

## 4. THE MUSICIAN AND THE MUSIC MARKET

### CIVIL AND MILITARY MUSICIANS

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a watershed era for the traditional music professions. In the early part of the century, the world of the old town and court musician, in its genuine form, came to an end. School music, as practised by the *gymnasiums* also lost their educational role for professional musicians. Regimental music, on the other hand, rose in importance in terms of both employment and education. From the middle of the century, the expansion of theatre and restaurant music also provided much work for musicians, and the number of church music positions, as well as music and singing teaching posts in schools, colleges and so forth, also increased. The increasingly numerous music societies and amateur wind orchestras also provided job opportunities for professional musicians. Finally, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the appearance of six professional symphony orchestras, both large and small, marked the advent of a new era. Up until this point, the labour market on offer for a musician was, broadly, as follows:

- Employment with a regimental band, the Royal Court Orchestra, theatre orchestras or orchestras tied to restaurants etc. (see below)
- Freelance performance
- Employment as a church musician
- Employment as a music teacher

The compartmentalisation of these different occupations or professions was, however, far from watertight, and the same musician often divided his or her time between two or more of these ostensibly separate professions at different times, or even simultaneously.

Anyone seeking a professional musician in the early 1800s had to look abroad, the German-speaking countries being the primary source of musician export, not just to the Nordic countries but also to England and Russia. At that time, a comprehensive music conservatory that trained orchestral musicians effectively only existed in Paris; otherwise, the norm was apprenticeships, in Germany primarily under the town-music system, or private tuition, not infrequently from father to son – the profession of musician was, after all, often inherited.

#### ***Imported musicians***

Musicians were imported through either the direct “requisition” of foreign musicians to a certain position or the offer of work to visiting musicians. The negative response that the Academy’s *preses*, Count A.F. Skjöldebrand, gave to the 1830 committee for a Swedish music conservatory illustrates the official take on such practice:

“2:0. *To train material for the Orchestra* I believe to be the most costly means to achieve the ends. Germany is swarming with Musicians, among them many with genuine talent, and for them it is not a requirement, as it is for actors, that they speak our language. They might be requisitioned or might take it upon themselves to perform Concerts; and when found skilled and engaged on a moderate salary, they will have incurred no preceding expense.” (After Morales & Norlind 1921, p. 84)

Ordering musicians from abroad had long been the practice of the Royal Court Orchestra, often through the agency of Swedish diplomats. Until the 1850s, the orchestra accommodated

many immigrant, normally German, musicians and it was widely seen (by their Swedish counterparts) as being German-dominated. The wind section, being almost exclusively populated by *hautboists* (musical non-commissioned officers) from Stockholm's two Life Guard regiments who were requisitioned direct from Germany by its German-born directors of music Franz Preumayr and Carl Braun (themselves members of the orchestra), was a case in point.

Around the middle of the 1800s, this palpable German dominance began to wane as much in the Royal Court Orchestra as in the Life Guard corps, and after 1850 not a single foreign *hautboist* was enrolled into the regiments, all recruits now being drawn internally from lower down the musical ranks. Gradually, the Royal Court Orchestra lost its old Germans to retirement, and Swedish – and to only a lesser extent foreign – musicians came to replace them.

The Swedish higher-education system for musicians now began to bear fruit. In 1858, the Royal Academy of Music's Conservatory introduced tuition in all orchestral instruments, including wind, and around half of the male students enrolled were young regimental musicians. For the decade or so around the turn of the century, therefore, imported musicians chiefly comprised violinists and other string musicians, and it would be many years before Sweden became self-sufficient in this respect.

### ***Regimental music***

The best opportunities for permanent employment for musicians during the 19<sup>th</sup> century were in the regimental bands, which also served as the country's largest training ground for orchestral musicians – mainly, of course, wind musicians but also to a certain degree string musicians. Back then, regimental music was not under as rigid centralised control as in the following century; to be sure, there was a nominal basic organisation, concentrated in the first instance on the needs for military communication and in the second on wind ensemble music (i.e. the music corps proper), but in practice the individual regiments were largely free to organise their own music as they wished, funded internally by fees charged to the officer corps.

Administering these private contributions necessitated the formation of special foundations or economic associations (*Musikkassor*), which during the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century generally also received the state funding that eventually constituted their primary source of revenue when the fees from the officers' corps commonly dried up. Shortly after the turn of the 1900s, the state therefore reclaimed this capital (except for that which could clearly be shown to come from private sources).

19<sup>th</sup> century military music was shaped by this part-state, part-private form of financing, and also by the division of military organisations into a few permanent, enlisted regiments (corps) and a great many allotted (*indelta*) units. At a rough estimation, a quarter of all military musicians fell into the first group, serving 365 days a year. The remainder often served no more than four or six weeks per year. Permanently employed with a monthly salary they might have been, but they were normally on leave for most of the year. This gaping disparity between the two groups meant that there were effectively two different military musician professions.

There were only eight permanently serving (garrisoned) music corps during the 1800s, five in Stockholm and one each in Gothenburg, Kristianstad and Karlskrona, the largest and most significant being the music corps of the Svea and the Second (from 1894 Göta) Life Guards in Stockholm. From 1809 to 1901, they comprised one regimental drummer, 8-10 *hautboists* and 40 wind players and drummers from the rank and file (company musicians or

*spel*) along with a number of supernumerary (*över stat*) *hautboists* and up to 10 similarly classified *spel*.

