohn, *Lied ohne Worte*, and
Döhler, *Tarantella* (both orchestrated)
Beethoven, *Symphony no. 2 in D major*

In Stockholm, the symphony concert was revived by Bernhard Fexer's “Sunday concerts” at the Mindre Teater in 1868–70 and, above all, by August Meissner's “popular symphony concerts” at Berns Salong in 1872–78.

While the latter was reported with delight in the Stockholm press, it only seemed to be a “fantasy” for the Royal Court Orchestra to start its own symphony concerts (*Ny Ill. Tidning* 1873). A key aspect of Meissner's mission was to introduce new symphonic music, preferably Swedish, but also German (not least that of Brahms). As an example of his programme can be mentioned a concert from 1873 which featured Chorale and Fugue by J.S. Bach, Beethoven's *Prometheus* music, a funeral march by Söderman, the overture to *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Nicolai) and a D major symphony by Oscar Hylén.

Meissner's endeavours prompted the Royal Court Orchestra to embark on a series of symphony concerts under Ludvig Norman in 1878. This exposed the more conservative colours of the orchestra, the liberal press being particular acerbic about how it only rarely ventured outside the classical genre:

“In Sweden, music resides almost exclusively in the past” (the opera excepted), which “narrows the breeding and makes one *one-sided*.” The music publishers lived on dire small pieces for piano, operetta arrangements and “anti-artistic things” for debutantes: “The door is firmly closed to talented composers, primarily native ones.” (Louise Héritte-Viardot, *Svensk musiktidning* 1882, p. 3f.)

Norman's rejoinder in the journal explained that the Royal Court Orchestra was altogether subordinate to the Royal Opera's schedule. What Stockholm needed, according to Norman, was an independent concert institution, “whose proper place is not the Royal Opera”.

There were hardly any developments on this front until the founding of the Concert Society in 1902.

From music society to orchestra society

Nineteenth century philharmonic concert activities in Europe were unequivocally a characteristic expression of the bourgeois music culture, and perhaps the most explicit demonstration of the connection between domestic music, the drawing room, the choir associations and the professional musicians and artists. This was an environment that inspired a vast number of works, of which, today, we know but the highlights.

Sweden's music societies started to be formed in the first half of the 1800s, generally on the German model and normally at the initiative of a city's bourgeois society, in order to have the major works for choir and orchestra performed by all available means – the latter often reduced to an instrumental ensemble or just piano. Such societies would gather together the requests and resources of the drawing rooms into collective and often public performances. At least as decisive for the outcome were the town's professional musicians (normally regimental ones), music teachers etc., who were engaged as necessary reinforcement.

The music societies were thus overwhelmingly choral, even if there were also, of course, clubs for instrument-playing “music lovers”. However, due partly to the escalating complexity of instrumental music during the 1800s, orchestral performance was often beyond the amateurs' abilities. The Stockholm Music Society was formed in 1812 with both a singing and an instrumental section, of which the latter was discontinued after just a few years. When, through the instigation of Crown Prince Oscar, the capital's amateur musicians obtained a new forum in the shape of the Harmonic Society (1820), it was almost exclusively vocal music that mattered:

“After a while, this Society was performing, in steady progression and under my guidance, the greatest and most solid musical works, both operatic and liturgical. Two years thereafter the fruits of my and the Society's labours were such that we dared to appear in public with the Royal Court Orchestra and the Royal Opera Choir, the first time in 1824 in Ladugårdsland Church, where the Creation, to my credit, was performed... . The number of performers both singing and playing approached 300... . Subsequently there followed, time and again, many large concerts (perhaps the largest seen in Stockholm before and since) likewise performed, such as *The Last Judgement*, *The Seasons*, *Messiah*, *St Paul*, etc.” (J.F. Berwald, the society's leader 1822–47; from *Svensk musiktidning* 1882, p.110)

The Last Judgement mentioned above (Stockholm 1826) was probably Friedrich Schneider's then popular oratorio *Das Weltgericht* (1819), while the others are, of course, Handel's *Messiah*, Mendelssohn's *St Paul*, Haydn's *The Seasons* and, most importantly, Haydn's *The Creation*. This last oratorio, which was performed in Stockholm's House of Nobility back in 1801 (a mere three years after its composition), was to become a nationwide benchmark of musical development both for society and town alike. It was also the century's most oft-performed choral work in the country, especially as Passion music during Easter.

