

5. MUSIC FOR CULTIVATION, SALVATION AND GRATIFICATION

The cultivation (*bildning*) of the lower classes was first debated in the early 1800s, chiefly as a consequence of the growth of middle-class liberalism in large and small-scale industry. The ideas came initially from England – and later from the Continent and America. Particularly attractive were Englishman Lord Henry Brougham’s utilitarian reform policies, which aimed to educate and cultivate the new industrial working class. Brougham helped found the Mechanics’ Institutes (from 1823), a group of educational institutions for the working class population, at which cultural activities gradually took centre stage. Foremost amongst these activities was music, particularly choir singing and, later, instrumental music (mainly brass bands).

A similar interest emerged in Sweden relatively early. The first initiative can be seen at Hällefors iron foundry in Västmanland in 1796, whose first industrial town orchestras, unlike their models in England, were not brass bands; this was still before the era of the valved chromatic instruments. Later, during the 1820s, it was maintained with waxing vehemence that music deserved “to be meticulously taught to society’s lower classes”. Singing was thus the cheapest option – “ever generous Nature, has, with voice and song, bestowed upon every man the richest and loveliest instrument” – and the human voice was considered to penetrate more closely to the soul than any other instrument: it “is capable of more powerfully moving its finest and most hidden organs” (*Allmänna Journalen* 1824:82).

Brougham’s theories were introduced more systematically by Frans Anton Ewerlöf in *Sällskapet för nyttiga kunskapers spridande* (literally the Society for the spreading of beneficial knowledge), which aimed to bring bourgeois education to the workers. The country’s first cultivational circle based on the English model was established in Stockholm in 1845. Here, music was given a prominent role and with its powers of “elevation and ennobling” (Gatenheim 1977, p. 30 f.) was to alternate between and enliven the various lectures. Songs were sung by its members, who were given lessons in quartet singing and pitch matching.

By the middle of the century, no fewer than 32 towns and cities had documented “circle” activities, most of them based on the Stockholm prototype. Everywhere, particular weight was given to singing, in accordance with the continental cultivational ideas of the likes of Swiss Hans Nägeli, who, following the lead of Jean Jacques Rousseau and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, ascribed greater importance to singing than to instrumental music. At two lectures in the Gothenburg circle in 1848, characteristically enough, the history of singing was equated with that of music. Lecturer Johan Nikolaus Söderling argued that singing should form one of the primary components of compulsory education:

“Thus can a younger generation, raised in morality and virtue and refined through the gift of song, arise, blessed with the power to throw off the shackles under which our society groans.”

However, the increasingly popular brass bands nonetheless played a vital part in the activities of such cultivational circles at meetings, parties and excursions. In that these societies were largely urban, they were able to hire military musicians and thus spare themselves the cost of forming their own bands. Thus, for instance, did the Gothenburg circle engaged the music corps of the Artillery regiment and the Helsingborg circle that of the Hussar regiment.

Eventually, a widely accepted understanding that music – alongside other meaningful hobbies – served to stimulate and elevate the “lower classes”. In the 1860s, we find these ideas explicitly expressed in L.J. Wedholm’s *Handleding i svenska jernbruksekonomien*:

“To make available 2 or 3 rooms for dancing, singing, music and reading for one’s dependents, thus attaining a grand objective, truly costs little. It repays itself in time sevenfold... . There ought be no shortage of music teachers as most of the country’s parishes these days possess organists.” (Wedholm 1867 – 69, p. 659 f.)

A tract on Åtvidaberg’s copper works from 1866 attributed the good conditions at the foundry to the master’s modesty and true humanity, the savings bank and pension institutions, prudent regulations, excellent schools and library and a respectable clergy. Intimately linked to these social institutions was music, as the liberal functional and utilitarian principle dictated:

“In this field, director W. Böhme is manager and has an orchestra from its working staff of thirty-something wind instrumentalists, who, with surprising precision and expression, execute even the most difficult overtures, such as that to Oberon, Wilhelm Tell, the Magic Flute and other operas. Two evenings a week this orchestra meets to practise and there is naturally rather little one dares to expect of such grimy, blackened *kapellister*... There is also a singing society, which has Doctor Malmqvist to thank for its existence and which meets once a week.

“One may easily imagine the ennobling influence, not to mention the aesthetic pleasure, that these musical exercises must bring not only to the amateurs’, but also to the working people’s spirit, morality and cultivation.”

The 1860s also saw the birth of the “sharpshooter” movement, the voluntary “public arming” that was brought to the fore by both the Crimean War and the Italian struggle for liberty. Ultimately, the movement had its roots in the same liberal body of ideas as the other contemporary “folk” movements. The same people who campaigned for public arming also fought for representational reform, for universal and equal suffrage and for the establishment of “folk high-schools”. The movement grew to national proportions and spread through both town and country. In 1867, when the movement was at its peak, the number of sharpshooters, according to official estimates, was 40,848.

The sharpshooter movement’s propagandists saw musical activities amongst the working population as an especially patriotic device, not least for suppressing that commonplace sight on streets and in courtyards and cafés – itinerant musicians, who were regarded by the liberal press almost as parasites. A telling example is an article titled “Kringresande dagdrifvare” (literally Itinerant idlers) that was published in *Svenska arbetaren* on 27 July 1861. It was “the honest labourer who, normally at the expense of his hard-earned daily wage, supports these idlers and encourages them to persist”. It would be better for the working population to form their own music companies: “Perhaps the time will come when every town, every parish, will have its own little ‘regimental music’.”

These music societies, singing societies and sharpshooter associations with their target practice, rowing races, etc. should, urged the newspaper, flex their own muscles and “develop our dormant talent”. If the worker sacrificed most of his life to “utility” he could, without compunction, sacrifice a little of it to “pleasure”. The moral being, again, that “utility and pleasure should mix”.

Thus was music’s power to cultivate and provide morally valuable pleasure portrayed by the liberal middle class of the 1800s, who during the latter part of the century imprinted this view on the new folk movements, where it has thrived ever since. Song and music came to play a prominent part in the non-conformist, abstinence and labour movements as a vehicle for propaganda for spreading ideas and slogans, and as a form of protest and criticism, and as a rallying point at internal gatherings and rituals.

