

ART, PLAY, LABOUR
THE MUSIC PROFESSION IN GERMANY
(1850–1960)

MARTIN REMPE



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Art, Play, Labour: the Music Profession in Germany (1850–1960)

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By

Martin Rempe



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Preface to the English Translation

Working towards the Recognition of Music as Labour (History)

When this book appeared in its original German version in early 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic was still in its early stages. The dramatic consequences for people working in the cultural economy, and particularly the music industry, classical or otherwise, were still beyond imagining. Indeed, occasional struggles for economic resources notwithstanding, German musical life was flourishing – with its more than 130 publicly funded symphony orchestras and dozens of chamber orchestras, organized in diverse forms of public-private partnership, as well as countless freelancing musicians and bands of every genre. Music as the ‘most German of the arts’ and Germany as ‘the Land of Music’ seemed to be concepts set in stone, and virtually no one questioned the political and socio-economic conditions underlying this rich cultural tradition, let alone their historical trajectories.¹

Against this backdrop, the pandemic was both curse and blessing for musicians. On the one hand, it robbed most of them of their daily activity, reduced the income of many and even forced some of them out of the profession entirely. On the other hand, never before, at least in Germany, had so much public attention been paid to working conditions in the cultural economy, access to and distribution of its resources and inequalities between high-brow and low-brow sectors and between publicly funded and privately run musical formations than in the wake of the first lockdown in mid-March 2020, when musical life shut down almost completely.

One side effect was a new and unexpected interest in the political economy of cultural life, which was discussed in the newspapers’ culture pages as well as in political debates. This generated greater interest in this book, well beyond the tiny community of professional historians and musicologists. It may even be that the German public paid more attention to the following account of the professional labour of making music since the middle of the nineteenth century than did German historians of labour. Addressed to both these audiences, as well as to musicology and music studies more generally,

1 Applegate, C. and P. Potter, ‘Germans as the “People of Music”’: Genealogy of an Identity’, in C. Applegate and P. Potter, *Music and German National Identity*, Chicago 2002, 1–35. See also recently Gregor, N. and T. Irvine (eds.), *Dreams of Germany: Musical Imaginaries from the Concert Hall to the Dance Hall*, New York 2019.

my book has a double agenda, seeking to recognize and analyse the work of musicians and to place the work of music within the category of *labour history*.

Fortunately, academic interest in music as labour has grown in recent years, especially when viewed from an interdisciplinary perspective. Established in 2016, the 'Working in Music' international research network serves as a hub for interdisciplinary exchange within Europe and beyond, albeit with a slight bias towards popular music and towards present-day challenges rather than past trajectories.² Most recently, Dagmar Abfalter and Rosa Reitsamer have edited a volume on *Music as Labour* with a special focus on long-standing and novel inequalities, as well as on the activism that seeks to combat them. Their book brings together experts from various disciplines, including history, sociology and anthropology along with cultural and gender studies, and business and management. The editors are both professors at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna, and the volume is based on several contributions arising from its International Summer Academy Conference in 2019. Given that volume's prestigious origins, there can be no doubt that cultural work has established itself as an important field of research. My historical approach to the music profession in Germany shares common ground with that of Abfalter and Reitsamer. One of their main arguments is that 'musicians' working practices were marked by precarity, insecurity and short-term contracts long before capitalism invited everybody to be creative'.³ This lends further support to my overall historical account and my decision to look at ordinary musicians, their working worlds and their lives more generally. What is more, by stressing inequalities within the music profession, Abfalter and Reitsamer highlight the considerable agency of musical unions and collective action in general when it came to fighting, producing and reproducing unequal access, pay structures and societal recognition within their occupations. Indeed, time and again the trajectory of the music profession in Germany has been marked by this dialectical interplay of professional inclusion and sectionalism based on musical specialization, political orientation and even employment status. Another feature common to both their book and mine is a focus on gender issues. Abfalter and Reitsamer contend that 'systematic gender inequalities have continued in local music scenes, where women remain significantly underrepresented at every level of cultural production and across music genres', an assessment that,

2 For an overview, see <https://wim.hypotheses.org/>.

3 Abfalter, D. and R. Reitsamer, 'Introduction', in D. Abfalter and R. Reitsamer (eds.), *Music as Labour: Inequalities and Activism in the Past and Present*, Abingdon 2022, 1–22, here 1.

viewed from a long-term perspective, reveals how little progress has apparently been made.⁴

Further, both their work and mine focus on education, technological innovation and geographical mobility. Taken together, the two books explore most of the key challenges the music profession has faced in both past and present.

Still, many more aspects of musical work remain to be investigated. Before I elaborate further, however, I need to address the main critique of my account put forward by musicologists who appreciated the subjects covered in my book but would have liked to have seen, in the words of Alexander K. Rothe, an ‘engagement with music and sound’, an element that makes ‘music scholarship so exciting’.⁵ On the one hand, this criticism is well-grounded. I neither engage with general repertoire development nor with musical texts, nor (a few exceptions aside) with specific performances, their concrete background, programming or intended purpose. I also chose not to delve too deeply into the ways in which average musicians reflected on their music-making, its development and their musical preferences.

On the other hand, this criticism points up differing disciplinary priorities. Arguably, it would be counter-productive, even otiose, for history and musicology to converge. Put bluntly, I do not see this book as part of ‘music scholarship’. It is a case study in the history of work in the cultural economy. Music as text and sound features less prominently in this book because I allowed myself to be led by ‘ordinary’ musicians, who cared as much or even more about their working conditions, social status, remuneration and societal recognition than about musical styles, performance practices or the intended messages of specific concerts. Taking this kind of labour history approach seriously means leaving other dimensions of musical life to scholars specializing in other fields, such as sound studies, audience research and the study of musical materiality. In recent decades, musicology and some strands of cultural history have come to embrace these topics and approaches. In contrast, almost no one would lament the missing ‘labour dimension’ in a well-researched study on musical audiences or in one of the other fields mentioned. Thus, there still seems to be some unease within musicology about conceiving of music as labour, a reflection in some measure of the historically tardy recognition of this perspective on music within the music profession itself.

4 Ibid., 11.

5 Rothe, A. K., review of M. Remppe, *Kunst, Spiel, Arbeit. Musikerleben in Deutschland, 1850 bis 1960*, Göttingen 2020, *Revue de musicologie* no. 107, 2020, 176–179. See also the review by Wasserloos, Y., on the German web portal hsozkult: <https://www.hsozkult.de/review/id/reb-29267?language=en>.

Ironically, this sense of unease puts musicologists and labour historians on the same side. Do both not conceptualise making music essentially as art or play, and certainly not as labour? These unarticulated attitudes are all the more unfortunate because studying music as labour turns our attention to new, under-researched aspects of the social fabric I call musical life, while also shedding new light on fundamental historical issues. I will begin with a couple of aspects to which a *music-as-labour perspective* may be fruitfully applied and that deserve more thorough treatment in future research. The first is the basic question of how modern the musical world was in the *Sattelzeit*, that is, at the dawn of the modern era. Drawing on precepts from professionalization theory, I argue that German musical life retained astonishingly pre-modern characteristics until far into the nineteenth century. This conclusion undermines accounts that put famous musicians' and recipients' perspectives centre stage, that focus on musical metropolises such as London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna, or that approach the world of music mainly through the writings of music intellectuals.⁶ Friedemann Pestel is right to call for a more nuanced picture, one that differentiates spatially between musical centres and peripheries, rather than constructing a stark chronological dichotomy between a pre-modern and modern phase of musical life.⁷

One under-researched aspect of musical life that a labour perspective cannot avoid is the armed forces as one of the leading employers of musicians in the nineteenth century. Indeed, I consider the military such a significant and neglected player in musical life, especially from a global perspective, that I will dedicate my next book exclusively to the relationships between this 'forgotten force' and its musical units on the one hand and society at large on the other. In my account of the music profession, it is safe to say that the armed forces get their fair share of attention. Nonetheless, the recent, well-crafted edition of Wilhelm Wieprecht's correspondence and writings by Achim Hofer and Lucian Schiwietz should be mentioned here for those wishing to do further research on this key figure and on military musical developments in nineteenth-century Germany. Meanwhile, the revival of military music and

6 See Blanning, T. C. W., *The Triumph of Music: The Rise of Composers, Musicians and Their Art*, Cambridge, MA 2008; Applegate, C., *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion*, Ithaca, NY and London 2005.