Musical non-commissioned officers on the permanent payroll were considered the equals of their regular non-commissioned peers and were entitled to an army pension. These included in the infantry the regimental drummers and *hautboists* (enlisted), and the field musicians (allotted); in the enlisted cavalry the regimental trumpeters and (ordinary) trumpeters; in the allotted cavalry the staff and squadron trumpeters (i.e. all musical personnel); in the artillery the regimental, divisional and battery trumpeters. “Other *spel*” belonged to “the *manskap* class”. These included in the infantry the musician volunteers (*spel i nummer*), buglers and drummers; in the enlisted cavalry the extra trumpeters; in the artillery the unit and depot trumpeters.

Some music corps also had supernumerary musical personnel, making the total number of military musicians some 1,550 in the year 1850. Of these, about 550 were effectively signallers – such as the infantry drummers – and did not normally take part in the wind ensemble music corps (*harmonimusiken*), but normally signalled on the drum and bugle in the regiments. The formal organisation was, however, handled very individually. In some provincial regiments, almost all wind ensemble musicians held the rank (*värdighet*) of non-commissioned officer towards the end of the century.

The music corps also obeyed their own recruitment principles; some secured the input of new blood mainly through their own training programmes, while for a long time others mostly enrolled fully-fledged musicians. The music corps of the garrison regiments had the most extensive training programme, particularly the Life Guard regiments in Stockholm, which boasted proper music schools from 1820; some allotment regiments, however, also had such schools. The students boarded in special “music barracks” in the town where the regiment had its headquarters and, after completing their studies, received a contract as a music private (*manskap*, or rank-and-file soldier) with possible promotion to music non-commissioned officer in their own or another music corps. The younger musicians of the Life Guard regiments were particularly sought-after by the music corps of the allotted regiments, although in the decades between 1820 and 1840 they were largely excluded from *hautboist* positions in their own music corps – at which time the Life Guard *hautboists* were being largely imported from Germany.

There were stark differences in the form and conditions of employment, but as a rule music personnel were contracted. *Music non-commissioned officers* were on regular contract with a mutual right of termination. *Music privates*, however, were drafted into the enlisted regiments (*kapitulation*) for a fixed term with no formal right of notice – i.e. in the same way as the regular rank and file although usually for longer and from a much younger age. At the Life Guards in Stockholm, a 12-year starting contract was the rule for untrained music privates up until 1848, after which it was reduced to 6 (training period excluded). Another common form was *kapitulation* until the age of 21 (regardless of age at enlistment). There was, however, the possibility to prematurely terminate the contract “for the good of the future”, and it was exercised with increasing frequency as time went on. Similar contracts were usually signed for (younger) music privates in the allotted regiments, while those for the music non-commissioned officers tended to be drawn up individually.

Regimental musician salaries are a chapter in themselves, but several general features can be outlined here. In the *enlisted* regiments, the younger music privates were generally paid as regular troops (besides food and billeting etc. a small cash sum). Older music privates received extra remuneration from the *musikkassor* and the best could receive a raise by promotion to music non-commissioned officer “in the regiment” (supernumerary). The music non-commissioned officers proper, such as the *hautboists* in the Life Guard infantry, were

paid freely (although not especially generously) until the mid-1800s, thereafter largely as their regular rank equivalents.

From 1820 to 1850, German-born *hautboists* were paid 300, sometimes 400 Rdr Bco per year, plus the standard compensation for uniform and billeting, their Swedish-born colleagues normally 168–240 Rdr Bco. From about 1850 onwards, however, the official salary rates for the enlisted units' music personnel applied. The 1858 budget includes, for example, a salary of 400, uniform compensation of 150 and billeting compensation of 60 Rdr Rmt (the new currency unit corresponded to 2/3 Rdr Bco) for *hautboists* and their equivalents in the enlisted cavalry (trumpeters) and artillery (battery trumpeters). From 1875 onwards, pay was broken down into salary, day wages, and salary increment plus compensation. At the turn of the century all groups were paid 1,064 kr plus ration (in kind or cash). At the same time, enlisted music privates received, besides the regular "*manskap* allowance" in kind, a cash sum of 108 kr per year. There were also salary increments for personnel promoted from within the lower ranks.

The *allotted* army musicians were paid freely and at very differing rates according to the musician's skill and the *musikkassa's* bank balance. To a certain extent, pay was negotiable at the start of every new contractual term (often three years), but there was no clear distinction between music non-commissioned officers and music privates, many of whom had the rank of music non-commissioned officers (field musicians) and could be more highly paid than permanent musical non-commissioned officers. Generally speaking, the annual salaries in these regiments did not differ as much from those in the enlisted regiments as their modest official duties would warrant. As a national average, in the latter half of the 1800s, one can cite a figure of 50–70% of the garrison regiments' pay levels – for about 10% of their duties! Often, music privates were even paid more in the allotted regiments and some music non-commissioned officers (especially in the cavalry) could be at the same level as their equals in the permanently serving regiments – which could still be considered attractive mainly due to the many lucrative opportunities that cities offered and to the fact that the rank-and-file music training at these regiments provided a good grounding for a future musical career, not least the possibility of studying at the Music Conservatory with arranged maintenance.