We will now take a closer look at music in these movements, taking as our starting point three different forms of musical expression: the ensemble, choir singing and communal, unison singing.

THE ENSEMBLE

Organised ensembles – above all civil brass bands – proliferated through broad swathes of society during the latter half of the 19th century, not least within the popular movements and the new industrial communities – the mill, factory and mining towns. There are several reasons why brass music became so popular. Since there was often a dearth of assembly rooms, most events had to be held in the open air and the instruments were loud and suited to outdoor use; brass instruments were also relatively easy to learn to play – compared to a string ensemble, brass players are much more quickly able to achieve performance standard; finally, the presence of the military music corps gave good access to conductors and instructors.

The most widespread type of civil music corps in the latter half of the 1800s was the brass sextet, comprising E-flat cornet, B-flat cornet, alto horn, baritone horns 1 and 2, and bass tuba. However, and particularly in the 1860s and 70s, we also find quartets (B flat cornet, alto horn, baritone and bass tuba) and, especially, quintets (E-flat cornet, B-flat cornet, alto horn, baritone horn and bass tuba).

The sharpshooter movement

The first major wave of brass bands arrived with the sharpshooter movement. Over the course of its rather short lifespan, it helped to train a whole cadre of competent brass musicians, who proved of later use to other types of association band. Sources from the 1860s and 70s give evidence of no fewer than one hundred or so newly formed bands. Such ensembles – as well as the sharpshooter male choirs – introduced a great many Swedes to more organised playing. The choice of repertoire was, however, very much shaped by bourgeois music tastes.

Performances were, in the first instance, associated with the military activities of the sharpshooter bands, whose duties included accompanying the drills and target practice that normally took place on Sunday. As a rule, a military religious service was held on these occasions, it too with the participation of the band. There were also benefit balls, bazaars and parties for the associations, at which the bands were the obvious providers of music for the dances and general entertainment, as well as a not insignificant number of concerts, often for charity.

The abstinence movement

Another wind music wave occurred in the 1880s with the abstinence movement, within which choir singing had already been nurtured. The next stage was to form bands. In the last two decades of the 1800s the International Order of Good Templars (IOGT) alone had some 230 bands, of which about 150 were provincial. If we add to this other teetotaler societies like the National Order of Templars and the Blueband movement, this number rises considerably.

Popular education and cultivation were two of the more cardinal ambitions of the order, even if there were no such organised activities in the IOGT prior to 1895. To this end, the singing and music societies were regarded as a vital means:

“Our commoners still generally lack a sense of aesthetic pleasure. This indeed is no wonder, when one considers the kinds of diversions that are available to them, how the ubiquitous tipping custom has corrupted taste and sensation and how little has been done to improve conditions. Instead of moving forwards, the Swedish people have in this respect moved backwards. Our folk games are forgotten, our folk song has fallen silent.” (Order newspaper *Reformatorn* 3/1 1895).

The order's music activities initially hit a few snags, but was nonetheless seen as a crucial part of the order's ethos. Another incentive was probably the view that the band could provide an effective channel of abstinence propaganda. Not only did it provide a grand setting for the ritual and ceremonial aspects of the order, but it also served as a kind of public magnet whenever the lodge marched through the villages to recruit new members. In the 1890s, large abstinence demonstrations were commonplace, presumably as a consequence of the rise of the labour movement. The indispensability of the music bands to these protest marches goes without saying.

As the Good Templar lodges spread, temperance halls emerged to accommodate them, providing opportunities for certain forms of entertainment and diversion. The young were no doubt particularly expressive of their desires in this respect. One controversial pleasure was dancing. While dancing was in fact proscribed by the order's rules, the lodges appeared to have often circumvented the injunction.

One of the less controversial yet still extremely popular pleasures was the lodge's summer outing, which often involved pleasure boating. The entire company would generally disembark at a suitable place with the band in their head, and the following hours would be devoted to abstinence lectures, games and music. Another regular event was the *gökotta*, when the entire village would be woken on an early spring morning by a little tune from the band, and then travel or walk with behind the musicians to some wooded hillside, where they would spend the day enjoying each other's pleasant company.

The Salvation Army

Brass band music was utilised to great effect by the British Salvation Army in its missionary work. This was also true in Sweden, although it did not emulate the former's brass band model with its special instruments, preferring to adapt itself to the Swedish tradition of brass sextets. These ensembles they called "horn bands", to distinguish them from "string bands".

With the establishment of a "music department" at its headquarters in Stockholm, the Salvation Army obtained a coordinating body for its music activities. One of the department's primary missions was to train its musicians, which involved regularly sending members of the Staff Band around the country as music teachers. The Staff Band was formed in Stockholm in 1888 by Otto Lundahl and became a kind of musical national standard for the other Salvation Army bands. Lundahl, who was originally a military musician, organised his band as a brass sextet in keeping with the military pattern.

The horn band "opened fire" at "hallelujah" meetings, campaigns (public marches), navy manoeuvres (boat trips), official openings (e.g. of their halls), weddings and funerals. Public Salvation Army rallies were by and large meetings with music, usually to such a degree that in the eyes of the common folk, the army and the band were one and the same entity.

The industrial towns

As we have seen, the industrialists (factory, mill, mine etc. owners) of the 19th century were recommended to initiate musical activities for their workers to give them a more meaningful leisure time with ennobling and cultivational pursuits. But why did they then turn to brass bands rather than other types of ensemble?

One important explanation is that the sharpshooter and even the abstinence movement bands had become fashionable; besides, there were often links from these bands to those of the industrial towns, where bands could be trained under the auspices of the sharpshooter movement before transferring exclusively to the town. Likewise, it was not uncommon at an industrial town for all the members of an existing traditional band to be members of the abstinence lodge. Thus the lodge also had a band. The converse could also happen: if an industrial town lacked a band, the mill owner (say) could donate instruments to the lodge, pay

for teachers and provide premises. Many such industrialists shared the public aspirations of the Good Templar lodges: abstinence, cultivation and ennobling pleasures. The line between an industrial town band in the usual sense and a Good Templar band is therefore not always that easy to draw.