The first Swedish performance of Haydn's *The Creation* was directed by Hæffner, who was also responsible for introducing other important works in the 1800s – Haydn's *The Seasons* and Mozart's *Requiem*, Handel's *Messiah* as well as music by Bach. In 1805, the grand hall of the House of Nobility hosted parts of Mozart's *Requiem* and the Halleluia chorus from Handel's *Messiah*. In 1806, a concert was held in Stockholm's Great Church featuring Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's “Heilig with Fugue, double choir” and a fugue by Johann Sebastian Bach. Swedes would, however, have to wait almost a century before having the opportunity to hear J.S. Bach's great Passion works.

The Passion music genre enjoyed a particularly well-established concert tradition. Up until the start of the 1800s, Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* or Carl Heinrich Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* were played every year around Sweden. Other regulars were Beethoven's *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (the House of Nobility grand hall 1814) and Cherubini's *Requiem* in C minor. The first

full performance of Mozart's *Requiem* took place in the Great Church in 1853. The Handel era proper in Sweden broke through with J.A. Josephson's concerts of *Samson*, *Israel* and *Joshua* as well as *Messiah* in Uppsala and Stockholm in the 1860s and 70s.

Many other choral works with orchestra (oratorios, masses, cantatas) that were performed in the first half of the 19th century are today almost, if not completely forgotten: for example, Andreas Romberg's *Das Lied von Glocke* (Schiller) and *Sångens välde* (Die Macht des Gesanges), Sigismund Neukomm's *Stabat mater* and *Hymne de la nuit* (Lamartine), Friedrich Schneider's *The Last Judgement*, motets by Carl Moritz Hauptmann (especially *Salve regina*), Louis Spohr's oratorios, especially *Bei letzten Dinge* from 1826.

In the 1830s and 40s, Abraham Mankell, cantor at Klara Church in Stockholm, was a standard bearer of Renaissance and Baroque choir music, such as that of Palestrina. In 1847, an entire Palestrina concert was held (probably by Johan Fredrik Wikström, choirmaster for the Royal Opera) in Maria Magdalena Church in Stockholm, including the 8-part *Stabat mater* and *Improperierna*.

Beethoven's 9th symphony with its choral finale had its debut in Sweden in 1834 and Mendelssohn's oratorios *St Paul* and *Elijah* were sung for the first time in 1839 and 1848 in Ladugårdsland Church (four and two years, respectively, after composition).

During the first half of the century, music societies were formed from the south of Sweden to as far north as Härnösand: Gothenburg 1809, Karlskrona and Visby 1815, Karlstad 1816, Jönköping 1817, Gothenburg 1818 ("The Musical Performance Society"), Örebro and Norrköping 1823, Malmö 1825, Gothenburg 1829 ("Orphei vänner"), Uppsala ("The Society for Music Performance") and Örebro ("The Harmonic Society") 1831, Hudiksvall 1832, Härnösand 1842, Falun 1843, Uppsala 1849 ("the Philharmonic Society") and Sundsvall 1850.

The most common form of the name was "Music Society" (applies to the above unless otherwise specified), proclaiming a heritage dating back to the older Liebhaber societies of the 1700s. At first, the diversionary character of such assemblies dominated, but already in one of the earliest music societies, Karlstad, there was the explicit ambition to cultivate music as a form of edification: "It expels melancholy, brightens our society, moves the heart and elevates the soul to whence it came." (After Turesson 1974, p. 130)

Like all the older societies, the Karlstad Society was tied to bourgeois society, its closed nature evidenced by the three-quarter majority required for the election of new members. However, since, according to the printed register, the society already had in its first year (1817) 367 gentlemen and 274 "females", the circle cannot be considered that tightly closed. It gathered for "musical performance meetings" and the occasional private concert. On 23 July 1817, it held the first "public Concert for purchased tickets for the benefit of Impenunious Persons of Rank in the County". This connection between public concert and charity was long a characteristic feature of the music societies. (The Karlstad Society later became the Värmland Soirée Society, which still arranges assemblies to this day.)