In the allotted regiments, the music corps were fully occupied during the short period of active duty – from the reveille at 5 a.m. to the tattoo at 9 p.m. In between these times, the day was filled with march music, music and signal exercises and, more often than not, a day and evening concert, the latter as "table music" during the officer corps' dinners. They would also play on Sundays at church parades, drawing large crowds of civilians keen to hear the regimental music.

All regimental music corps also gave private non-military performances, which for some corps, especially in the latter half of the century, were more important and larger than their military performances. The music corps, or parts of them, were engaged by musical establishments, performed benefit concerts for their own foundations or other causes, "assisted" at concerts arranged by others or by theatres, etc. Some music corps even toured; for instance, the music corps of the Crown Prince's Hussars performed concerts in Germany for a couple of months every year towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Some music corps, primarily the Scanian cavalry and artillery music corps, which played only brass (not woodwind) instruments while on service, specialised in so-called string orchestras (orchestral music with string and wind instruments) when performing on the free music market. In so doing they were also in an advantageous position to compete for the indoor winter season. One extreme example of such private activity was the Wende's artillery music corps, whose members, although belonging to a permanently serving regiment, were on leave for up to six months (1901) for engagement elsewhere, and while serving at home in Kristianstad gave almost daily sideline performances for the local establishment.

In Stockholm, there were regular military music performances in the summer, from the 1820s at Mosebacke and Rotundan in Humlegården park, from the 1830s at Blå Porten on Djurgården and in the 1840s and 50s at other, more ephemeral garden establishments, generally alternating with civil orchestras. There were also regular indoor concerts.

From around the 1870s, the music corps of the Second (Göta) Life Guards performed at Hasselbacken during the summer season, alternating from 1891 with the music corps of the Svea Life Guards. At Berns Salonger, Blanchs Café, Strömparterren and occasionally other establishments, military musicians were also engaged on a long-term basis, later often provincial or overseas music corps. At Skansen, the navy's music corps was engaged from 1892 (until the early 1950s), playing daily for up to 4 to 6 hours during the May–September season. Gothenburg acquired two similar park establishments during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Trädgårdsföreningen and Liseberg, where military musicians had regular long-term engagements until the 1950s.

The form such private performances took was largely decided by the corps' music directors. Apart from leading and rehearsing the music corps, he had to continuously oversee recruitment, propose new instrument purchases and furnish the corps with new repertoires, often in the form of his own score. Prior to the year 1902, however, there was no formal such position; paying a director of music was the regiment's own concern and was done in various ways. Employment could be supernumerary or regular – in the infantry often as a regimental drummer or *hautboist* (field musician) and in the cavalry as a staff trumpeter – through which he could be entitled to a state pension.

There was great variation in the music directors' duties and pay. Some resided locally (at garrisoned and a few allotted regiments), while others – like many of the musicians – were only with the regiment for meetings. Some were employed by two or three regiments simultaneously, and even in some cases played in the Royal Court Orchestra.

The pay the music directors received was often as high at the allotted regiments as it was at the enlisted ones, and in general on a level with the Royal Court Orchestra's higher scales. However, there was wide variation – by the turn of the century by about 700–2,500 kr a year. Up until 1906, some, eventually most, received a royal commission for the “title, honour and rank of music director”. Most of the Swedish born directors – who formed from the mid-1800s the majority of the formerly German-dominated guild – had graduated with the old general Director of Music Degree. In 1881, a special Director of Military Music degree was introduced and became effectively obligatory for such a position.

The turn of the 1900s heralded a new era for the regimental music corps. From 1901, as the allotment system was gradually abandoned and the allotted regiments started to become more permanent-based, there were growing demands for lengthening the annual service of the music personnel in these regiments as well. A new military music organisation came into being in 1906, in which the military musicians' pay scales were determined solely by salary grade. The *musikkassor* had now been taken over by the state and no individual salaries were allowed once contracts had expired. The new salaries were an improvement for regular music non-commissioned officers but retrogressive for most other military musicians. All this meant that it was harder for a theatre musician in Stockholm to combine that occupation with service in a provincial regiment's music corps. Eventually, music personnel were also obliged to resettle in or near the town where the regiment was based.

The special category of drummer, which had once been responsible for all signalling in the infantry music corps, also disappeared. In the new organisation, all prospective military musicians had to practise drums and bugle in addition to their own instruments and, in the lower ranks, serve as signallers.

The directors of music now also abandoned their civil status and were employed as conductors (*musikanförare*) serving as music warrant officers (*musikfanjunkare*) at the rank

of second lieutenant. They also had to resettle and the former custom of leading several music corps ceased, although in the garrison towns they could, like the musicians, still engage in parallel civil activities. The music corps were also permitted to continue much of their private work at other towns while on leave for at least one summer month.