Given the built-up and industrial character of such towns some groups, especially the skilled labourers, considered the countryside as (pejoratively) “rustic”. Folk music was also thus branded:

“As in many other places where the factory patrons nurtured horn music financially and otherwise, the consequence was that the fiddle was rebuffed and considered a peasant thing.” (*Eda Tidning* 1967:8.)

With nothing provincial about it, the brass sextet was better suited than the fiddle to the more “urban” population. These bands were able to play light entertainment music and concerts modelled on those of the cities and new traditions could be created around them. It was intimately related to the industrial community, who regarded it as their own; indeed it can be said to have faithfully reflected the life, customs and traditions of the town, and played at religious ceremonies, funerals and private parties as well as during outings. Naturally, it also had a given place at local village dances, playing at private or society events or at its own dance evenings, which were generally a good source of extra income for the musicians; and not infrequently the band was commissioned to provide the music at the more stately gentry balls.

Concerts also formed part of their activities. From the ornately wood-carved bandstands in the town parks, which still to this day evoke memories of such occasions, the local industrial brass band would perform on sunny Sunday afternoons in the summer for the musical cultivation and pleasure of the common people.

The labour movement

In the years around the turn of the 19th/20th century, the close relations between factory and band started to degenerate with the growth of the labour movement. As we know, the industrialists mounted a fierce resistance against trade unions, and conflicts were not uncommon when the factory bands performed at union meetings. When the members of a band joined a union and started to act under its auspices, most industries withdraw all their support, eliciting no doubt many heated discussions amongst musicians about their rightful course of action: to remain faithful to their employer and the band, or support the union.

Gradually, relations between the factory and the bands settled down as the unions became an accepted feature of the industrial landscape, although they never again ascended to the levels of intimacy they enjoyed in the 1800s. The breakthrough of the unions marked a new societal development, and when the hegemony of the industrialists was broken, their personal interest in the welfare of the local community disappeared with it, an interest that had also fed its active engagement in music.

Just like in the other popular movements, brass music became an important ingredient in the activities of the labour movement and countless unions formed bands alongside often long-established choirs.

The repertoire

The music played by the brass bands was rarely, if ever, composed especially for the medium in question. It was arranged and idiomatically adjusted. The repertoire stuck to the “easier” music, which in its genres was a relatively mixed bag. The brass band repertoire of the latter half of the 19th century can largely be said to have been the same as the popular repertoire that prevailed in bourgeois homes, often arranged for piano. The *clavier*, which was de

rigueur in all affluent homes, served as a vehicle for particularly the new, popular musical pieces. In outline, the bands cultivated the following repertoire categories (in order of size):

Dance music. The dance repertoire included the dances that were popular in the mid and late 1800s, such as the waltz, polka, mazurka, gallop, française, rheinländer and hambo and polska.

Opera extracts. The bands' concert programmes were generally built around short extracts from operas, such as overtures, arias and marches, which could be linked together into medleys and fantasies. The most popular composers in this respect included Auber, Donizetti, Flotow, Meyerbeer, Mozart and Rossini. Far from being a typically Swedish phenomenon, this centring of the concert programme on opera music and dances was the rule throughout Europe.

Patriotic national-romantic pieces. Music of a national or folk stamp – i.e. specifically Swedish pieces – was also represented in the bands' repertoires. From the male choir repertoire, arrangements of Wennerberg's songs were common, especially *Hör oss*, *Svea*, as were potpourris of Bellman songs. Examples of songs containing national and folk sentiments are *Aftonbetraktelse* (Geijer) and *Snabba äro livets stunder* (Randel). Arrangements of folk music normally took the form of medleys.

Marches. Apart from military marches, such as *Finska rytteriets marsch* and *Kungliga Kronobergs regementes marsch*, funeral marches also formed part of most brass band repertoires, most commonly *Karl XV:s sorgmarsch* by Nordqvist, Chopin's funeral march and Lincoln's funeral march.

Serious short pieces. Gathered under this rather vague category are shorter character pieces, romantic (art) songs and stylised dance music, such as concert waltzes, *I skog och på heden*, a hunting fantasy by Zikoff or Schubert's *Ständchen*.

Music from the church tradition. Mainly chorales.

CHOIR SINGING

Popular multi-part choir singing has its roots in bourgeois choir singing, particularly the student singing from the 19th century's first half. First of all, the cultivational circles of the 1840s allowed people outside the academia and bourgeois circles to take part in part singing. This sometimes was effected, as in Lund, through direct, voluntary contact between students and workers. At the same time, the newer form of church choirs began to emerge (in contrast to the older form based on boys' choirs). A people's choir performed in Uppsala as early as in 1844, and in 1848 a church choir was founded in Arbrå by a teacher at the church school called Anders Lindblad – this was the Lindblad Choir, and consisted initially of men.

“Public” choirs

The meaning of the Swedish word *allmän* or “general” was used in the societal debates of the 1830s in the sense of “public”, as opposed to “private”; and in the 1840s came the first wave of “public” (*allmänna*) men's choral societies, based on the student choir model. The very first of these, the *Visby Allmänna Sångförening*, was founded in 1844 by C.J.O. Laurin, who only two years previously had reformed the so-called *Allmänna sången* amongst the Uppsala students into a choral society. The Uppsala pattern was copied to the letter: thus the Visby society celebrated from its very inception both 6 and 30 November and 30 April – the latter also becoming the society's festival day.