7 See the review by Pestel, F., *sehепunkte* no. 10, 2020, URL: <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2020/10/33845.html>.

its impact under the 'Third Reich' remains a genuine gap in the research on musical life in Germany.⁸

This lacuna notwithstanding, the development of musical life under Nazi rule is an issue that continues to spark debate. Drawing on ground-breaking research by Alan E. Steinweis, Pamela Potter and others, I have sought to further elucidate how deeply Nazi ideology imprinted on cultural life and to what extent the regime managed to improve working conditions.⁹ I also tried to shed light on how the dictatorship affected musicians' everyday working routines. In light of my recent case study of the opera orchestra in Nuremberg, based on an extraordinary inventory of sources still stored in the office of the orchestra board, I am inclined to slightly modify the argument made in the book and put more emphasis on the pervasiveness of Nazi ideology and practices. At least in Nuremberg, one member of the orchestra was extremely active in the Nazi Party, the SA and the SS. He enjoyed the support of several fellow party members, with whose help he managed to exert a degree of control over the rest of the band, doing all he could to win them over to Nazi ideology. Still, I continue to heed Potter's general warning to be more careful with our sources and not to confuse Nazi propaganda statements with the realities of cultural life. Probing the everyday life of the Franconian orchestra players also revealed their conflicts with the regime as well as their remaining room for manoeuvre under it.¹⁰

My effort to scrutinize Nazi efforts in support of the music profession alerted me to the active role of Hermann Voss in the regime's cultural policy during the war, both at home and in the occupied territories. Voss was one of the founding fathers of the post-war German Orchestra Union (*Deutsche Orchestervereinigung* or DOV). As a consequence of my discovery, the DOV not

8 See Hofer, A. and L. Schiwietz (eds.), *Wilhelm Wieprecht (1802–1872). Korrespondenz, Schriften und Dokumente zu Leben und Wirken*, Würzburg 2020. Apart from my chapter, see also the path-breaking article by Applegate, C., 'Men with Trombones', in C. Applegate, *The Necessity of Music: Variations on a German Theme*, Toronto 2017, 211–37. When it comes to Nazism, the recent book by musicologist Heike Frey, in focusing on the entertainment of troops in the Second World War, covers only parts of this complex. See Frey, H., *Lili Marleen hatt' einen Kameraden. Musik in der Wehrmacht-Truppenbetreuung 1939–1945*, Münster 2020.

9 Potter, P., *The Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts*, Oakland 2016; Steinweis, A. E., *Art, Ideology & Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts*, Chapel Hill, NC and London 1993.

10 Rempe, M. 'Die Entwicklung des Städtischen Orchesters' 1922–1965, in G. Holzer, J. Krämer and M. Rempe (eds.), *Staatsphilharmonie Nürnberg. 100 Jahre Kulturgeschichte eines Orchesters*, Münster 2022, 15–114, here 44–69.

only changed the title of a prize named after Voss, which is awarded to individuals who render outstanding services to the German music profession, but began to take an active interest in exploring its own history. It is good news indeed that the DOV and other music institutions in Germany are at last discovering their own past, not as a means of self-promotion but to acknowledge their role as significant players in the history of post-war West German musical life and society. For both historians and musicologists, there remains a lot to be done in this field. Particularly with regard to music unions, there may be one or more lessons to be learned at a time when the COVID-19 pandemic has made the future of cultural work a contemporary issue once again.

Another dimension which deserves further research is the changing status and subjective perception of women in musical life, particularly in the music profession. Empirically, the *Archiv Frau und Musik*, located in Frankfurt am Main, may be a fruitful new gateway into the lifeworlds of women musicians, though its archival focus is essentially on artistic notables and women composers rather than everyday musicians. But it also holds a large postcard collection featuring women bands and orchestras, dating from the days of the German Empire. This trove of images has the potential to broaden our knowledge about these ensembles, whose standing and status remain quite ambiguous.

Conceptually, approaches that pay attention to issues of intersectionality may furnish us with more nuanced accounts of how class, race and gender combined in various ways to curtail the professional careers of individual musicians and reproduce inequalities in the music profession. In a pioneering study of female classical musicians in the present-day United Kingdom and Germany, sociologist Christina Scharff has gone a long way to shedding light on their daily experiences and on the effects of gender, class background and racial hierarchies on their professional activities. Interestingly, the musicians she interviewed played down the effects of gender inequalities. Scharff convincingly explains this reluctance to discuss any problems of discrimination as arising from a determination to separate one's own experiences from larger societal and structural gender imbalances. This impulse was likely present in the past as well. Similarly, Scharff's interlocutors only partially acknowledged the 'whiteness' of the classical music profession as a problem, though for different reasons: given the persistent lack of diversity within this branch of the music profession, it may be that few of her interview partners have confronted the issue personally.¹¹

11 See Scharff, C., *Gender, Subjectivity and Cultural Work: The Classical Music Profession*, London 2017.

Two recent historical studies may help fill this gap. Kira Thurman's much acclaimed account of Black musicians and ensembles 'in the Land of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms' tells the story of why, going back to the 1870s, so many Black musicians longed to perform German classical music in Central Europe and how they were received by a German public under very different political regimes. Though Thurman only rarely reflects explicitly on the labour dimension of her story and alludes rather incidentally to socio-economic prospects and problems for these Black musicians touring the German lands, she carefully uncovers the various and sometimes contradictory layers of prejudice, racism and hierarchy associated with their performances in Germany and Austria as well as in the United States.¹²

In any case, this group belongs as much to a history of the music profession in Germany as do the Black jazz musicians active in the country since the 1920s, of which my book considers only very few. Fortunately, musicologist Harald Kisiedu has recently reconsidered the emergence of the jazz experimentalism movement in both Germanies between 1950 and 1975. Focusing on four particularly influential German proponents of this trend and their musical and intellectual encounters with Black jazz musicians, Kisiedu argues that theoretical adaptations and practical collaborations acted as 'prime sites for contestations over definitions of cultural, national, and racial identities.' Hence, the development of post-war Jazz destabilized prevalent musical dichotomies such as 'German' versus 'foreign' music, but also 'low-brow' versus 'high-brow' music. Like Thurman, Kisiedu says little about the professional implications of these encounters for both Black and White jazz musicians. Nonetheless, viewing both studies together illuminates the extent to which the music profession in Germany was shaped by Black musicians, their musical ideas and their performances.¹³

Finally, there is much to say about the fate of freelancing musicians, not least because, from a comparative perspective, they made up the overwhelming majority of the profession throughout the twentieth century and beyond.¹⁴ While the emergence of a so-called independent scene (*freie Szene*) in Germany dates back only to the 1980s and thus lies outside the period

12 Thurman, K., *Singing Like Germans: Black Musicians in the Land of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms*, Ithaca, NY 2021.

13 See Kisiedu, H., *European Echoes: Jazz Experimentalism in Germany 1950–1975*, Hofheim 2020, 12.

14 Perrenoud, M., 'Performing for Pay: The Making and Undoing of the Music Profession', in K. Nathaus and M. Rempe (eds.), *Musicking in Twentieth Century Europe: A Handbook*, Berlin 2021, 59–78.

examined in this book, by highlighting ‘the day of the orchestra musicians’ and stressing ‘winners and losers’ around 1960, my narrative may seem somewhat teleological. Particularly in view of the renaissance of entrepreneurial forms of orchestra organization within the last three decades and corresponding strategies of self-promotion among present-day, early-career musicians, it would be worth digging deeper into the world of freelance musicians over the *longue durée* in order to better understand the changing political economy underpinning live music in Germany.¹⁵

To sum up, the issues covered by this book, along with many other aspects worthy of consideration, testify to the importance of studying music as labour. Indeed, if we broaden the *music-as-labour perspective* even further, additional promising themes and approaches come to the fore, of which I’d like to mention just two recent manifestations. Building on an intellectual history perspective, Celia Applegate turns our attention to the many ways scholars brought understandings of work and sound together during the nineteenth century, in the sense of how music works on audiences and how it relates to the workforce beyond musical work proper. Among her key witnesses are prominent social scientists such as Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Werner Sombart and, above all, Karl Bücher, who, in his best-seller on *Work and Rhythm*, highlighted the significance of singing to manual work since time immemorial. For Applegate, these reflections are evidence of music’s centrality to the rise of industrial modernity, a strong link that she deciphers in Wagner’s oeuvre as well.¹⁶

Another recent example is musicologist Wiebke Rademacher’s social history spotlighting the reception of classical music beyond middle-class audiences. This history is a breath of fresh air that departs from the obsession of audience research on classical music with the *Bildungsbürgertum* and complicates our understanding of the changing publics listening to this sort of music. Rademacher focuses on art music events organized both by the labour movement proper and by middle-class initiatives aimed at educating industrial workers and other non-bourgeois groups. Her work sheds new light on labourer cultures in which, according to the extant literature, classical music was largely absent.¹⁷

15 As an entry point, see Rempe, M., *Die deutsche Orchesterlandschaft. Kulturförderung, Interessenorganisation und Arbeitsbedingungen seit 1900*, edited by *Freie Ensembles und Orchester in Deutschland e. V.*, Berlin 2019.