### ***Hovkapellet - The Royal Court Orchestra***

The Royal Court Orchestra was the country's only proper permanently employed orchestra during the 1800s. At the start of the century – under its more common appellation of His Royal Majesty's Court and Theatre Orchestra – it was organisationally an opaque combination of different pay rates. The Royal Court engaged an orchestra (*hovkapell*) of 37 musicians and a court trumpet corps (*hovtrumpetarkår*) of 2 timpanists and 12 trumpeters, financed at a supernumerary rate that had not changed from 1778. Most of the orchestra members (about 2/3), however, were paid from the king's own purse and were included on the Royal Theatre's payrolls, which were often referred to as *operastat* (opera budgets). Individual musicians could be included on one, two or all three of these salary budgets, to which another for the king's wind ensemble was later added. By around 1800, 1 *kapellmästare* (chief conductor) and 83 musicians were being paid as court musicians (some, however, were off duty). 67 musicians (18 of whom were “extra orchestra members and students”) were entered in the *operastat*, and they probably corresponded to the Royal Court Orchestra proper.

In 1807, when the opera was temporarily closed, the entire orchestra was dismissed, to then be re-employed in reduced form. In 1810, it comprised no more than 37 members, although this number rose over the following years to about 55 when the royal theatres were transferred to private contract for a few months in 1818. In this context, the former court positions stopped being refilled and were retired. The orchestra retained a reduced number of just over 40 musicians paid collectively.

Over the coming century, the composition of the Royal Court Orchestra changed little in terms of its ordinary rank and file (47–52 musicians). Apart from the *kapellmästare*, there were, on the string side, normally two concertmasters, four first violins, six second violinists, four violas, four to five cellos and three (subsequently four) double basses. The woodwind section generally comprised three each of flutes, oboes, clarinets and bassoons, and the brass section of four horn players along with originally two then three trumpeters. At first there was only one trombonist, who was joined by two more in 1834 and a fourth (in practice a tubaist) in 1894. The regular musicians also included a timpanist and a harpist (position vacant 1833–52). Drumming requirements (apart from timpani) were met by allotted Life Guard musicians until 1834, after which two or three musicians were employed (initially as “lyrical scene assistants”) for this function, which up until 1864 was called “Turkish music”.

The regular members of the orchestra were occasionally accompanied by extra salaried musicians during the 1830s to the 1850s. With the opening of the Royal Dramatic Theatre in 1863, the Royal Court Orchestra's payroll was supplemented with an orchestral conductor and 18 extra musicians, who served primarily at the theatre and dropped off the payroll when it formed its own orchestra in 1868. Extra musicians performed again at the end of the century (employed on permanent contracts by the Royal Court Orchestra), after which there was usually four to six additional violinists and an auxiliary for every other instrument, who would fill vacancies in the regular orchestra as they appeared, with a new auxiliary employed in their stead. These musicians are not to be confused with the stand-in or temporarily “hired” musicians, for whom the Royal Court Orchestra also often had the occasional need.

The Royal Court Orchestra's duty was to perform not only during opera performances on the so-called “lyrical stage” but also entr'acte music for the dramatic plays staged first at the Royal Smaller (*Mindre*) theatre (the Arsenal theatre, which burned down in 1825) and later in

the Opera House. Its commitments also included performing at certain court festivities and state ceremonies.

Although the musicians were employed on temporary contracts – which stipulated primary and secondary instruments, orchestral part, pay, etc. – it was rare, in practice, for them to be dismissed against their will. They received a yearly salary (with the exception of some extra musicians) but were normally released from service during the theatre seasons' summer break.

The pay span was extremely wide, especially in the first half of the 1800s. Consider, for instance, the 1830 rates. The highest paid members of the orchestra were clarinetist Bernhard Crusell (1,800 Rdr Bco), followed by concertmaster Johann Adolph Ferdinand Beer (1,667) and oboist Carl Braun, bassoonist Franz Preumayr and double bassist Franz Süssmilch (1,300 each). Then came 1<sup>st</sup> hornist Johann Michael Friedrich Hirschfeld (1,100, reduced from 1,400), cellist Carl Megelin (1,066) and 2<sup>nd</sup> hornist Christian Gotthilf Schuncke (1,000). The salary for the remaining 39 regular members of the orchestra ranged from 120 to 900 Rdr Bco. This means that the highest salary (Crusell's) was 15 times that of the lowest. However, the top earners retired during the 1830s, after which there were almost no salaries in excess of 1,000 Rdr Bco.

In the 1850s, the individual pay scheme was abandoned in favour of one pegged to a musician's position in the orchestra. From 1860 to the 1880s or so, the concertmaster earned approximately 2,200 Rdr Rmt (kr), and the first parts 1,500 (except for first viola and trumpet, which received 1,200 and first trombone 1,000). Other salaries for the regular members of the orchestra lay between 1,100 and 1,700 kr, except for the timpanists, which only attained pay parity with the lowest regular level towards the end of the century. Extra musicians during the period 1863–1868 received an annual salary of 440–1,000 Rdr Rmt.

Generally speaking, the salaries paid by the Royal Court Orchestra reflect the often paltry finances of the Royal Opera during the 1800s. The riksdag withdrew its grant in 1888, leaving the opera to operate for two years first as *hovkapellmästare* Conrad Nordqvist's private concern and then as a staff consortium until being taken over in 1898 by a purpose-formed company, Kungl. Teatern AB. The long stagnated salaries were then raised at a stroke and again in 1906 and 1909 – the latter occasion after an out-and-out conflict with the then opera director Albert Ranft (entrepreneur 1908–1910).