A couple of years earlier (1815), the Karlskrona Music Society was formed, it too as a closed society for vocal and instrumental practice and performance. Its prime mover during the 1840s was Lieutenant Johan Thomas Byström, brother of composer Oscar Byström. This lieutenant led the song and orchestral practice and in addition to the normal meetings, also held the occasional public soirée.

While the Karlskrona society was dominated by aristocrats and military men, it was manufacturers and works-owners who laid the foundations of the music society in Norrköping, which was originally a completely closed, weekly society for music performance. Its statutes (1828) differentiated between:

- a) private gatherings
 - b) public gatherings, rehearsals, suppers, etc.
 - c) music-drama soirées (sometimes with supper and dancing), and
 - d) concerts
- (Allberg 1928, 24 f.)

The two last types of gathering were in some sense public. The society's "real leader" was manufacturer and singer Johan Arosenius, who at the first ever meeting in 1828 sang in a men's quartet by Du Puy; his wife Laurette played a piano fantasy by Beethoven on the same occasion. The "public" concerts that gradually came into existence were given in aid of the children of the local Eberstein School and others in need. From 1845 onwards, composer Frans Frieberg was a leading figure in the society, which staged his comic opera *Skogsfrun* at a music-drama soirée in 1852, and, with the Linköping Music Society, Haydn's *The Creation* and Mozart's *Jupiter Symphony* a year later.

After the middle of the century, the concert wing of the societies' activities began to develop and grow in stature. For example, the Norrköping society successively became more of a concert institution, and celebrated its fiftieth year in 1878 with the cantata *Tonernas seger* by conductor Jörgen Malling. Still, however, the society kept its closed and open activities separate. When the professional Norrköping Orchestra Society was finally founded in 1912, the music society remodelled itself mainly as a choir, which sung at the orchestra's larger concerts.

The older type of bourgeois club-like music society became increasingly rare around the turn of the century as it was gradually superseded by society and independent choirs, which could sometimes collaborate for specific purposes. The Karlskrona society, which never ventured into public concert territory and, after a period of decline was finally dissolved in 1886, was eventually replaced by a new Music Society in 1889, which under the direction of Svante Sjöberg performed large-scale works such as Handel's *Messiah*, Brahms's *Requiem* and Hallén's *Christmas Oratorio*.

The musical initiative was now coming less and less from bourgeois society enthusiasts and more and more from individual musicians able to muster the town's resources. Examples of such are Ivar Widéen in Skara, Felix Körling in Halmstad, Jon Fredrik Törnvall in Linköping, Wilhelm Gnosspelius in Linköping and Lund, Edvard Düring in Norrköping, J.A. Josephson in Uppsala and Czapek, Israel Sandström, Elsa Stenhammar and Ruben Liljefors in Gothenburg – this last-named a pivotal figure on the Gävle music scene from 1912.

Music societies worthy of note from the latter half of the 1800s (often with the appendage "Philharmonic Society" or "Music Society") include: Umeå 1862, Växjö 1866, Örebro 1868 ("Philomele"), Landskrona 1872, Karlshamn 1876, Stockholm 1880 ("Music Society"), Stockholm 1885 ("New Philharmonic Society"), Örnköldsvik and Luleå 1889, Karlstad 1890, Helsingborg 1896, Malmö 1902 ("Southern Sweden Philharmonic Society"), Gällivare-Malmberget (with a state grant) and Strängnäs 1903, Avesta 1905, Nyköping 1910 ("Philharmonic Society") and Huskvarna 1911.

While the societies in Norrland were often an entirely new local phenomenon, the new ones in southern Sweden generally had older forerunners. Thus, the 1880 Music Society in Stockholm was formed on the initiative of Ludvig Norman and Vilhelm Svedbom as a reincarnation of the Harmonic Society (1820–78). The New Philharmonic Society of 1885 was founded on the initiative of Andreas Hallén drawing on his experiences from Germany. Over the next few years it performed larger works, such as Bach's *St Matthew Passion* (1890) and Schütz's *Seven Last Words of Christ* (1891, both for the first time in Sweden). Under Wilhelm Stenhammar's direction, Bach's *St John Passion* was also performed for the first time (1898) (Wallner 1985). All these works were sung in Swedish, a custom that was a

dominant feature of music in Sweden since the end of the 1700s (including operas). The *St Matthew Passion* had also been radically re-orchestrated in a Viennese Classical spirit. True to the *zeitgeist*, the performance material edited by Hallén had been spiced up with a dash of romanticism in its dynamism and timbre (Moberg 1949; see Wallner 3, p. 289).