16 Under the title ‘Music and Work’, these topics were the subject of Applegate’s George Mosse Lectures at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in December 2022.

17 See Rademacher, W., *Jenseits der Konzertsäle. Klassische Musik für breite Bevölkerungsschichten in Berlin um 1900*, Stuttgart 2023 (forthcoming).

Ultimately, musical life constitutes just one of many working worlds in the cultural economy. Recognizing this sector as a serious object of study, particularly with respect to the twentieth century, would not simply complement the current state of the art in contemporary labour history. It would reveal what this field has in common with and where it differs from other forms of labour, just as it promises to provide us with key insights into post-industrial work as a whole. This is the focus of a three-year grant from the German Research Foundation recently awarded to Klaus Nathaus and myself. We will establish an international scholarly network uncompromisingly geared 'towards a history of work in the cultural economy'. It will bring together scholars from history, sociology, and cultural and literary studies working in a variety of areas, from literature to film and from music to advertising. The goal is to promote a perspective within the historiographical debate that heeds the demands of a new labour history and holds out the prospect of a much deeper understanding of post-industrial work in general. It would thus appear that the history of cultural work is on the rise. If the translation of my book helps consolidate this trend, then much will have been achieved for both musicology and labour history as well as for social and cultural history more generally.

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My parents Antje and Burkhard Rempe awakened my interest in music and ensured that it filled my childhood, while always showing great interest in history as well. They were quite simply always there. I dedicate this book to them.

Martin Rempe

Kreuzlingen, February 2023

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Abbreviations

ADEMUV	Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikerverband (General German Musicians' Union)
ADGB	Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (General German Trade Union Federation)
ADMV	Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein (General German Music Association)
AfK	<i>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</i>
AFM	American Federation of Musicians
AfMA	Anstalt für musikalische Aufführungsrechte (Institute for Musical Performance Rights)
CEH	<i>Central European History</i>
DEMUV	Deutscher Musikerverband (German Musicians' Union)
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (German Trade Union Federation)
DOB	Deutscher Orchesterbund (German Orchestra Association)
DOV	Deutsche Orchestervereinigung (German Orchestra Union)
FIM	Fédération Internationale des Musiciens
GDT	Genossenschaft Deutscher Tonsetzer (Society of German Composers)
GEMA	Gesellschaft für musikalische Aufführungs- und mechanische Vervielfältigungsrechte (Society for Musical Performing and Mechanical Reproduction Rights)
GG	<i>Geschichte und Gesellschaft</i>
GVL	Gesellschaft zur Verwertung von Leistungsschutzrechten (Society for the Exploitation of Performers' Rights)
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
IFPI	International Federation of the Phonographic Industry
JbW	<i>Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i>
JMEH	<i>Journal of Modern European History</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
KdF	Kraft durch Freude (Strength Through Joy)
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (Communist Party of Germany)
MIRAG	Mitteldeutsche Rundfunk AG
NPL	<i>Neue Politische Literatur</i>
NRS	National Refugee Service
n.s.	not specified
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party)
NWDR	Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk
PCGAM	Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians

RDO	Reichsverband deutscher Orchester und Orchestermusiker (Imperial Association of German Orchestras and Orchestra Musicians)
RMK	Reichsmusikkammer (Reich Chamber of Music)
RMVP	Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda)
SA	Sturmabteilung (the Nazi Party's original paramilitary wing)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SS	Schutzstaffel (the main police and paramilitary organization of the Nazi Party)
STAGMA	Staatlich genehmigte Gesellschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Aufführungsrechte (State-Approved Society for the Exploitation of Musical Performing Rights)
SWF	Südwestfunk
TOK	Tarifordnung für Kulturorchester (Employment Regulations for Cultural Orchestras)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VfZ	<i>Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte</i>
WDR	Westdeutscher Rundfunk
ZF/SCH	<i>Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History</i>

Introduction

Pablo Casals wasn't done yet. Even at the advanced age of ninety-three, the first thing the world-famous cellist did every morning was sit down at the piano and play two preludes and two fugues by Johann Sebastian Bach, just as he had done for eighty years. 'This music is never the same for me, never! Every day it is new again, fantastic, unprecedented.' This was his way of accessing the world and 'encountering the miracle of life itself'. He didn't think for a second about quitting, and he was firmly convinced that other musicians felt the same way: 'I don't think anyone in my line of work can go into retirement as long as there's a breath of life in their body.'¹ Artistic production as an intrinsic elixir of life, musical work as pure play rooted in passion: Casals' declaration of love for his metier inevitably arouses a sympathetic response, precisely because it articulates stereotypical social assumptions about the world of art and culture.

The stereotype of the materially disinterested bohemian focused exclusively on his artistic self-realization has moulded ideas about the world of art since the mid-nineteenth century. Simultaneously despised and admired, this realm is imagined as an alternative to the bourgeois lifeworld.² Over the last few decades, the associated artistic habitus has ceased to be restricted to artistic and cultural life as narrowly understood. Under the banner of 'creativity', it has expanded into other professional fields to the point of omnipresence. For more than ten years, the German government has been funding an 'Initiative for the Cultural and Creative Industries'; the Federal Employment Agency introduces jobseekers to 'creative professions'; and even universities are competing for the brightest researchers by offering them a 'culture of creativity'. Last but not least, the concept of creative work is shaping the present-day social debate about the future of work in general – reason enough to subject this topic to historical scrutiny.³

My goal in this book is not to write *the* history of creative work. In the shape of music, I restrict myself to one of the fine arts and focus on musicians.

1 Casals, P., *Licht und Schatten auf einem langen Weg. Erinnerungen, aufgezeichnet von A. E. Kahn*, Frankfurt am Main 1970, 10 f.

2 See Ruppert, W., *Der moderne Künstler. Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der kreativen Individualität in der kulturellen Moderne im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1998, 188–193 and 225–229.

3 See www.kultur-kreativ-wirtschaft.de; *Berufswahlmagazin Schülerinnen und Schüler der Bundesagentur für Arbeit* no. 4, 2014; 'Leitbild der Universität Konstanz': www.uni-konstanz.de/broschueren/leitbild/; see also Glinöer, A. et al., 'Kulturen des Kreativen – Historische Bohème und zeitgenössisches Prekariat', *Trivium* vol. 18, 2014, 2–7.

My core concern is to examine music-making at the intersection of art, play and labour, and to provide an account of musicians' changing lifeworlds in Germany from the mid-nineteenth century to around 1960. How was everyday working life configured within this occupational group? How did its members perceive themselves and how did they plan and envisage their lives? What meanings did the external world impose on them? How did musicians manage to enhance their socio-economic status and social standing over time? How might we explain processes of differentiation within the profession? To what extent did developments in culture policy, technology and economics foster the professionalization and specialization of this occupation, and what role was played by processes of transnational transfer and appropriation? I explore these key questions with the aim of helping write a social and cultural history of creative work.

Foregrounding musicians' individual experiences and expectations as well as their collective endeavours, this study makes an important contribution to the 'new' history of work. Beyond this, it can be read as a cross-genre music history from below that sheds new light on musical life in Germany and its specific, historically rooted characteristics.

This approach first requires some conceptual clarification. Paul Bekker once defined musical life as 'the sum total of all manifestations of the public and private cultivation of music, in which [...] relationships with this art form [*Tonkunst*] find their organized expression'.⁴ In referring to *Tonkunst* (literally 'tonal art'), this music critic and opera director, born in 1882, no doubt had so-called classical music in mind above all else. In this book, I adopt a more holistic perspective on instrumentalists and their occupational lifeworld. I not only consider classical music, but generally strive to include all forms of music that found an audience and offered musicians a livelihood. I thus expand on Bekker's definition of musical life, viewing it as the sum of different 'art worlds', as envisaged by US-American cultural sociologist Howard Becker.