Foreign musicians were often "requisitioned" by the Royal Court Orchestra, particularly for the leading places, and particularly during the first half of the 1800s, while some of the native recruitments were picked from the "orchestra pupils" trained internally until 1820. Most of the orchestra, however, were chosen by audition from amongst the country's active musicians, most of whom were military. But the relationship between the Royal Court Orchestra and military music was closer than this. In the century between 1810 and 1909, a total of 353 musicians were employed on permanent contracts by the orchestra, of whom at least half (177) were *simultaneously* in the employ of a military music corps. In this respect, the Royal Court Orchestra was probably unique in Europe.

Let us consider the year 1897, when the orchestra comprised 61 musicians. Of these, 33 – 6 strings, 12 woodwinds, 12 brass and 3 percussion – were also employed by a military music corps. Eight of them were directors of music, 16 were musicians at one of Stockholm's permanently stationed garrison regiments, and the remaining nine were musicians in allotted regiments.

This setup could only be achieved with concessions on the part of the theatre executive. The Opera's summer break overlapped sufficiently with the allotted regiments' meetings; the contracts for the orchestra members who served in such a regiment included, generally, a clause on leave during meeting times. But for those who were in permanent service with a garrison regiment, there was only tacit agreement that their military duties (e.g. guards'

parades) took precedence. The private performances of the garrison music corps (e.g. on Hasselbacken) were also confined to the summer months.

This arrangement was partly to the detriment of the orchestra, which thus did not have full disposal of its musicians. Attempts to coerce members out of the army often broke down for financial reasons and it was only after the orchestra's salaries were substantially hiked in the first two decades of the 1900s that this kind of double-employment waned. By 1920, only five members of the orchestra had military commitments.

The various musicians of the Royal Court Orchestra had other extramural occupations too, playing organ in non-conformist churches, teaching music and other such private engagements during the day and after performances. During the opera season, musicians also took leave for nationwide chamber music tours and other similar purposes.

### ***The theatre orchestras***

In the early 1800s, theatre orchestras were normally rather loosely assembled and were either engaged temporarily by a travelling company or by the town where a visiting one was due to play. In this latter case, the orchestras usually comprised both amateur and professional musicians. Permanent theatre orchestras tied to a certain theatre for performing throughout the season only really start appearing in the middle of the century.

One of the first permanent theatre orchestras in Stockholm was formed at Nya teatern in 1842 (renamed Mindre teatern in 1846) under the baton of Jacob Niclas Ahlström. It began with no less than 24 musicians, but shrank later to about 12 or 15. Its subsequent leaders included August Söderman (1854–60). Likewise, 10-man orchestras were formed at mid-century Stockholm theatres: Humlegårdsteatern, Södrateatern and Ladugårdslandsteatern. The next large private theatre in Stockholm opened in 1867 as Nya teatern, and over the following years it went all out under the name Mindre teatern with a 31-man orchestra (later reduced to 14–18 men) and 16-voice choir. A third establishment called Nya teatern (founded 1875, from 1888 Svenska teatern) also had a large orchestra during this period of 15–21 men. The years 1891–98, when the Opera occupied these premises, the orchestra temporarily disbanded. The last great theatre orchestra formed in Stockholm in the 1800s belonged to Vasateatern (founded 1886) and had 17 to 20 musicians.

Around the turn of the century, all the larger private theatres in Stockholm were owned by Albert Ranft. Vasateatern's role as the leading opera theatre was transferred in 1906 to the newly established Oscarsteatern, whose orchestra, not counting two *kapellmästare* and a choirmaster, comprised a full 33 musicians. The leading playhouse outside the Ranft empire was the Royal Dramatic Theatre, whose orchestra consisted of 8–14 men (from 1868–93 string musicians only), with the exception of the spring of 1908, when a 20-man orchestra under Tor Aulin was engaged. The orchestra was disbanded in 1910. While there were probably hundreds of orchestral places in the capital's theatres in the decades around the turn of the century, the circumstances in lesser Swedish towns and cities were more modest. The most important of these were the Stora teatern orchestra in Gothenburg (founded 1859) and Malmö theatre orchestra (*teaterkapell*).

At the private theatres, musicians were normally engaged by the season (autumn to spring) and paid by the month, by the week or even by performance (*representation*). This did not stop many musicians being employed for decades, especially at the stable playhouses. The salaries were, however, low and many of them had to take extra work as café or restaurant musicians during the afternoons and at summer establishments between seasons. Many were also tied to a regiment, and at times entire theatre orchestras were almost entirely made up of military musicians, string as well as wind players: 13 out of 17 at Vasateatern (1893) and 15 out of 18 at Svenska teatern (1898). When entr'acte music almost completely vanished in the



1910s, theatre orchestras diminished (except in specialised opera houses) and at many a spoken drama playhouse disappeared entirely.

The role of the theatre as an employer of musicians was taken over by the cinema. Already in 1911 Stockholm had 35 cinemas with musicians on their payrolls, and before long the really large orchestras began to appear. In 1915, Röda Kvarn opened in Stockholm with its 30-man orchestra; Skandia, Göta Lejon and Palladium were established at the same time with their own large orchestras of 20 men or more. Here too, many of the musicians were military. These cinema orchestras were killed off in one blow by the breakthrough of sound film (1930–31).