The orchestra societies, which were effectively instrumentalist clubs, brought together amateurs from all walks of society. It is certainly characteristic that many of the earliest orchestra societies appeared in towns and cities with relatively large working class populations: Västerås 1884, Grängesberg 1899, Örebro 1909, Borås and Gävle 1911, Norrköping and Oskarshamn 1912, Uddevalla 1915 and Halmstad 1916. In Norrköping, however, there was already a large corps of professional musicians from the beginning.

In Stockholm there was the long established Royal Court Orchestra, which owing to the royal sanction of its public concert activities in 1807 was given new assignments alongside its representative court duties and theatre performances, and for the entire century it was the country's only professional symphony orchestra. Even by the turn of 1900s, the Opera's symphony orchestra still played a dominant part in Swedish music, particularly when Johan Svendsen (1902) and Edvard Grieg (1896, 1899, 1904) were its much lauded guest conductors.

In 1902, the formation of the Concert Society gave Stockholm a second major orchestra, with its 70 members recruited from the city's smaller theatres and restaurants. However, it was not until 1914 that the orchestra was made permanent. Instead, the honour of obtaining the country's first permanently employed symphony orchestra (not counting the Royal Court Orchestra) goes to Gothenburg with its Orchestra Society, founded in 1905 and accommodated in a new concert hall on Heden – a donation by merchant Pontus Fürstenberg – to which both Carl Nielsen and Jean Sibelius were enticed by Stenhammar, its principal conductor from 1907 to 1922.

Music for entertainment

In parallel with these developments in serious music was a flourishing of light entertainment music, which in the second half of the 1800s morphed more and more into a major European industry at the same time as it became increasingly instrumental. This led to an explosion of continental music publishers, which now largely lived off arrangements of the popular numbers for various kinds of setting. The genre itself, instrumental light music, was established above all by Johann Strauss the elder in Vienna and Philippe Musard in Paris in the 1830s and 40s. A common sight in 1840s Sweden were such headlines as “concert à la Strauss” or “à la Musard” or even “à la Tivoli” (in reference to H.C. Lumbye's famed concerts in Copenhagen's Tivoli from 1843).

The repertoire for this light entertainment music remained largely unchanged from the mid-19th century to the First World War. It consisted of overtures and opera numbers (in instrumental arrangement), dance music, the odd character piece and classical gem, as well as diverse numbers as befit the circumstances. Two examples, both from Jönköping, may illustrate such programmes and their contexts (see Ruuth 1978).

On 30 September 1864, three ensembles – the sharpshooter corps music section and men's choir and the Jönköping regimental band – collaborated in the last “concert à la Tivoli” of the season in Stora Limugnen's garden. The Jönköping newspaper advertised nine of the concert numbers, eight of which were instrumental: one overture (Donizetti), three opera numbers (two by Rossini, one by Verdi), a polka (Lumbye), two marches (W. Lagercrantz and A.R. Nylander) and a gallop (Schnötzinger). “By popular demand” there was also a performance of Wennerberg's *Hör oss Svea* by the choir with accompanying brass. The other men's choir numbers were not advertised, but probably comprised more popular patriotic and *naturlyrisk*

pieces from the student song repertoire. The park was illuminated by hundreds of Chinese lanterns and there were fireworks between the different parts of the concert.