Becker's 'art worlds' are constituted by 'all the people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art'.⁵ This concept, which is influenced by symbolic interactionism and can therefore be considered an aspect of interpretative sociology, puts emphasis on actors, their actions and their interpretations. The spotlight is not on a specific art form but on the producers of art. Rather than just one 'art world', multiple 'art worlds' potentially come to the

4 Bekker, P., *Das deutsche Musikleben*, Stuttgart 1923, 35 f.

5 Becker, H. S., *Art Worlds*, Berkeley 1982, 34.

fore here, namely when artists are active in different realms. ‘Only aesthetic or philosophical prejudice’, wrote Becker in 1976, ‘not any scientific necessity, requires us to choose one of the existing worlds as authentic and dismiss others as less important or less than the real thing’.⁶ Hence, investigating musicians’ occupational lifeworld entails studying them not just within a single sphere, but in all kinds of different artistic, or more precisely musical, worlds.

When I refer to musicians, what I mean first and foremost is people who made their living from music while causing no particular stir – the term ‘rank-and-file musician’ is an attempt to convey this.⁷ For the purposes of the present study, musicians differ from famous composers, virtuosos and stars on the one hand and from amateurs on the other. I take account of the margins of both the latter groups, however, since better-known musicians have produced most of the available biographical sources and demarcating themselves from so-called amateurs has posed a major problem for members of the music profession.⁸

My focus is necessarily limited in other ways as well. I am interested chiefly in performing musicians, that is, instrumentalists, and sometimes conductors as well. Composers and music teachers take a back seat to the extent that they set themselves apart from their colleagues over time and vice versa. I thus take account of the structural relationship between composers, performing musicians and teachers. I exclude completely church musicians and singers, meanwhile, since their working world was subject to its own distinct laws despite all the overlap with secular or instrumental music.⁹

6 Becker, H. S., ‘Art Worlds and Social Types’, *American Behavioral Scientist* no. 19, 1976, 703–718, here 704 f.; on the place of these ideas within sociology, see Joas, H. and W. Knöbl, *Social Theory: Twenty Introductory Lectures*. Translated by Alex Skinner. Cambridge 2009, 123–149, esp. 142 f.

7 See for example Chanan, M., *Repeated Takes: A Short History of Recording and its Effects on Music*, London 1995, 169; the term rank-and-file derives etymologically from the armed forces.

8 I address the problems thrown up by the sources further below.

9 On the occupation of music teacher, see Roske, M., ‘Umriss einer Sozialgeschichte der Instrumentalpädagogik’, in C. Richter (ed.), *Handbuch der Musikpädagogik*, vol. 2: *Instrumental- und Vokalpädagogik*, Kassel 1993, 158–196. Full-time church musicians were as a rule organists and cantors. See Blindow, M., ‘Das Berufsbild des Kirchenmusikers im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert’, in F.-M. Kuhleemann and H.-W. Schmuhl (eds), *Beruf und Religion im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2003, 155–175. On singers, see Roselli, J., *Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession*, Cambridge 1992. While the division between orchestral musicians and singers was eliminated through the admittance of radio choirs into the German Orchestra Union (*Deutsche Orchestervereinigung*), founded in 1952, previously there had been no contact at all between the two groups.

Nowadays, the activity of the group I have just delimited comes under the heading of creative work. At first glance, it will seem odd to some to describe the work of performing musicians as creative. A firmly established view within the musical world is that they are not productive, but merely reproduce the creative work of others. Yet if we recall Casals' repetitive piano playing, which brought him new discoveries on a daily basis, it is evident that in the field of music creativity depends on situational self-perceptions and external ascriptions.¹⁰ The same may be said of working methods in other fields, such as the visual arts, which in the German language are already more profane at the conceptual level, when painters themselves refer to their *Arbeiten* instead of their *Kunstwerke*, suggesting labour rather than artistic endeavour. In their art, they rely on acquired routines as well as on spontaneous ideas.¹¹ Finally, the intellectual history of creativity also shows that this idea was not restricted solely to acts of aesthetic creation but flourished within a broader field of action made up of artistic, playful and productive elements.¹²

However, the – ultimately nebulous – concept of 'creativity' played no role even in Germany until the 1960s.¹³ This is one reason why the empirical part of the present study refrains from using it, instead discussing the practice of making music more precisely as a phenomenon that straddles art, play and labour. According to Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga, play is 'the essential nature of all musical activity', which is already apparent at the linguistic level: in English, German and other languages, music and instruments are 'played'.¹⁴ But beyond the norms of common parlance, play is contrasted with art and

10 Technically, the creative aspect of performing musicians' activities lies in interpretation, improvisation and performance.

11 See Schürkmann, C., *Kunst in Arbeit. Künstlerisches Arbeiten zwischen Praxis und Phänomen*, Bielefeld 2017, 24 f. and 41. For a general account, see also Menger, P., *The Economics of Creativity: Art and Achievement under Uncertainty*, Cambridge, MA 2014, 5.

12 For a summary, see Bröckling, U., *The Entrepreneurial Self: Fabricating a New Type of Subject*. Translated by Steven Black. London 2016, 104f. On the intellectual history, see Joas, H., *The Creativity of Action*. Translated by Jeremy Gaines and Paul Keast. Cambridge 1996, 70–144; but I do not follow Joas's core project of turning creative action into a general theory of action.

13 For a graphic illustration of this, see the usage trajectories of 'kreativ' and 'Kreativität' in the *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*: www.dwds.de; see also Bröckling, *Entrepreneurial*, 106; the concept's vagueness is also criticized by Campbell, P., *Persistent Creativity: Making the Case for Art, Culture and the Creative Industry*, Cham 2019, 265 f.

14 Huizinga, J., *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*. Translated by Richard F. C. Hull. London 1949 (1938), 162; musical instruments are also 'played', for example, in Arabic and a number of Slavic languages. See *ibid.*, 158.

labour in specific ways. Compared to high art, mere play represents insignificant diversion and thus has a lower status.

Fleshing out this train of thought, Immanuel Kant, for example, sought to endow music with a merely subordinate cultural value compared to the other fine arts, since its main effects were to produce 'enjoyment' and 'agreeableness'.¹⁵ In musical terms, the aesthetic contrast between serious art and frivolous play thus corresponds to the dichotomy between serious and popular music (*Unterhaltungsmusik*). Compared to labour, understood in Jürgen Kocka's words as the 'purposeful exertion of one's physical and mental abilities to fulfil one's needs', play describes a practice of pure diversion and entertaining music-making.¹⁶ This understanding of music was embraced by those social forces unwilling to recognize in the occupation of musician gainful employment in the conventional sense.¹⁷

Overall, however, the historical record reveals much more than just clashing interpretations. As we will see, whether music-making was perceived as art, play or labour determined whether musicians were permitted or prohibited to play, whether orchestras were subsidised and royalties were paid, whether musicians could access social security benefits and how employment contracts were structured. In short, such perceptions shaped the concrete configuration of everyday working life. Hence, to provide an adequate historical account of the lifeworlds of musicians in Germany as creatives *avant la lettre*, it is vital to subject their lives to empirical examination at the interstices of art, play and labour.

The Germany that I will be discussing includes the German Confederation, the German Empire, the Weimar Republic, the Nazi state and West Germany. I include some Austrian territories in my empirical analysis, while consciously excluding developments in East Germany, which I only address selectively in the conclusion.¹⁸ This Germany was viewed as the promised land of music.

15 Kant, I., *The Critique of Judgment*. Translated by James Creed Meredith. Oxford 2010 (1790), 191–196; see also Applegate, C., *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion*, Ithaca, NY 2005, 56 f.

16 Kocka, J., 'Mehr Last als Lust. Arbeit und Arbeitsgesellschaft in der europäischen Geschichte', *JbW* no. 46, 2005, 185–206, here 187.

17 On this paragraph as a whole, see Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 158–164; see also Hagstrom Miller, K., 'Working Musicians: Exploring the Rhetorical Ties between Musical Labour and Leisure', *Leisure Studies* no. 27, 2008, 427–441, for an instructive account that puts forward similar reflections by way of a contrast between musical labour and leisure time.

18 I prioritize West Germany because the historical trajectory of the profession of musician was largely set in the early Federal Republic, an effect still being felt to this day. For a similar argument from a broader perspective, see Schildt, A., 'Fünf Möglichkeiten,

Germans not only saw themselves as ‘people of music’, but were also perceived and described as such from the outside.¹⁹ Compared to other arts, music gained the reputation of being the ‘most German’.²⁰ In the age of imperialism and mass migration, the impact of ‘German’ music was felt across the world, just as the country’s musical life attracted musicians from all over Europe and overseas.²¹ At the same time, the tendency to distinguish between art, folk and popular music, which began in the nineteenth century, influenced the development of music institutions and the cultural discourse on music far more in Germany than elsewhere.²² These music-related values gave rise to a complicated and sometimes complex-ridden relationship to the unalloyed enjoyment of music, culminating in the long-standing cliché of the mediocrity of the country’s popular music.²³ A great deal of music was made and heard in Germany, and it was host to a particularly intense debate on the value of different genres of music, so the country is virtually crying out for investigation.