Another permanently employed orchestra during this period was Berns Salonger's, which generally boasted 30 to 40 members (many military) and which became famous during the conductorship of August Meissner (1869–1903). The musicians were employed for one year but usually stayed longer – some even for 30 years. For a long time, there were many more foreign-born musicians than at the theatres.

Other, smaller restaurant orchestras also had regular employment at one and the same establishment, but they were still mostly attached to the free music market.

### *The free music market*

A great deal of public music in the 1800s was performed on the free music market and outside the permanently employed orchestra, and included the musicians' occasional engagements and their own privately arranged (at their own risk) performances. Some of the main employers in this regard were the "music establishments", a common collective term at the time for the places of entertainment that used music as a public draw. Restaurants and cafés – independent or affiliated with a hotel, amusement park, music hall etc. – formed the core of this segment of the music market, which expanded in the latter half of the century. Some establishments offered music throughout the year, while others were only open during the "summer season" (May to September). Opportunities for employment multiplied during the summer, through both the summer establishments and the outdoor music venues opened at the same time by the year-round establishments.

The most famous and long-lived music establishments in Stockholm included Berns Salonger (whose permanent orchestra was off duty in the summer), Blanchs café, Hasselbacken and Strömparterren, as well as hotels such as Rydberg's and the Grand. Their main equivalents in Gothenburg were Trädgårdsföreningen and Liseberg. Every decent-sized town had a large hotel or restaurant that employed an orchestra during the winter season, as well as one or more summer establishment, which also included spa hotels such as Ronneby and seaside hotels, primarily on the west coast and in Visby.

All manner of orchestras – large and small and both foreign and native ensembles of greatly varying kinds – were employed, depending on the size and character of the establishment. Some were closely knit private orchestras, normally named after their *kapellmästare*, which travelled from one engagement to the next at home and abroad. Notable amongst them were Georg Lumbye's orchestra (Blanchs café in the 1870s) and Waldemar Neumann's orchestra (in Stockholm, Gothenburg and elsewhere over the decades from the 1880s to the 1910s). Some of these orchestras contributed to a spontaneous import of musicians by remaining, wholly or in part, in the country. Take Steyerländische Gesellschaft (a 19-man orchestra), for instance, which left its leader, Joseph Czapek, behind in Gothenburg in 1847. It is worth noting here that Anton Schnötzing, Stockholm's "waltz king" of the 1840s and 50s, was, like Czapek, also employed as a director of military music. Another example is the so-called Harz-Verein, the first incarnation of which association deposited almost all its musicians in Norway in the 1840s, and the second, under Albert Heintzelmann, some of its members in Sweden. Four of these musicians became music non-

commissioned officers in the South Scanian Infantry after 1851, where they remained under the direction of Heinzelmänn until retiring 30 years later. The Beyerböck orchestra was a regular feature of the Gothenburg music drama scene (many went over to the Stora teatern orchestra), as was C. Gellrich's orchestra, whose *kapellmästare* also occasionally led or was concert master for theatre orchestras in Stockholm. Many musicians were naturalised as military and theatre musicians, as members of the Royal Court Orchestra or as freelancers.

The other actors on this market included military music corps (either in their entirety or in smaller ensembles) and more or less loosely knit groups of individual musicians from the Royal Court Orchestra, theatre orchestras, Berns orchestra and individual military musicians – in short, musicians temporarily off duty from the institutions of the public music scene.

Among the foreign “orchestras” was also, of course, a substrate of opportunists, whose competitiveness derived more from their fantastical attire than from any musical prowess. Periodically, mainly around the turn of the 1900s, Swedish musicians found themselves discriminated against in the competition for work, which was one of the incentives for the music societies that were eventually to form the Swedish Musicians' Union.

Another aspect of the free music market was the concerts that were held, for an entrance fee, in leased or freely loaned premises. This format, which is still very much alive, was totally dominant during the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the serious (e.g. chamber) music genre. But it was also a normal complement to the engagements for orchestras or musicians that were common at music establishments. The free music market also included the park concerts that were open to the public at no charge thanks to public grants. Gothenburg was one of the first cities to introduce the concept (1902), which was picked up a few years later by Stockholm. At first, these engagements were available exclusively to military or other wind orchestras, but it was not long before they were joined by string orchestras and choirs.

### ***Musicians' organisations***

In order to provide a degree of financial security to surviving relatives and the retired musicians themselves, different musicians' organisations gradually started to be formed. There was already the Royal Court Orchestra's widow and pupil fund (set up at the initiative of Abbé Vogler in 1794), which was expanded into a pension fund in 1817, which until the 1860s received some of its income from fees paid by the touring theatre companies. From the 1820s until the early 1900s, similar private funds were established by many regimental music corps. For instance, there was the *Hautboists* funeral fund (1868), later support fund. Originally for Berns orchestra, there was also a “savings fund-credit society” from 1882, which changed its name in 1885 to the Stockholm Musicians' Society and again in 1891 to the Swedish Musicians' Union. From 1900, when Tor Aulin was made chairman, the union's members held ambitious orchestral concerts – at that time it was open for all “orchestral and military musicians”. A genuine union orientation can first be traced in the Stockholm Cornettist Union, which was formed in 1889 by Adolf Carell and which strove towards more uniform wages.