Twelve years later, on 26 September 1876, the regimental band held a “military concert” in the garden of Stora Hotellet, which otherwise engaged the musicians the year round for performances in the “schweizeriet”, the garden and the gala hall. This time, revenues would fall to drummer J.G. Schwartz, who also played in two special numbers – a fantasy for two drums depicting the “war between Serbia and Turkey” and a drum solo (by Kock). The remaining fifteen numbers comprised three overtures (Boieldieu, Auber, Brozont), six opera extracts (Offenbach, Meyerbeer, Donizetti and Verdi), three polkas (Leutner, Czapek, Marie), two waltzes (Labitzy, Faust) and, to conclude, the Swedish army tattoo. What is remarkable is the sheer quantity of opera numbers. Much of the popular music of the time consisted of arrangements from operas (serious and comic), minus the recitative and other less popular sections.

Hjalmar Meissner’s *Hur man komponerar* (literally “How to compose”), written in the 1890s for one of his light entertainment orchestras – perhaps the Kalmar regimental band or the 50-strong orchestra at the 1897 Stockholm exhibition, where the piece was often played – provides rather amusing confirmation of this. It consists of 17 variations of the folk tune “Spinn, spinn dotter min”: three that imitate Classicists (Haydn, Beethoven, Mendelssohn), two waltzes (Strauss, Waldteufel), a drawing-room piece (Chopin), a *variété* song (*Tararabom*), and no less than ten popular pieces from operas (Mozart, Meyerbeer, Verdi, Offenbach, Gounod, Wagner, Mascagni and Swedes Söderman, Hallström and Hallén).

The 1880s and 90s saw the emergence of *variété*,¹ a form of entertainment that was novel in its variety and commercialism. While the former café-chantant had a single group entertain the guests all evening, *variété* had a diverse playbill of musical acts, as well as acrobats and magicians. There would be a permanently employed orchestra, but the artists were replaced after a few weeks, partly through the agency of Swedish or international impresarios. New songs were mass-composed and translated quickly into the native tongue. Hits were taken from the *variété* stages of Berlin and Paris and the music halls of London (from whence *Tararabom* came in 1891). But some were of Swedish origin, such as when Franz Joseph Wagner’s *Gigerl-marsch* was turned into *Kalle P* (1891), arguably the most successful of all Swedish music hall songs.

With its blend of musical numbers, magic, dance, mime, parody and song without the slightest claim to any kind of narrative thread, *variété* was a form of entertainment for all and in its ambition to entertain the widest possible public with the most varied form of entertainment, albeit superficial, was the most democratic of all scenic arts. Competition kept demands on artistic skill tolerably high, and many performers had international agents. Music halls, complete with restaurants and bars, were built in the larger towns, while in the smaller, folk singers, slapstick comics and other such artists made do with hotel salons and the like. However, there was growing opposition to the consumption of alcohol at the *variété* shows and to the vulgar, indecent content of some of the songs. Protests against such “*variété* misbehaviour” reached the parliament, which in October 1896 banned the serving of strong drinks wherever such shows were performed. Many *variété* acts also disappeared, but some of the repertoire lived on in other forms, such as cabaret and revue.

Dances and balls

As can be inferred from the memoirs of the time, some of the most popular forms of diversion in the 1800s were balls and dances. Dances could be arranged in virtually any room or hall, given sufficient interest and someone able to play an instrument. We know, for instance, that Geijer and Blanche could improvise dance tunes when called upon to do so and that in their youth, Norman and Söderman both earned an extra income as dance pianists.

The ball was a more formal occasion and could be completely private for invited guests only, with a supper between the first dance section and the final cotillion, which could take an hour to dance and play. There was generally a pre-decided dance programme and especially engaged musicians. The programme was written or printed and the gentlemen could sign up for the different dances in the ladies' programme. Such evenings were sometimes interspersed with songs, recitations or other kinds of performance. Balls filled a number of social functions. The young had an opportunity to dance and to socialise in the many, long intervals, and while girls were watched over, their supervision was not so strict as to prevent them from amusing themselves and conversing quite freely. Large balls required separate rooms for smoking, card-playing or conversation. Special assembly or banquet halls were built in towns and cities in the first half of the 19th century designed to accommodate not only balls but also the local societies and orders. The high points of this flora of balls were those arranged annually to celebrate the King's name-day (Oscar, December 1), New Year's Day or some other occasion by this or that society, by the mayor, the county governor, the major orders (Amaranten, Innocensen), the officers' corps, or, indeed, the King himself. These balls can be regarded as semi-public, social events that no self-respecting invitee would want to miss. The music societies also arranged "dance soirées", at which a musical performance or even an actual concert was rounded off with a couple of hours' dancing.