Besides such names as “Borgarsångförening” and “Allmän borgarsångförening” (roughly Citizens' Choral Society and Public Citizens' Choral Society respectively), perhaps the most common around the country was “Allmänna sångförening” (Public Choral Society), something that prompted the students in Uppsala to change their name to “*Studentcorpsens allmänna sångförening*”. Stockholm's oldest “public” men's choir was the *Bildningscirkel* choir from 1845. Its members belonged to the artisan class and were led between 1847 and 1857 by singing teacher Jöns Peter Cronhamn. Similar “circle” choirs appeared around the country in the 1840s, including in Västervik (1846 under the leadership of C.E. Södling), Gothenburg and Lund (both in 1847).

In Stockholm, the first lasting “public” choir evolved out of the Typographical Association choir (founded in 1846; see Tegen 1955, p. 69). The artisan associations were started up to replace the newly abolished guilds, and their choirs similarly replaced the moribund *bildningscirkel* choirs. These artisan choirs mainly enjoyed prominence up to 1864, when full freedom of trade was introduced. Many lasted, however, until the present century [1900s]. From 1846 to 1855, the Typographical Association choir was led by August Jahnke (see below). He was followed by Johan Alfred Ahlström, and he by Erik Åkerberg (1889 – 94). At its centenary celebrations in 1946, the choir ranked the fourth oldest singing society in the Swedish Choral Society after the Par Bricole choir in Stockholm (1829), the Göta Par Bricole choir (1835) and the *Visby Allmänna Sångförening* (1844).

Choral activities were long the preserve of the professional elite. For example, apprentices were not allowed to join the Typographical Association choir until 1871. The choral society also made every effort to avoid being associated with the body of workers and only first participated in the Swedish labour congress in 1879 (see Bohman 1985, p. 120 f.). The academically aristocratic origins of the repertoire further reinforced the choir's elitist image.

The patriotic wave

The second phase of the history of the “public” men's choral societies came in the 1860s, when a patriotic wave of new societies swept the country. The flora of “citizens' choral

societies” now expanded with such names as Svea, Manhem and Svithiod – a consequence of a neo-Geatish flourishing.

Many of the associations of the sharpshooter movement formed a music and choral section in the 1860s and 70s, generally engaging the bourgeois choirs’ conductors to lead the choir and, not infrequently, to compose special sharpshooter choruses. It is very likely that the choir section, much more than the band, constituted the Society’s social elite (see Ruuth 1987). August Söderman led the Stockholm corps’ combined “public” choir (Jeanson 1926, p.61). Towards the end, his choir boasted 200 men, a number that then declined with the waning interest in the sharpshooter movement in the 1870s.

Another leader on the Stockholm sharpshooter choir scene was the aforementioned August Jahnke, who was one of the more prominent figures of the patriotic wave. He moved to Stockholm from Germany in the 1840s and founded the *Folksångföreningen* (Folk Choral Society) artisan choir in 1847. Its first concert in the autumn of 1848 was inspired by the Uppsala choir’s Danish concerts a few months earlier. Like most of the “folk choral societies” and sharpshooter choirs, the choir was dissolved in the 1870s.

Jahnke also started the Stockholm Public (*Allmän*) Choral Society in 1862, which prompted *Svensk musiktidning* in 1887 to give him “the honour of having let four-part men’s song penetrate society’s deeper stratum”. He had, wrote the paper, realised early on that a public choral society could serve as an agent of popular cultivation and an instrument in “the eradication of class and estate differences that have taken root in Sweden more, perhaps, than anywhere else”.

Another aspect of August Jahnke’s folk-choir mission were the “national singers”, who, from the mid-century onwards and in emulation of the student choir model, travelled the length and breadth of Scandinavia. What set these and similar professional folk quartets apart was that they performed in provincial costume. According to the caustic estimation of a student choir historiographer, “it did not [take much] to angle for audiences during this naive period” (Kallstenius 1946, p. 30). But the fact is that it was this very kind of “student singing” that provincial people (folk) familiarised themselves with first.

In 1866, Jahnke began to direct a new quartet, the New Swedish National Singing Quartet. One of its number, Hugo Lutteman, founded the Lutteman Quartet (aka the Swedish Quartet Singers), which took part in the Uppsala choir’s Parisian tour of 1867 and for which Söderman wrote *Tre visor i folkton* in 1870.

Five years later, Söderman similarly dedicated *Englarnas hem* to the Swedish Ladies’ Quartet, a female counterpart to the above-mentioned mens’ quartets, which built up something of a reputation both at home and abroad. In 1875 the Swedish press reported that “Die Schwedischen Nachtigallen” in Switzerland and Vienna “has been the object of enthusiastic praise, as before in Germany, France and England”, and that *Neue Ill. Zeitung* fancied that it could see how “Atterbom’s countrymen had even revived Novalisian romanticism”. It was also announced with much glee that the foreign newspaper counted amongst the quartet’s repertoire songs composed by “Swensk Folkvisa” (*Ny Ill. Tidning*, 8/5 1875).

The labour movement

Workers’ choirs also began to sprout up during the 1860s, initially with a middle-class stamp; the first was the Workers’ Society Choir in Norrköping, which is first mentioned in *Svenska arbetaren* in 1861. Two years later, the newspaper featured a longer article on the Workers’

Society that outlined the provisions of its charter concerning the choral society, which compelled the singers to “perform within the Society or during its outings etc. when so called upon to do so and at the request of the Director.” The plans for the new society hall included a separate “Hall for Singing Practice” (*Svenska arbetaren* 31/10 1863).

Similar choral societies were formed at the same time in the Motala Verkstad Workers’ Society (1867), the Stockholm Public (*Allmänna*) Workers’ Society (1868) and the Nyköping Workers’ Society (1869), and thereafter around the country, especially in towns where new industries had recently been established (Alma, Ystad, Kalmar, Linköping, Västerås, Helsingborg, Uppsala, etc.).

All these choirs were set up by philanthropic middle-class music enthusiasts. The first purely working class choir was probably the Painters’ Union Choral Society in Stockholm (1875), eliciting a string of other choirs directly connected with unions, professions or workplaces, particularly around the turn of the 1900s, such as the Stockholm Postillion Workers’ Choir and the Stockholm Railway Workers’ Choir.