The Gothenburg Orchestra Society was formed in 1899 (not to be confused with its namesake of 1905), effectively in protest against a number of dismissals from Stora teatern under Albert Ranft. In Stockholm, true union ambitions took shape in 1906 with the Stockholm Orchestra Society, with Skåne following suit that same year with the Scanian Musicians' Union. These three associations merged in 1907 to form the Swedish Musicians' Union, in which military musicians – primarily in their capacity as theatre musicians etc. – initially played a leading part. The union focused mainly on issues to do with pay (through so-called “minimum tariffs”) and working hours. Starting in Stockholm, they almost immediately set up their own music agencies for arranging concerts. The Great Strike of 1909 saw the union down tools in its first labour conflict with Ranft's theatres and the Royal

Dramatic Theatre. However, they did not want to be associated with the rest of the unionised labour movement, so it was to be another 28 years before the Musicians' Union joined the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and opened up membership to amateur and recreational musicians, who, along with foreign musicians, were formerly the target of the union's animosity.

A tax on foreign musicians was introduced in 1909, but still the overseas orchestras dominated the restaurant scene, having been specially procured through the Restaurateurs' Music Agency (founded 1901). Come the middle of the First World War (1916), there were no fewer than 30 German-Russian, 20 Austrian, 20 Italian, 15 Danish, 12 Russian, 3 French orchestras and one English and one Spanish (Edström 1982, p. 56) orchestra.

### ***The first symphony orchestras***

An attempt to form a permanent professional orchestra (outside the Royal Court Orchestra) for performing superior artistic music had already been made back in 1862 with the founding of the Gothenburg Orchestra. It was led by Joseph Czapek and comprised 27 musicians, 11 of whom were employed on a fixed monthly salary (mainly foreigners) and 16 on a concert-by-concert basis (mainly from the artillery, where Czapek was director of music). The orchestra was partly financed by a fund formed by individual benefactors. Financial difficulties and waning public interest caused the enterprise to wind down in 1866. Otherwise, symphony music outside the Royal Court Orchestra was cultivated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by temporarily convened orchestras or as ancillary activities by the largest restaurant and theatre orchestras in Stockholm.

The country's first permanent professional symphony orchestra (with no theatrical affiliation) was the Gothenburg Orchestra Society (founded 1905, from 1910 the Gothenburg Symphony Orchestra). However, its first company of 52 men boasted a mere 7 Swedes, much to the fury of Swedish musicians. But by 1909, 26 of its members were Swedish-born and a dozen others Swedish citizens, all of them employed on seven-month contracts (whole-year employment was not achieved until 1937). The orchestra was financed with the help of private donations and grants from the Gothenburg city authorities.

In Stockholm, the members of the Stockholm Concert Society (founded 1902) were initially engaged on a concert-by-concert basis and mostly in the employ of military music corps, the Royal Court Orchestra and theatre and restaurant orchestras. The orchestra in this form was wound down in 1909 only to reappear in 1914 with musicians on permanent 8-month contracts (which, like in Gothenburg, were converted to full-year in 1937). The orchestra was financed by grants from the Stockholm city authorities and the government.

In Malmö, relatively regular symphony activities had been arranged in the shape of the Southern Sweden Philharmonic Society, which was led by Andreas Hallén from 1902 to 1907 and which chiefly comprised military, theatre and restaurant musicians, some of whom were amateurs. It was followed in 1911–21 by other symphony orchestras of similar composition. (It was not until 1925 that the city obtained a permanently employed symphony orchestra – the Malmö Concert Hall Foundation Orchestra, whose musicians remained on 7-month contracts until 1956.)

Outside Sweden's three largest cities, three more professional orchestras – the so-called *state-subsidised orchestras* – were established by dint of riksdag decision in 1911. The North-West Scanian Orchestra Society in Helsingborg (1912) was established in the town as a direct product of the efforts of the Scanian Hussar Regiment's music corps under its leader Olof Lidner, which had been performing public concerts since 1902. The music corps, with its solid body of string musicians, became the backbone of the orchestra and Lidner, who retired from the regiment in 1925, remained the orchestra's conductor until 1939. Likewise, the Gävleborg County Orchestra Society (Gävle) and Norrköping Orchestra Society were

able, with state grants from 1912 and 1913 respectively, to set up similar professional orchestras.

For the first few decades of their existence, these three orchestras comprised some 30 musicians on 7-month contracts, and were part-financed to an amount that matched the state grant by the municipalities that fell within their areas of activity. However, the salaries paid by the orchestras were low, on top of which were the unpaid months. So up until the end of the 1930s it was relatively common for the musicians to be simultaneously in the employ of a military music corps or to draw sideline incomes from outside the music field. This was also true of the three largest symphony orchestras.