A notch more public were the balls and masquerades arranged by restaurateurs or orchestra directors for which effectively anyone could sign up. Those with Anton Schnötzing and Franz Weller, who travelled to Stockholm in the 1840s, were particularly popular. According to dancing teacher F.A. Gjörcke, Strauss, Labitsky and Lanner gave

"the waltz this bubbling vivacity, this ravishing charm that it now possesses, and Messrs Schnötzing and Weller have performed them with such taste that they have almost become national for us". (Gjörcke 1859, p. 63.)

Both were productive composers of waltzes and other dances, Schnötzing also having under his belt a great deal of the music that he had played in Joseph Lanner's orchestra in Vienna. In Stockholm, he also, like Lanner (and J. Strauss), featured alternately as an arranger of balls and as a concert conductor with popular programmes. At a concert masquerade in October 1845, there were even two orchestras with different functions:

"The well-composed orchestra, which played the dance music under Mr Schnötzing's direction, comprised some 50 persons, besides which a cannoner-music corps deployed outside the largest of the dining rooms performed a great many numbers during the banquet." (Figaro 1845, no. 44.)

The polonaise, anglais, waltz and quadrille – all group dances except for the waltz – were popular in the early 1800s, with couple dances, mainly the polka and the gallop, being introduced later in the 1840s. The dances that were danced during the latter half of the century are evident from the book *Dansskolan* (by Axelina Apelbom, 1888). All dances required much practice. The quadrille or French square dance (to 6/8 or 2/4 time) was danced by four couples in a square (carré) and consisted of six figures. The Lancier quadrille (from Paris 1856) "must be executed with considerable grace". There was also a "quadrille imperiale" and the American quadrille – all with five figures. Describing the improvised polska mazurka was "completely impossible"; nevertheless, Apelbom devotes twelve pages to the most common steps and figures. More parsimoniously described are the waltz, polka, schottische and polka-mazurka, all couple dances. The second edition of the book added the pas-de-quatre and the varsovienne in 1902, by which time the once so popular group dances were disappearing from the ballrooms.

A successful ball required a suitable ball director, who was required to arrange the prerequisites such as programmes and cotillion souvenirs in advance, conceive appropriate figures and call them out at the ball, etc. In the capital, many such characters were lieutenants who had attended Karlberg military academy, which ever since its founding in 1792 had included a grounding in social dancing. Cadets would, apart from their regular drills, attend several balls a term; these were relatively simple occasions arranged as “company balls”. In 1845, the King also began to pay for an annual “goute-ball”. After the academy was refashioned in 1866 as the “War School”, the number of dances was reduced to four simple balls and one goute ball per year – this latter with royal patronage until 1908, when funding was transferred to the state.

Civilians also needed dance training, particularly for the group dances. In the autumn of 1856, at least six dance institutes advertised in Stockholm, such as Gjörcke’s, which with special groups for children, young people and private individuals taught “all dances customary in society”. But the social training began even earlier at private or public “children’s balls”, as enthusiastically described in C.R. Nyblom’s memoirs from 1840s Uppsala:

“At such a ball, children danced to the piano, and on especially fine occasions, the violin as well. The most exalted occasions were when one heard the violin played by Uppland regiment oboist Carl Book...and the piano by a student from the Gästrike-Hälsinge “nation” by the name of Strömbäck, who played dance music with great aplomb. When the two struck up the Olympic Waltz by Strauss or Hungarian Waltz by Gungl, it was as if the gates of Heaven had been flung open.” (Nyblom 1908:1, p. 155.)

Towards the end of the century, balls faced competition from other forms of social intercourse – theatres, public lectures, societies, exhibitions – and began to lose both definition and their aristocratic aura. The polonaise and quadrille with their well-ordered group figures made way for freer couples dances – waltz, polka, gallop – and the conduct of the young, in the spirit of liberalism, was monitored less strictly. By the start of the 1900s, the ball as a form of social entertainment had very much had its day.

ⁱ See chap 3.4 for definitions of *varieté* and other terms