When a society or organisation reached a certain size, it sought to create a highly visible symbol of cohesion. One such was the choir, and since women were rarely active in societies, it was invariably a men’s choir. One exception is the ladies’ choir of Section 15 of the Swedish Brewery Workers’ Society. One all-pervading aspect of the development of these workers’ choirs is that they started off with relatively close ties to a mother organisation before gradually becoming indoctrinated and burdened with problems, which changed their objectives and the values of their members. There are countless examples of how labour union choirs slowly transformed into town-based, public choirs.

The Stockholm Social Democratic Choral Society was founded in 1887, the first song on its repertoire apparently being *La Marseillaise*. In 1892, it changed its name to the more neutral Stockholm Public (*Allmänna*) Workers’ Choral Society (Bohman 1985, p. 132 f.). At first, the choir was frequently used by the party, performing at benefit matinees for the newspaper *Social-Demokraten*, at 1 May demonstrations, party festivities, ceremonial inaugurations, party funerals, etc.

Eventually a typical debate arose on the kind of singing the choir should engage in. A radical branch wanted to exploit song in the political struggle and therefore touted unison singing, The other wing, however, wanted to use choral singing as an instrument of cultivation. Painter F.V. Franzén saw unison singing as “sectarian, unharmonic and uncultural”. This line was adopted by the choral society and so in 1901 the choir split from the party to become an independent choral society. In its new charter, all talk of agitation and songs with a social democratic disposition was gone. The objective now was only “to train itself through set part-song exercises and to provide its members with an opportunity for ennobling diversion.” (After Bohman 1985, p, 135.)

The changes affected the choir’s repertoire, which contained a greater share of traditional choral compositions, partly at the expense of workers’ songs. One of the ideological motives was that the working class needed to be refined through “the best available in the grand and glorious field of quartet composition”. One high point was the choir’s concert in 1916 at the Royal Theatre in the presence of the Crown Prince and his wife. Circumstances then changed for the workers’ choral society, and the choir devolved more and more into a social club.

The abstinence and revivalist movements

The first choirs of the IOGT abstinence movement were formed in 1881. (The first book of abstinence songs in choral arrangement was printed as early as 1877.) Choir singing, which was to elevate the atmosphere during the admission ceremonies, was also a welcome feature of parties and other festive events. The repertoire included abstinence songs, first and

foremost, usually to borrowed melodies. One of the most widely spread was *I nykterhetens sanne vänner* – “nykterhetsmarseljäsen” (the abstinence Marseillaise) – which was sung to the tune of the Marseillaise. However, the choral repertoire seems, at least within the IOGT, to have quickly broadened out to include much of the traditional men’s choir and student choir repertoire.

Choir singing in the Revivalist movement was in part a simple continuation of the men’s choral singing on the domestic bourgeois and student scene, and in part mixed choir singing, which before long came to dominate in all associations. What made the singing special here was the influence of musically trained leaders, who strove to attain a high musical standard in the congregations. The earliest example of mixed choir singing we find in the Baptist Society back in the 1850s, and in the 1860s in the congregations of *Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen* (the Evangelical Homeland Foundation), many of which later joined *Svenska Missionsförbundet* (the Swedish Mission Society). At first, the choirs were to both support the congregational singing and embellish the services, but with the growing popularity of the organ to accompany to the congregation, this second function took over. There were often, however, fears that the choir singing would turn the meeting participants into a passive audience. All the same, it continued to spread during the 1870s and 80s until a rift occurred at the turn of the century, when musically trained individuals became common in the large urban congregations. And in connection with the growing dominance of the middle class in the older societies, the cultivational endeavours became ever clearer, the choir becoming an important tool for these cultural ambitions. Choir singing was normally based on the older bourgeois domestic music ideals, and the Classical-Romantic style that was around at the time the Revivalist movement arose was conserved in the movement and lived on, unchallenged, long into the 20th century.

The choir singers joined together into national societies, the first being the *Svenska Baptisternas Sångarförbund* (the Swedish Baptists’ Choral Association) (1913) and the *Svenska Missionsförbundets sångarförbund* (the Choral Association of the Swedish Mission Society) (1927). Previously there were regional associations. The choral societies gathered for choral festivals, at which mass choirs with thousands of singers performed. The Salvation Army and the Pentecostal Revivalists held similar gatherings, such as music congresses and choirmasters’ conferences.

Parodies of the patriotic genre

While the folk movements generally had a complicated relationship with the patriotic choruses, they came to good use primarily as a source of music for new lyrics, and by using known heroic songs, they gained the two-pronged objective of satire and melodic familiarity (see Selander 1986).

The question of unison versus part singing was often pushed into the background. Instead, fresh ideological content was promoted through the songs, which with a few simple tweaks were given new lyrics, often with the opposite meaning. For example, *Sånger för bläbandsmöten* (1897) contained inverted versions of bacchanalian songs for men’s choir, an echo of the earlier efforts of students to rework known patriotic songs into drinking songs. Such parodies were done in the abstinence movement (drinking songs transformed into non-drinking songs), the Revivalist movement (the terrestrial kingdom transformed into the celestial) and in the labour movement (nationalism transformed into internationalism). In this last case, the folk movements often actively sought to undermine traditional patriotism. The Revivalists happily changed the existing patriotic songs into “homeward songs”. As a typical example we can mention Runeberg’s “Vårt land”, which was paraphrased into “O land! Du sälla andars land, Der Herren Gud sjelf bor” (O country! You country of blessed spirits, where the Lord Himself abideth” (*Pilgrimssånger* 1859).

The conflict with all the festivity and the history was carried on in the social democratic press along the same lines as in the liberal left, only in more rancorous tones. And in thus inserting into the antagonists' own heroic songs their incendiary phraseology, the labour movement's marches took on the same symbolic significance as they had in the earlier student movement: inward cohesion, outward strength. In 1883, *Svensk Musiktidning* spoke of the labour movement's "poisoning" of *Den tapre Landsoldat* (a popular Danish sharpshooter march), which formed the basis of the march *På väg till fackföreningen*. Praises to the eight-hour day were sung to the strains of *Dåne liksom åskan bröder* ("Åsklikt dåne") while socialism's *Fanmarsch* borrowed from *Björneborgarnas marsch*. Many other student songs similarly lent their tunes to the labour movement: *O yngling*, *Hör oss Svea*, *Kung Karl den unga hjälte*, *Sjung om studentens*, etc. (Selander 1986.)