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ARMY AND NAVY MUSICIANS (*SPEL*)  
AS PER THE 1850 OFFICIAL BUDGETS

<i>Number of music corps</i>	<i>Regimental affiliation</i>	<i>Number of positions per music corps</i>		
<i>1. Enlisted, permanently serving (garrisoned) troops</i>				
	<i>Infantry</i>			
2	The Svea and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Life Guards (Stockholm)	9	40	49
	<i>Cavalry</i>			
1	The Mounted Life Guards (Stockholm)	8	8	16
1	The Crown Prince's Hussar Regiment (Skåne)	7	12	19
	<i>Artillery</i>			
2	The Svea and Göta Artillery regiments (Stockholm, Gothenburg)	10	27	37
1	Wende's Artillery Regiment (Kristianstad)	7	18	25
	<i>Navy</i>			
1	The Cannoneer Corps (Stockholm)	-	18	18
1	The Marine Regiment (Karlskrona)	1	30	31
9	Total garrisoned troops	61	220	281
<i>2. Allotted (or otherwise temporary) troops</i>				
	<i>Infantry</i>			
19	Infantry regiments	11	40	51

2	Infantry Corps (battalion)	6	20	26
1	The Värmland Field Regiment	1	24	25
1	The Jämtland Field Regiment	1	16	17
2	The Riflemen Corps	1	12	13
1	Gotland National Conscription	1	49	50
	<i>Cavalry</i>			
2	The Scanian Hussar and Dragoon regiments	30	-	30
3	Lesser cavalry regiments	15	-	15
1	Jämtland Hästjägarkår	4	-	4
13	Total allotted (or equiv.) troops	335	913	1,248
<b>41</b>	<b>Total army and navy</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>1,133</b>	<b>1,529</b>

MILITARY MUSICIANS AS PER THE 1905 ORGANISATION  
(FROM 1906–1925)

<i>Number of music corps</i>	<i>Regimental affiliation</i>	<i>Number of positions per music corps</i>			
		Conductors	NCOs	Privates	TOTAL
	<i>Infantry</i>				
2	The Svea and Göta Life Guards	1	11	24	16
24	Regular infantry regiments	1	10	22	33
2	The Vaxholm and Karlskrona	1	6	15	21

	Grenadier regiments				
	<i>Cavalry</i>				
2	The Scanian Hussar and Dragoon regiments	1	6	18	25
6	Other	1	4	7	12
	<i>Artillery</i>				
1	Wende's Artillery Regiment	1	10	10	21
5	Other field artillery regiments	1	8	9	18
1	The Boden-Karlsborg Artillery Regiment	2	4	10	16
1	The Position Artillery Regiment	1	4	6	11
1	The Gotland Artillery Corps	-	1	5	6
	<i>Engineers</i>				
2	The Svea and Göta Engineer Corps	1	4	8	13
1	The Boden Engineer Corps	1	2	7	10
1	The Field Telegraph Corps	-	1	4	5
	<i>Army Service</i>				
6	The Army Service Corps	-	2	6	8

<b>55</b>	<b>Total army</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>393</b>	<b>821</b>	<b>1,261</b>

In addition there was also the *Navy's* music organisation, which was more complex. It comprised two large music corps of about 35–40 men at the Navy's bases in Karlskrona and Stockholm, and two smaller music corps at the coast artillery regiments – some 100–120 musicians in total.

*KAPPELLMÄSTARE/HOVKAPPELLMASTARE AT THE ROYAL COURT ORCHESTRA  
FROM THE EARLY 1800s TO 1920*

–1808	Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner	
1808–11	Joachim Nicolas Eggert	Temporary only
1810–14	Johann Heinrich Küster	Appointed back in 1807, on leave from 1812, dismissed 1814
1812–22	Edouard Du Puy	
1822–49	Johan Fredrik Berwald	Temporary 1822–23
1849–58	Jacopo Foroni	
1858–61	Ignaz Lachner	
1861–85	Ludvig Norman	“1 <sup>st</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1872–79, “1 <sup>st</sup> <i>hovkpm.</i> ” 1879–85
1862–68	August Söderman	“Vice <i>kpm.</i> ”
1863–68	Hermann Berens (the elder)	Conductor ( <i>orkesteranförare</i> ) at the Royal Dramatic Theatre
1872–85	Joseph Dente	“2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1872–79, “1 <sup>st</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1879–85
1876–1908	Conrad Nordqvist	“Assistant <i>kpm.</i> ” 1876–79, “2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1879–85 “1 <sup>st</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1885–92, “1 <sup>st</sup> <i>hovkpm.</i> ” 1892–1908
1885–1907	Richard Hennerberg	“2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1885–90, “1 <sup>st</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1890–92 “2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1892–94, “ <i>hovkpm.</i> ” 1894–1907
1892–97	Andreas Hallén	“3 <sup>rd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ”
1899–1900	Josef Lang	“3 <sup>rd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ”
1900	Wilhelm Stenhammar	“2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” (returned 1924–25)



1905– 06, 1907– 32	Armas Järnfelt	“3 <sup>rd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1905–06, “2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1907– 08, “1 <sup>st</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” 1908–, “1 <sup>st</sup> <i>hovkpm.</i> ” 1923– 32
1908– 10	Herman Berens (the younger)	“2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ”
1908– 10	Hjalmar Meissner	“3 <sup>rd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ”
1910– 11, 1915– 16	Tullio Voghera	“2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ”
1911– 24	Adolf Wiklund	“2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ”
1921– 21	Stefan Strasser	“3 <sup>rd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ”
1921– 26	Nils Grevillius	“3 <sup>rd</sup> <i>kpm.</i> ” (“ <i>hovkpm.</i> ” 1930–53)