My empirical investigation begins in the middle of the nineteenth century, when musicians began to organize themselves across regions and to become

die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik zu erzählen’, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* no. 44, 1999, 1234–1444.; on Austria, see also Schinko, G., ‘Annäherungen an den Musikerberuf in Österreich (ca. 1900–1938)’, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* no. 24, 2013, 150–171.

- 19 Applegate, C., and P. Potter, ‘Germans as the “People of Music”’: Genealogy of an Identity’, in Applegate, C. and P. Potter (eds.), *Music and German National Identity*, Chicago 2002, 1–35.
- 20 Potter, P., *Die deutscheste der Künste. Musikwissenschaft und Gesellschaft von der Weimarer Republik bis zum Ende des Dritten Reichs*, Stuttgart 2000.
- 21 See Gienow-Hecht, J., *Sound Diplomacy. Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920*, Chicago 2009; Takenaka, T., ‘Foreign Sound as Compensation: Social and Cultural Factors in the Reception of Western Art Music in Meiji Japan, 1867–1912’, in S. Ingram et al. (eds.), *Floodgates: Technologies, Cultural (Ex)change and the Persistence of Place*, Frankfurt am Main 2006, 185–202.
- 22 See Gelbart, M., *The Invention of ‘Folk Music’ and ‘Art Music’: Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*, Cambridge 2007. From a musicology perspective, see Sponheuer, B., *Musik als Kunst und Nicht-Kunst. Untersuchungen zur Dichotomie von ‘hoher’ und ‘niederer’ Musik im musikästhetischen Denken zwischen Kant und Hanslick*, Kassel 1987. How ‘German’ the compulsion to establish hierarchies grounded in musical aesthetics was, is evident, for example, if we look at the United States: similar cultural orders of precedence developed there only through the major contribution made by German immigrants, though they did not achieve quite the same degree of dominance as in Germany. See Levine, L. E., *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, Cambridge, MA 1988.
- 23 See Larkey, E., ‘Postwar German Popular Music: Americanization, Cold War and the Post-Nazi Heimat’, in C. Applegate and P. Potter (eds.), *Music and German National Identity*, Chicago 2002, 234–250.

active as an occupational group. Around the same time, the aesthetic distinction between art and popular music also became established in contemporary discourse, although 'popular music' was often called by different names.²⁴ The book concludes in the early 1960s. While this era certainly did not mark the end of the profession of musician in Germany, it was an important stage and turning point in its history. During this period, musicians in West Germany were integrated into organizational structures that remain significant to this day and are reflected in the undisputed dominance of permanently employed orchestral musicians. At the same time, the entire professional group was granted so-called performers' rights (*Leistungsschutzrechte*), which enabled its members to exploit musical rights. Ultimately, with the advent of blues, rock'n' roll and beat music, musical developments reinforced the previously permeable boundary between classical and popular music. Furthermore, the new genres, which particularly appealed to young people with their messages of emancipation, rebellion and self-realization, were also partly responsible for the lack of young talent needed to replenish symphony orchestras around 1960. In short, by then musicians had succeeded in raising their social and economic status to a new level, and at the same time musical specialization had advanced so far that up-and-coming musicians dedicated to popular music and classical musicians now had little in common.²⁵

In the period between around 1850 and 1960, five key themes shaped musicians' occupational lifeworld. First, education played an increasingly important role in both the socialization of individual protagonists and in the development of the profession as a whole. Encounters with charismatic teachers and specific pieces of music could influence the choice of instruments and determine individuals' musical aesthetics. The social environment of education, which varied greatly well into the twentieth century, ranging from private music teaching to state academies, set the course for later life paths. In the music world, educational issues grew in importance as musicians felt an ever greater need to set themselves more sharply apart from dilettantes and

24 See Gelbart, *Emerging Categories*, 256–262; a distinction was already being made between art and popular music by the early eighteenth century. The term *Unterhaltungsmusik* (literally 'entertainment music') was first used to a significant extent in the final third of the nineteenth century. Previously, reference was made to *Modemusik* ('fashionable music'), *Gelegenheitsmusik* ('occasional music') and the like. See Ballstaedt, A., 'Unterhaltungsmusik', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Sachteil*, vol. 9, edited by L. Finscher, Kassel 1982, col. 1188 f. On the context, see also Maase, K., *Grenzenloses Vergnügen. Der Aufstieg der Massenkultur, 1850–1970*, Frankfurt am Main 1997.

25 For the fundamentals of youth culture, see Siegfried, D., *Time is on my Side. Konsum und Politik in der westdeutschen Jugendkultur der 60er Jahre*, Göttingen 2006.

amateurs. In addition, the development of educational establishments and their course offerings reflect efforts to institutionalize certain musical styles and practices. Last but not least, the cultural value ascribed to musicians by state and society can be seen clearly in the education system, because it was designed in such a way as to manage the future demand for young talent. This management tool was used in different ways in the various political systems. The development of the education system was thus one of the reasons why this occupation, hopelessly overcrowded towards the end of the nineteenth century, was complaining of a lack of new blood around 1960.

Second, nothing shaped musicians' occupational lifeworld as much as the conditions of their daily work. Even access to this realm adhered to unwritten laws that reflected a pronounced gendered order. All options were open to men, while women appeared in public, if at all, at the piano, but in any case as soloists or within the context of chamber music; orchestral positions were the absolute exception. From the perspective of bourgeois society, women's true musical role was to play in private and to give music lessons. The twentieth century brought some movement in this distribution of roles. Ultimately, however, women in Germany were denied access to the occupation of musician for much longer than in many other Western countries.

Wages and duration of employment, place of work and working hours, holiday and pension entitlements, protection against dismissal and illness, and, not least, work content: these categories related to employment law determined individuals' daily working lives. Only gradually did they find their way into the contractual relationships between musicians and their various employers at court, in municipality and state and in the private sector. Forms of employment varied in accordance with this diversity. In addition to musicians employed on a more or less permanent basis, there were military musicians and, more rarely, 'civil musicians' (*Zivilmusiker*) with the status of civil servant, each with specific privileges under employment law. The majority, however, worked on a freelance basis and they were particularly vulnerable vis-à-vis employers and their better-placed competitors well into the twentieth century.

Although individuals more often expressed their attitudes towards their working life by emphasizing artistic motives and the joy of playing than by referring to employment law, in the first instance it was professional associations and musicians' unions that focused on improving working conditions. Their efforts were highly successful on the whole. At the same time, these activities repeatedly ignited interpretive struggles over the social practice of music-making between art, play and labour. Often, the protagonists of these clashes broke away from a narrower musical aesthetics, illustrating

that in musicians' self-conception, art music was not simply equated with artistic practice, while utility music (*Gebrauchsmusik*) was not simply equated with work. The anecdote about composer Max Reger, according to which he was in the habit of identifying himself as an *Akkordarbeiter* (a play on the semantic blurring of 'chord' and 'piece rate') on the list of arrivals while traveling, thus has a profound significance when it comes to the psychology of professional life, one that becomes tangible in light of material working conditions and their perception.²⁶ Finally, when I consider the practice of work, I also discuss music itself. I have traced individual repertoires and studied entire ensembles' and orchestras' programmes and performance duties, allowing me to make precise statements about trends within the profession towards musico-cultural specialization.

Third, beyond basic attitudes towards music-making, there is a narrower aspect, namely reasoning about musical aesthetics. How did musicians think about the music they played? Aesthetic identification with or distancing from certain musical styles was by no means just an individual question of (good) taste. Rather, such processes unfolded in the context of a musical public sphere in which aesthetic debates had long been firmly the preserve of music critics, and ideas about music as an autonomous art form clearly dominated the associated discourse. In addition, German cultural policy supported this ideology of classical music both non-materially and ever more often materially across all political systems, endowing it with a sacred aura.

In contrast, performing musicians formed their musical opinion, above all else, in light of their own professional experience. The aesthetic flexibility that often moulded the social practice of music-making well into the twentieth century meant that they were not necessarily impressed by the prevailing views of interpretative elites within the music world and remained relatively open to different styles of music. The tastes of rank-and-file musicians long lacked anything like the clarity that – generalizing Pierre Bourdieu's fine distinctions – is routinely assumed to apply to the audience.²⁷

26 On the Reger anecdote, see Der alte Bauer, 'Rück- und Ausblick auf die Musiker-Organisation. Erinnerungen und Zeitgeschehen', *VN DOV* July/August 1959, 34 f.