The socialist version of "Vårt land" (Our country) appeared in *Socialistisk sångbok* in 1891 with Pehr Lindahl's "Vårt land, vårt land, vårt fosterland, finns öfverallt på jord" (Our country, our country, our native country, is everywhere on Earth). Henrik Menander's "Arbetets söner" was a parody of Atterbom's "Vindarnas kör" from his fairy play *Lycksaligheten's ö*, a men's chorus composed by Nils Peter Möller in the 1830s, where Menander got much mileage from Atterbom's mysticism and religious visions. Even Atterbom's chorus can be interpreted as a "battle song": his poetic universe is pervaded by singing winds, representing natural forces of good and evil. It was a romantic-idealist message that fitted neatly into the bourgeois deontology, and that earned the song an obligatory place in school songbooks. Menander also composed for the *Socialistisk sångbok* a socialist "folk song" based on "Ur svenska hjärtans djup". The song book also contains "Sången till fanan" ("the international, the red"), written by J.K. Gabrielsson to the melody of "Du gamla du friska" (Sweden's de facto national anthem). The sharpshooter movement, which naturally had a completely different attitude to patriotism, reworked the originals in its own special way. One example can be found in *Jönköpingsbladet* from 11 May 1861, where a song dedicated to the local sharpshooter association played with Esaias Tegnér's *Det gamla Göta lejon vilar*, whose melodic similarity to The Marseillaise must have been of particular appeal to the sharpshooters. The new lyrics turned Tegnér's original celebration of peace into a celebration of war, a perfect example of the parody technique itself:

The old Geatish lion slumbers
 With open eyes it rests
 It dreams of arrows all asunder,
 of riven hunters' nets.
 Peace she smiles in north and south
 and joyfulness doth bring.
 So brothers raise we glass to mouth
 And to him and Oscar sing.

The old Geatish lion awakes
 looks around with royal gaze;
 it lacketh not an ancient might
 renown'd since olden days.
 Dreamt it has of fighting still
 and equips itself for war;
 Of sleeping it has had its fill
 and exalts the burnish'd sword.

SINGING TOGETHER

As we have seen, singing together in unison was an important part of folk movement activities during the 1800s, regardless of their political or social orientation. This was often manifested in different ways. In the late 1800s/early 1900s, for example, the neo-patriotic movement applied itself more vehemently to unison song, which led to the formation of the *Samfundet för unison sång* (literally the Association for Unison Singing) and the songbook *Sjung, svenska folk!* (1905), which was edited by Alice Tegnér. Here, we shall be looking mainly at singing in the non-conformist movement, which had the largest repertoire and the most newly composed songs. Which musical styles were represented? How can one explain that music took the form it did?

In the non-conformist societies' own historiography is the constantly recurring and variously worded claim: "Where there's revival, there's singing." Singing was a crucial aspect of public services as well as of private devotions. This was the case for the neo-evangelism of the 1840s and 50s, which in 1856 was consolidated into the *Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen* (Evangelical Homeland Foundation), from which *Missionsförbundet* (the Swedish Mission Society) emerged; it was the case for the Baptists, who also became active at the end of the 1840s and organised themselves at the same time as the Evangelical Homeland Foundation; it was the case for other associations, such as the Methodist Church from 1860, the Salvation Army and the *Helgelseförbundet* (literally the Sanctification Society) from the 1880s, and the Pentecostal Revivalists from the 1910s. All societies engaged frequently in singing, and gradually, with the arrival of new songs, they gathered their repertoires into their own song collections.

The psalm and spiritual song tradition

A natural point of departure for the mid-19th century spiritual movement was the extensive and vibrant tradition of the sung psalm and spiritual song. Contrary to what has sometimes been claimed, the revivalist movement did not reject the old psalms or chorales. However, the new melodies that were being written differed from the chorale style, which suffered from rhythmic dullness. Emotion was at the heart of singing: as a true expression of the poet's innermost feelings, a song was to animate the singers or listeners. And rhythmic variation was one of the things that breathed life into poetry and music. Chorales therefore failed to meet the needs of the current musical style. That said, music has the ability to draw associations, to embed feelings and experiences that are re-awakened on renewed acquaintance with it. In that the psalms had been used both at religious ceremonies and in people's daily lives, they had been filled with such associative content that some of them, despite their intellectual musical style, nonetheless managed to fulfil the requirements of an emotive song.

The other part of the tradition was the spiritual song, with its roots in 18th century pietism and Herrnhutism (Moravianism). Song collections like *Mose och Lamsens visor* (1717), *Sions sånger* (1743, 1745), *Sions nya sånger* (1778) were reprinted throughout the 1800s. The repertoire was strongly rooted in the provinces and was revived in the early 19th century in combination with the intra-faith revivals. A good illustration of this can be found in the form of *Christelig sångbok till bruk wid enskild husandakt* (1826), published by Peder Håkansson Syrén, and hence commonly known as "Syrén's songs". These collections contained only melodic directions based mainly on the chorale but also occasionally on comic opera and domestic music. The melodies spread and lived on in the oral tradition. Looking a little more closely at the melodies that were used for the older lyrics in the 19th century song collections, we find traces of the re-singing of chorales. But the melodies also

reflect the stylistic shift to major-keyed songs over a simple chordal accompaniment that occurred in folk music over the course of the 1800s. So while the lyrics lived on, their tunes were gradually replaced to suit more modern melodic tastes.

The older lyrics were adopted into the smaller collections, which lay preachers distributed during the 1850s. But they too failed to meet the modern need of expression. The new lyrics required new tunes, and these could be taken from the contemporary profane repertoire, borrowed from foreign movements or freshly composed.

An important source of tunes was the extensive solo song repertoire for bourgeois homes by such composers as E.G. Geijer, J.A. Josephson, A.F. Lindblad. The appropriated tunes reflect the view of what constituted good music: a simple, lyrical melody above a chordal base. More widely popular melodies were also used, such as those for national anthems and the folk tunes made familiar through printed collections and, later, school songbooks. Since the lyrics were primary and the melody considered their relatively neutral bearer, a new text could be set to a tune that had once had profane lyrics, which were even sometimes deliberately alluded to.

Another means of finding useable tunes was to borrow from abroad. A large repertoire of stylistically multi-layered spiritual songs had emerged in the USA during the 1800s: songs from the rural folk revivalists of the early decades of the century; songs representing urban attempts, led by Hastings and Mason, to develop a cultivated form of song during the 1830s and 40s; and the songs from the 1860s and 70s by composers like Bliss, Lowry and Sankey. Spiritual songs quickly became a lucrative market for publishers; the material available was abundant and, over the course of the 1800s, becoming increasingly cookie-cut in style, hand in hand with popular music.

The first songs from the USA reached Sweden in the mid 1800s, with *Pilgrimssånger* (1859) mirroring the entire stylistic breath of contemporary songs from across the Atlantic. Their great breakthrough came in the 1870s with the works of Sankey, which were disseminated through *Sånger till Lammets lof* (normally referred to as Sankey's songs) and *Andeliga sånger sjungna af I.D. Sankey*.

A key feature of these songs was the refrain, whose use can be traced back to the leader/congregation practice of the rural Revivalist meetings. This said, the refrain was also central to contemporary popular music, not least the comic opera couplets and vaudevilles, which explains this use of it. American popular music finally broke through in the early 1900s, bolstered by the arrival of the gramophone. By this time, the style had gained broad public anchorage through the non-conformist material, songs that can thus be credited with having paved the way for American popular music.

The newly written songs

From the 1850s on, the number of melodies composed within the movements increased. As many composers were also poets, the verse metre was the link that governed both the choice of old or new melody and the composition of new poems. The original had no intrinsic value, and composition of music and poetry alike was very much just the re-assemblage of known formulae into something "new". With such simple principles, amateur composition could flourish.

The first composer whose melodies achieved wider circulation was Oscar Ahnfelt. While studying for the priesthood in Lund, Ahnfelt grew increasingly active as a guitarist, and in 1840 he moved to Stockholm to teach the instrument and hold concerts. Here, he became drawn into the neo-Evangelical circles surrounding Carl Olof Rosenius and began to tour as a

preacher and singer, which he continued to do until 1879. The combination of singer and preacher was unusual, and Ahnfelt attracted much popularity around the country.

In the mid-1840s, Ahnfelt began to set poems by Rosenius and others in his circle to music. The first printed melody, “Guds barn jag är”, was published in the journal *Pietisten* in 1848. The melody was reproduced in numerical notation, a variant of Johan Dillner’s system, which up until the 1880s was the most common form of the inexpensive dissemination of new melodies. “Ahnfelts sånger” was the popular name of his *Andliga sånger med accompagnement af pianoforte eller guitarre* (12 volumes, 1850–77). The collection was published in two editions, one lavish and one cheap, with only the lyrics or the melodies given numerically. Ahnfelt’s music was based on that of the bourgeois home, with its emphasis on simplicity and tunefulness. Some tunes are still in use, the most famous probably being “Blott en dag, ett ögonblick i sänder” (known to American congregations as the hymn “Day by Day”, and most recently recorded by Carola Häggkvist in 1998).

The production of songs and song collections gathered momentum in the 1870s. Publishers such as P. Palmqvist (*Pilgrimssånger* 1859, *Församlingssångbok* 1878, *Nya pilgrimssånger* 1891) and C.A.V. Lundholm (*Sånger till Lammets lof* 1875–84; *Hemlandstoner* 1884) released collections for Sunday schools and congregations. Songbook publication was a lucrative business, so much so that the communities themselves started to publish their own collections. Doing this, they were also able to control the theological and musical content of the material. The process reflected the movements’ democratic organisation; committees made the selection, which boards and annual conferences then had to approve. It was a cumbersome process compared to the swift actions of the private publishers, but resulted in a more comprehensive collection than they were able to achieve. The Baptists’ *Psalmisten* was published in 1880 and 1883, the Evangelical Homeland Foundation’s *Sionstoner* in 1889, the *Metodist-episkopalkyrkans svenska psalmbok* in 1892–93, and the *Svenska missionsförbundets sångbok* in 1893–94.

One of the most prolific composers during the 1870s and 80s was Church of Sweden organist and music teacher Theodor Söderberg, who contributed numerous melodies to *Sånger i Lammets lof* and the newspaper *Sanningsvitnet*, which also published melodies by Amanda Sandborg-Wæsterberg, who sided with the solo-song ideal. The musically ambitious singer-preacher Joël Blomqvist was firmly rooted in the world of the lyrical men’s song, and his lyrics and melodies were printed in collections such as *Sabbatsklockan* (1877) and *Fridstoner* (1879). Also part of this stylistic circle was Albert Lindström, who, like Söderberg, was a Church of Sweden organist; he was the editor of *Psalmisten* and *Sionstoner*, songbooks to which he also contributed melodies. More anchored in the folk song tradition was Fredrik Engelke, editor of *Lofsånger* and *Andeliga visor i nådene* (1871–75), and singer-preacher Nils Frykman, whose melodies reaped considerable popularity.

The stylistic span of the newly composed non-conformist church melodies reached from the more ambitious choral songs of the drawing room, via men’s quartets, to simple songs from the oral tradition. Worth noting here is that songs from the USA had no influence on melody composition until the 1890s (Frykman only changed his musical style once he had emigrated to the USA). Since the patterns of the newly written melodies were borrowed from everyday music, their stylistic architecture depended on the reference framework of the individual composer. In the following section we will see what this meant for achieving unity of song.