27 See Bourdieu, P., *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA 1979. On the public from a historical perspective, see Müller, S. O., 'Die musikalische Weltmacht. Zum Stellenwert der Musikrezeption im Deutschen Kaiserreich', in Müller, S. O., and C. Torp (eds.), *Das deutsche Kaiserreich in der Kontroverse*, Göttingen 2009, 246–261. That we should not regard Bourdieu as a source of timeless truths when thinking about recipients has recently been underlined by Peterson, R. A. and R. M. Kern, 'Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore', *American Soci-*

Fourth, musicians' lifeworld was characterized by a high degree of mobility that took different forms. On the one hand, a lively guest performance business developed within Germany, which kept itinerant soloists, ensembles and, increasingly, orchestras as well, ticking over. Concurrently, international touring took off in Europe, gradually reaching North America, South America and Asia from around 1860 onwards.²⁸ On the other hand, the labour market for musicians was subject to great fluctuation at the time, which was inevitably concomitant with greater internal mobility. Furthermore, the strained labour market situation in Germany turned musicians into transnational migrant workers, who often wandered far beyond Europe; at times, labour migration resulted in permanent emigration. Conversely, countless young people from all over the world came to Germany to study music. With the advance of mass culture, the associated forms of entertainment, and new, foreign dance rhythms such as tango and jazz, more and more musicians from abroad appeared in Germany after 1900. Phases of heightened mobility and of special kinds of mobility also included the First World War and – to an even greater extent – the Second World War, in the run-up to which numerous Jewish musicians found refuge from the Nazi regime all over the world. Many others were transported to concentration camps and fell victim to the Nazi policy of extermination. Finally, after the war, a large number of expellees streamed into occupied Germany.

Concealed behind these diverse migratory movements are the fates of countless individuals. They left traces in the musical life of the country of origin, had an impact on the music culture of the destination country and forged personal connections between the two. In some cases, these musicians' networks were used for the exchange of experiences about similarities and differences in occupational lifeworlds. One key comparative parameter was how the state dealt with musicians from abroad, a major concern for German

ological Review no. 61, 1996, 900–907; ultimately, this applies just as much to the dawn of the twentieth century, when many members of the bourgeoisie too sought musical entertainment. See Morat, D., 'Einleitung', in Morat, D. et al., *Weltstadtvergnügen. Berlin 1880–1930*, Göttingen 2016, 9–23, here 14 f.; Nolte, P., 'Verdoppelte Modernität – Metropolen und Netzwerke der Vergnügungskultur um 1900. Eine Einführung', in Nolte, P. (ed.), *Die Vergnügungskultur der Großstadt. Orte – Inszenierungen – Netzwerke (1880–1930)*, Cologne 2016, 1–11, here 6 f.

28 See Osterhammel, J., 'Globale Horizonte europäischer Kunstmusik, 1860–1930', *GG* no. 38, 2012, 86–132.

musicians' unions and those in other countries from the early twentieth century onwards and one that remained significant until the 1960s.²⁹

Beyond labour market issues, these peregrinations also had a musical dimension: itinerant musicians usually brought their musical culture with them to the host country, and they had to take account of established concert norms or taste preferences as well. Artists and musical genres from abroad thus injected fresh impulses into musical life in Germany after 1900, fostering the aesthetic differentiation and specialization of the profession. By the same token, German musicians in Europe and overseas often contributed to the development or expansion of classical music worlds, even if they were rarely able (or willing) to focus on these alone.³⁰

Fifth, with the invention of sound recording in 1877, the 'age of mechanical reproduction' began in the field of acoustics; now, according to Walter Benjamin, the work of art could be torn from the context in which it was created and the setting for which it was intended and thus lost its 'aura'.³¹ Music underwent objectification by means of the gramophone record, which offered undreamt-of possibilities for commercial exploitation. A second music market arose alongside that centred on live music. It became ever more important during the twentieth century with the rise of radio, whose repertoire consisted more and more often of recorded music. Finally, at the same time as the record, film made its breakthrough as a mass medium.

The rise of audio-visual media created, in Thomas Lindenberger's words, a new 'way of relating to reality that pervaded every sphere of existence'.³² This was especially true of musicians: the new media had an increasingly intense and ambivalent effect on their lifeworld. New employment opportunities, such as producing music to accompany silent films, were soon followed by new challenges, such as the emergence of the talking film, which, together with the Great Depression, beginning around 1930, triggered probably the

29 On the international debate, see Rempe, M., 'Jenseits der Globalisierung. Musikermobilität und Musikaustausch im 20. Jahrhundert', in B. Barth et al. (eds.), *Globalgeschichten. Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven*, Frankfurt am Main 2014, 205–228.

30 On this aspect, see the recent account by Mecking, S., "'Deutsche" Musik, eine Illusion? Phänomene der Inklusion und Exklusion', in Mecking, S. and Y. Wasserloos (eds.), *Inklusion & Exklusion. 'Deutsche' Musik in Europa und Nordamerika 1848–1945*, Göttingen 2016, 7–30.

31 Benjamin, W., *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*. Translated by Michael William Jennings, Brigid Doherty and Thomas Y. Levin. Cambridge, MA 2008 (1936), 217 f.

32 Lindenberger, T., 'Vergangenes Hören und Sehen. Zeitgeschichte und ihre Herausforderung durch die audiovisuellen Medien', *ZF/SCH* no. 1, 2004, 72–85, here 73.

worst crisis in the history of the music profession. While broadcasting and the record industry created new studio jobs, they wiped out countless employment opportunities as the demand for live music declined. The rise of the music rights business after 1900, also partly induced by the emergence of the second music market, prompted musicians to demand a share in the exploitation of copyright and neighbouring rights. However, in Germany the only ones to benefit from this were those capable of producing recordings. While technological changes in musical life were unstoppable, musicians did all they could to actively shape these changes and turn them to their advantage.

The education system and musicians' working conditions, the aesthetic debates in which they engaged, their experiences of mobility and their approach to technological developments are the core themes in light of which we can meaningfully reconstruct musicians' lives at the crossroads of art, play and labour. Each of these key themes attracted varying degrees of attention at different times, which is why they feature to different extents in the various chapters. However, none of these topics had become obsolete by 1960; they were still structurally relevant to musicians' occupational lifeworld.

In using the key concept of the lifeworld, I place the various levels of investigation of changing individual perceptions and changing forms of social action in a single analytical framework. Here, I consciously draw on another concept (the lifeworld) found within interpretive sociology, one whose roots lie in Edmund Husserl's phenomenological philosophy. I do so because this theoretical tradition sought to eliminate the analytical opposition between objective structures of social reality and their subjective experience. Alfred Schütz and his student Thomas Luckmann, who did much to shape sociological research on lifeworlds, characterized them as 'fundamentally intersubjective', as 'sedimented group experience' and at the same time as a 'province of practice, of action'. Such action, Schütz and Luckmann tell us, always requires meaningful interpretation, without which it would be impossible to get one's bearings within the lifeworld. Hence, as they underline, perception and action are intimately related, because only the subsequent interpretation of action turns it into meaningful experience that sets the course for future action. This, they contend, applies not only to individual action, but also to 'institutionalizations of action in social settings'. Action, they emphasize, is always future-oriented as actors seek to stabilize or change the lifeworld.³³

33 Schütz, A. and T. Luckmann, *The Structures of the Life World*. Translated by Richard M. Zaner and H. Tristram Engelhardt, Jr., London 1974 (1979), 3–20, quotations on 16, 8 and 18. On how these ideas fit into the history of theory, see Joas and Knöbl, *Social Theory*,

Schütz and Luckmann, then, seek to capture how individuals and groups are embedded in their social environment and how they act upon it. When it comes to musicians as an occupational group, this means scrutinizing their experiences and actions both internally and vis-à-vis other groups within musical life. These groups included concert organizers and theatre directors, composers and music teachers, the armed forces and their in-house musicians, music critics and musicologists, politicians, economists and, last but not least, musicians' audience; taken together they formed what I call the musical public sphere. Disputes about the profession took place within this sphere, illuminating the contours of its members' lifeworld. Sooner or later, moreover, such conflicts resulted in concrete social policy reforms and institutional developments in musical life, which changed this occupational lifeworld in a direct way.³⁴

There is no sure methodological formula for the historical reconstruction of the lifeworld as both objectified social construct and space of subjective experience. The use of biographical methods is, however, an obvious step. Collective biographical approaches enable us to capture the typical and general aspects of musicians' everyday life as well as the ways in which individuals deviated from norms or had special characteristics. In this context, I am interested not just in what is narrated, but also in how it is narrated, as this helps us comprehend how people interfaced with the world in temporally and professionally specific ways.³⁵ One shortcoming of the collective biographical approach is

156–161; for an instructive look at their use in the discipline of history, see Vierhaus, R., 'Die Rekonstruktion historischer Lebenswelten. Probleme moderner Kulturgeschichtsschreibung', in H. Lehmann (ed.), *Wege zu einer neuen Kulturgeschichte*, Göttingen 1995, 7–28, esp. 13–15.

34 For a programmatic account, see Raphael, L., 'Diskurse, Lebenswelten und Felder. Implizite Vorannahmen über das soziale Handeln von Kulturproduzenten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in W. Hardtwig and H.-U. Wehler (eds.), *Kulturgeschichte heute*, Göttingen 1996, 165–181; Reichardt, S., 'Praxeologische Geschichtswissenschaft', *Sozial. Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* no. 22, 2007, 43–65.

35 See Schweiger, H., 'Die soziale Konstituierung von Lebensgeschichten. Überlegungen zur Kollektivbiographik', in B. Fetz (ed.), *Die Biographie – Zur Grundlegung ihrer Theorie*, Berlin 2009, 317–352; Schröder, W. H., 'Kollektive Biographien in der historischen Sozialforschung: Eine Einführung', in Schröder, W. H. (ed.), *Lebenslauf und Gesellschaft. Zum Einsatz von kollektiven Biographien in der historischen Sozialforschung*, Stuttgart 1985, 7–17. For a programmatic take on the narrative perspective, see Funck, M. and S. Malinowski, 'Geschichte von oben. Autobiographien als Quelle einer Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Adels in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik', *Historische Anthropologie* no. 7, 1999, 236–270; an informative example is provided by Osterhammel, J., 'Kühle Meisterschaft. Dirigenten des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts zwischen Selbst-

the seemingly arbitrary selection of individuals. This is all the more problematic when it comes to such a heterogeneous social group as musicians, which must also be examined over several generations.³⁶

The following selection criteria, I believe, lend credibility to my selection. First, I focus on musicians who actively sought to promote the professionalization of the occupational group. Second, I foreground the biographies of relatively unknown individuals who can be considered representative of ordinary musicians. Third, I portray musical life paths that tell us a good deal about the socio-historical, cultural, transnational and gender-historical themes discussed in the present study. Fourth and finally, among more prominent musicians I chiefly consider those whose youth, period of education and early career were far from extraordinary. Overall, I examine the literary remains, unpublished material and published memoirs of more than fifty musicians.

My lifeworld analysis also entails discussion of core discursive debates within this occupational field. This sheds light on the continuity and transformation of social assumptions about musicians as a professional group or parts of it, while also bringing out this group's self-image. In the same vein, I spotlight debates carried on by musicians' representatives in an attempt to spur changes in their lifeworld. What was said and written by whom, at what point in time, for what reasons and with what intentions, is highly relevant: from a lifeworld perspective, it illuminates both musicians' shared, unquestioned convictions and issues that had become controversial. This brings to the fore the connection between discourses, events and actors as well as historical trends in their interplay.³⁷

This approach is based on a review of relevant periodicals, other contemporary literature and material produced by professional associations and musicians' unions. It takes up the insight of historical discourse research that discourses, when it comes to their transformative and creative force as well as their own transformation, are closely linked to sociocultural and political

darstellung und Metierbeschreibung', in S. O. Müller et al. (eds.), *Kommunikation im Musikleben. Harmonien und Dissonanzen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2015, 154–178.

36 This problem is also highlighted by Harders, L. and V. Lipphardt, 'Kollektivbiografie in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte als qualitative und problemorientierte Methode', *Traverse* no. 13, 2006, 81–91, here 84.

37 See Schütz and Luckmann, *Structures*, 8–15; Raphael, 'Diskurse', 169 f.

contexts.³⁸ At the same time, my analysis here is still very much a means to an end: it serves to expose social conflicts triggered by the music profession and its position in society, and draws attention to reformist cultural policy initiatives and legal changes that had an impact on musicians' lifeworld.³⁹

Ultimately, changes in this realm are best grasped within the interpretative framework of professionalization. From a sociological perspective, musicians pursued a 'professional project': functional and status groups strove to monopolize their distinct knowledge and skills, while limiting access to their group on economic grounds and in order to increase their social prestige. This aspiration could be directed at the state as well as other groups, and sometimes at members of the in-group.⁴⁰

Certainly, the music profession can hardly be compared with classical professions, not least because musicians' specific activities cannot be comprehensively monopolized or legally sanctioned.⁴¹ But whether or not they succeeded in becoming a profession in the ideal-typical sense is not the most important issue. What matters more is that the interpretive frame of professionalization reveals central conflicts both within the occupational field and between musicians and the rest of society: from a self-image situated between artist and worker, through the distinguishing and delimitation of specific musical styles, to social debates on an appropriate appreciation of the occupation of musician and specific processes of cultural policy reform.⁴² Understood as an open project, professionalization serves not least as a diachronic leitmotif, in light of which we can describe and explain musicians' changing

38 See Landwehr, A., 'Diskurs und Wandel. Wege der historischen Diskursforschung', in Landwehr, A. (ed.), *Diskursiver Wandel*, Wiesbaden 2010, 11–28, here 19 f.; Landwehr, A., 'Diskurs – Macht – Wissen. Perspektiven einer Kulturgeschichte des Politischen', *AfK* no. 85, 2003, 71–117. Another instructive text is Keller, R., 'Wandel von Diskursen – Wandel durch Diskurse. Das Beispiel der Umwelt- und Risikodiskurse seit den 1960er Jahren', in A. Landwehr (ed.), *Diskursiver Wandel*, Wiesbaden 2010, 69–88.

39 See also Raphael, 'Diskurse', 176.

40 MacDonald, K., *The Sociology of the Professions*, London 1995, 8–14 and 34 f.; here MacDonald further develops the concept of the 'professional project', which goes back to Larson, M. S., *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*, Berkeley 1979.

41 See Frederickson, J. and J. F. Rooney, 'How the Music Occupation Failed to Become a Profession', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* no. 21, 1990, 189–206. On the classic professions, see Siegrist, H., 'Bürgerliche Berufe. Die Professionen und das Bürgertum', in Siegrist, H. (ed.), *Bürgerliche Berufe. Zur Sozialgeschichte der freien und akademischen Berufe im internationalen Vergleich*, Göttingen 1988, 11–48.

42 See Erd, R., 'Kunst als Arbeit. Organisationsprobleme eines Opernorchesters', in J. Gerhards (ed.), *Soziologie der Kunst*, Opladen 1997, 143–170; Jost, E., 'Jazzmusiker. Tendenzen der Professionalisierung', in C. Kaden and V. Kalisch (eds.), *Professionalismus in der Musik*, Essen 1999, 221–230.

lifeworld without lapsing into a normatively charged history of shortcomings or a stale structural history.⁴³

Overall, we can expect this methodology to shed light on the occupational lifeworld as an individual experience of music and as the objectified life of musicians at the crossroads of art, play and labour, while also providing fundamental insights into processes of social demarcation and specialization within musical life. In this study, then, I seek to highlight one possible way, among others, of writing a social history in keeping with the times. To do so, I build on recent ideas about how this somewhat outdated historiographical field might be meaningfully revived.⁴⁴

Empirically, this study furnishes us with new insights into the history of work in general and the history of music. For several years now, the history of work has once again been attracting greater attention as new perspectives have risen to prominence. It is above all the dimensions of cultural history and global history that have informed this process of renewal. Representatives of this research field argue that the triad of education, career and retirement, along with the standard employment relationship (*Normalarbeitsverhältnis*), which many members of industrial societies still associate with the world of work, were exceptional phenomena that applied only to a minority, even in Europe. Therefore, they contend, with respect to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries especially, there is an urgent need for historians to examine concepts of work, the semantics of work in different societies, and workers' social practices.⁴⁵

43 A nuanced conception of professionalization in the artistic realm is also advocated by Löhrr, I. and M. Middell, 'Kultur als Beruf in Europa. Perspektiven aus Kunst, Kultur und Wissenschaft', in Löhrr, I. and M. Middell et al. (eds.), *Kultur und Beruf in Europa*, Stuttgart 2012, 11–25; a good empirical example is provided by Trebesius, D., *Komponieren als Beruf. Frankreich und die DDR im Vergleich, 1950–1980*, Göttingen 2012, here 19.