Music appreciation and style

The non-conformist movement attracted people from all echelons of society, even though their social profiles differed from one congregation to the next. In a socio-culturally stratified

society, this meant that the music of each church represented the confluence of a variety of musical spheres. What chance was there, then, of being able to come together in song? To examine more closely how song was perceived and how this perception governed the composition of new melodies, we will take the following verse:

Ack, må vi förenas, så gamla som unga	O, may we be united, old and young
Att barnsligt och gladt med ett hjerta, en tunga	frivolously and joyfully, with heart and tongue
Om Jesus, om Jesus, vår Frälsare sjunga!	Let Jesus, O Jesus our saviour be sung!

(H.A. Borson, trans. Lina Sandell for *Ahnfeldts sångar*, no. 77, end of fourth verse.)

Singing was already a unifying activity: giving common expression to a shared experience reinforced the belief in its truth. However, behind the use of song is also an ideological consensus grounded in the bourgeois view of music, which when formulated at the end of the 18th century had the character of an avant-garde aesthetic vis-à-vis aristocratic culture, but which by the early 19th had shifted towards one of a generally popular nature.

Song was meant to be “frivolous” in the sense of “simple minded”. Such terms were positively charged at the time: simplicity and naturalness were central to singing, a musical conception that stemmed from the predilection for the naive and ingenuous in domestic middle-class music. This view nurtured widespread composition and poetry writing by amateurs. The melody was primary. As an emotional outlet, singing reflected the soul. It was therefore possible for anyone, a lack of skill notwithstanding, to write tunes. “Harmony”, however, required learning, but music dominated by harmony remained soulless.

Song was seen as an expression of joy, the joy that came with the certainty of salvation. When singing, people were united not only in the external action (“the tongue”) but also in the internal experience (“the heart”). But song was also directed at other people: to the individual it was as much an expression of the experience, a necessary catharsis of the emotions that had been aroused, as it was a part of the ambitions of evangelisation. The subject of song was “Let Jesus, O Jesus our saviour be sung” and its target double, aimed not only at people, but also – first and foremost – at God as a song of praise for the experience of salvation. Attitudes to the music varied – sometimes it was seen as a gift from God, a reflection of and a training in readiness for the heavenly choir; sometimes it was seen as something human, admired even by the angels themselves.

As a true expression of the soul, song was to be simple and naive, and was to make use of everyday stylistic means of expression. This is the one extremity of the continual conflict that runs through the history of church music; the other believes that music must distance itself from the mundane in order that it be an adequate vehicle for the singing of God’s praises. This view united an important part of the everyday bourgeois musical vernacular and folk song. However, at the end of the 1800s this consensus was to be put under strain from two directions. As regards the spiritual folk song, the repertoire drifted over the course of the century towards simple, chordal major-key music. These new songs met criticism from both songbook publishers and folk-music collectors alike. The *Svenska missionsförbundets sångbok* from 1894 carries a publisher’s apology:

“It has to be admitted that a few melodies have been included that are of less musical value; but they will still no doubt be welcomed by many of the friends around the country, and for others may hidden away in the shadows of the genuine beauty which – undeniably – exists within in abundance.”

This attitude reflects the growing tension between artlessness and artfulness that in the decades around the turn of the century was the result of the great striving for cultivation. If

the new ideals were radical with respect to the folk tradition, they were conservative in relation to the new stylistic ideals within the bourgeois concert culture. These tensions were also true of the song melodies. The generally widespread styles, on which the melodies of the 1870s and 80s were based, gradually fell out of use on the public music scene. These older songs have now largely lost their association with the popular music ideal of the time (although there is actually some stylistic proximity in dance band music). Their continued existence is thus a generational issue and – like the chorales once were – is dependent upon the associations they evoke to the experiences of former times.

STRING MUSIC

From the 1870s onwards, string music became an ever-more popular form of choral music in the non-conformist church movement. String music and the four-part a cappella choir singing represented two distinct forms of piety. The choruses were songs of praise to God, while the string music was, from the start, closely tied to the Revivalist meeting. The string music was closer to the congregational singing. The singers sang in unison or in two parts to the accompaniment of different instruments – guitar, zither, flute, cello, harmonium, harp, violin. The fiddle was a controversial instrument, being traditionally used as a folk instrument. During the end of the 19th century, the fiddle was superceded at the dances by the accordion – revivalist censure of dancing and fiddle-playing had, locally, some part in expediting this process. The decline of the fiddle made it easier to use the instrument for spiritual purposes, something that seems to have been common in the 1870s. It was not long before the accordion came to be similarly used, although this too was a matter of dispute.

The solo singer also had a given place. By the end of the century it was normal to find more independent solo singing to the accompaniment of zither, guitar or accordion. The guitar was an inexpensive instrument, well-suited to the chordal songs of the time. It found its place particularly in the Salvation Army, pioneered by Jenny Swensson. Preachers also sang solo, accompanying themselves on the guitar.

The Salvation Army's string music, and later that of the Pentecostal movement, was to allude to a folk musical vernacular. In England, the Army used musical hall tunes, thus adapting their musical style to the tastes of their target audience. By supplying a popular melody with spiritual lyrics and singing it frequently in public spaces, they were able to turn the associations on their head: henceforth, whoever heard the original song would have their conscience pricked by the new lyrics. The Salvation Army's repertoire was international and established, with the melodies from England and the USA forming the backbone of the Swedish song collections. Whether these associations also worked with Swedish audience is unclear; that the style as such had a prophane feel to it is, however, testified by many.

The prophane connotations were the object of much criticism, especially from the older societies and associations. Paradoxically, it was the groups that were most morally conservative that were the keenest users of the popular music style. The main reason for this was that a tune that had once been used for prophane lyrics was filled with new content when supplied with spiritual ones. Against this, the advocates of choral singing that the prophane-ness of the tonal idiom could not be simply erased by new words. There was a similar difference in the view of the performers. To the string-music singers, music was personal testimony. For the choir singers, on the other hand, the message resided in the music and was conveyed through good interpretation of music and lyric. The message could therefore prevail even if the performers were not avowed Christians.