44 On this debate, see Maeder, P. et al., 'Einleitung', in Maeder, P. et al. (eds.), *Wozu noch Sozialgeschichte? Eine Disziplin im Umbruch. Festschrift für Josef Mooser zum 65. Geburtstag*, Göttingen 2012, 7–26.; Joyce, P., 'What is the Social in Social History?', *Past & Present* vol. 206, 2010, 214–248; Nathaus, K., 'Sozialgeschichte und historische Sozialwissenschaft', Version 1.0, in *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 24.09.2012, URL: <http://docupedia.de/zg/>; Osterhammel, J., 'Hierarchien und Verknüpfungen. Aspekte einer globalen Sozialgeschichte', in B. Barth and S. Conrad (eds.), *Wege zur modernen Welt 1750–1870*, Munich 2016, 627–836, here 628–650.

45 See Eckert, A., 'Globale Perspektiven auf die Geschichte und Gegenwart von Arbeit – Eine Skizze', in H. König et al. (eds.), *Die Zukunft der Arbeit in Europa. Chancen und Risiken neuer Beschäftigungsverhältnisse*, Bielefeld 2009, 19–32; Kocka, 'Mehr Last als Lust'; Van der Linden, M., *Workers of the World: Essays toward a Global Labor History*, Leiden 2008; Leonhard, J. and W. Steinmetz, 'Von der Begriffsgeschichte zur historischen Semantik von

I view the present study as a contribution to this research agenda, but it also goes beyond it. Regardless of the rhetoric of renewal, most of the recent publications and research projects in this field continue to foreground the working class. The ‘new’ history of work has so far been largely silent about cultural work, leaving the field to business history. Yet the latter focuses primarily on management, contributing virtually nothing to the history of creative work.⁴⁶

In fact, recent interpretations of this history have all come from sociologists,⁴⁷ including those of Andreas Reckwitz. His starting point is the current omnipresence (which I outlined at the start of the book) of the idea of creativity. According to Reckwitz, the individual desire to be creative, along with the social pressure on individuals to be creative, increasingly permeates every field of society and especially the professional world. This state of affairs, he goes on, culminates in an ‘aesthetic capitalism’, which is widely accepted because the ‘imperative to be creative’ has induced those who used to view their work as part of an artistic critique of society to enter into a harmonious symbiosis with productive labour that fits neatly with the prevailing form of capitalism. Reckwitz’s historical explanation is thus based on a diffusion model. The idea of creativity as an elitist, artistic and countercultural worldview and practice, he contends, has diffused into the middle of society since the turn of the twentieth century and to an even greater extent from the 1960s onwards, a trend to which the creative industries, psychology and the mass media have contributed significantly.⁴⁸

As plausible as Reckwitz’s analysis of the present era is, his attempt to identify its historical roots is one-sided, because he locates creative potential

“Arbeit”, in Leonhard, J. and W. Steinmetz (eds.), *Semantiken von Arbeit: Diachrone und vergleichende Perspektiven*, Cologne 2016, 9–59.

46 See the research overviews by Priemel, K. C., ‘Heaps of Work: The Ways of Labour History’, *H-Soz-Kult*, 23 January 2014, URL: <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/forum/2014-01-001> and by Neuheiser, J., ‘Arbeit zwischen Entgrenzung und Konsum. Die Geschichte der Arbeit im 20. Jahrhundert als Gegenstand aktueller zeithistorischer und sozialwissenschaftlicher Studien’, *NPL* no. 58, 2013, 421–448. For business history perspectives, see Friedman, W. A. and G. Jones, ‘Editorial: Creative Industries in History’, *Business History Review* no. 85, 2011, 237–244. An instructive text but one lacking a historical dimension is McKinlay, A. and C. Smith (eds.), *Creative Labour: Working in the Creative Industries*, Basingstoke 2009.

47 For an intellectual history perspective, see Joas, *Creativity*; for a recent treatment focused on the United Kingdom, see Campbell, *Persistent Creativity*, 9–38; see also Bröckling, *Entrepreneurial*.

48 Reckwitz, A., *The Invention of Creativity: Modern Society and the Culture of the New*. Translated by Steven Black. Cambridge 2017, 2 f.; Reckwitz largely follows Boltanski, L. and È. Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Gregory Elliott. London 2005.

solely in the artistic elite and in countercultures. Yet the historical forerunners of creative work are especially evident in those fields in which working people – consonant with their self-understanding – interpreted their work as creative, that is, as an artistic activity that creates something new. As I have mentioned, musicians undoubtedly constitute one of these fields.

Thus, a historical case study of their lifeworld must do more than paint an empirically dense and nuanced picture of the rise of creative work. It must also highlight the paradox overlooked by Reckwitz, namely that this process initially went hand-in-hand with a greater integration of this professional group into the structures of an industrial, work-oriented society and the welfare state, in other words the ‘organized capitalism’ that has come under pressure due to the rise of neoliberalism and the extension of the ‘imperative of creativity’ to other fields of work over the last thirty to forty years.⁴⁹ This study thus questions the supposedly natural connection between processes of individualization and the rise of creative work. A look back at the lifeworld of musicians, one shaped by art, play and labour, provides insights that can serve as a source of stimulation not just for the history but also for the present and perhaps even the future of creative work.⁵⁰

So far, historians of music have paid little attention to the topic of work.⁵¹ Histories of music of musicological provenance often still tend to be histories of style, and if they do look beyond the art itself to non-musical dimensions, the focus is chiefly on the social or political aspects of an art music defined in advance. As musicologist Frank Hentschel has soberly concluded, in his discipline ‘deep-seated ideological judgments [often still] determine the construction of music history’.⁵² When historians do music history, they rarely proceed in any other way. Of course, it is down not so much to ideological perspectives as to personal musical preferences that the majority of these studies address specific genres.

49 Kocka, J., *Capitalism: A Short History*. Translated by Jeremiah Riemer. Princeton 2016, 148–150; Reckwitz, *Invention*, 202 f. See also Campbell, *Persistent Creativity*, 12–15; among other things, he ascribes a major role in disseminating the idea of creativity to the state.

50 See also Rempe, M., *Die deutsche Orchesterlandschaft. Kulturförderung, Interessenorganisation und Arbeitsbedingungen seit 1900*, edited by Freie Ensembles und Orchester in Deutschland e. V., Berlin 2019.

51 One example is Hagstrom Miller, ‘Working Musicians’, 438 f.

52 Hentschel, F., ‘Unfeine Unterschiede. Musikkulturen und Musikwissenschaft’, in M. Calella and N. Urbanek (eds.), *Historische Musikwissenschaft. Grundlagen und Perspektiven*, Stuttgart 2013, 255–266, here 261. See also Ballstaedt, ‘Unterhaltungsmusik’, col. 1193.

Against this background, in the present study I not only want to generate new empirical insights, but also to advocate a particular approach to research, encouraging music history and, in particular, historians with an interest in music, to detach themselves from an *a priori* musical aesthetic. In view of the numerous shifts within the discipline of history in recent years (we need only think of transnational and global history, which has challenged the nation and Eurocentrism), it is high time to question established musical umbrella categories such as serious and popular music. This applies especially to the twentieth century, whose history was shaped by popular musical styles to such an extent that any social history of music dealing with this period immediately loses credibility if it fails to explore without prejudice different genres and their interconnections.⁵³ Placing the lifeworld of musicians at the centre of analytical attention is undoubtedly a step in the right direction.

Doing so shines a new and different light on German musical life. It becomes clear, for example, that professional specialization in classical music first received a significant boost only in the Weimar Republic. While venues, critics, publication organs, entire fields of scholarship and stable audiences were formed around certain musical genres as early as the nineteenth century, this did not apply to the same extent to the central actors in musical performances.⁵⁴ In Germany, exclusive professional commitment to the field of popular music was for the most part a phenomenon first seen after 1945; among other things, this is reflected in the fact that the majority of these musicians had still received a classical education.

It is just as significant that, with their lobbying for better working conditions around 1900, musicians made a considerable contribution to entrenching in Germany the practice of subsidizing theatres and orchestras with public funds. In addition to courts striving for prestige and the music-loving educated bourgeoisie, these musicians constituted a third, hitherto completely overlooked force that fought from below, and often in opposition to reluctant local administrations, for the state-financed cultivation of music.

53 See also Müller, S. O. and M. Remppe, 'Vergemeinschaftung, Pluralisierung, Fragmentierung. Kommunikationsprozesse im Musikleben des 20. Jahrhunderts', in Müller, S. O., J. Osterhammel, and M. Remppe (eds.), *Kommunikation im Musikleben. Harmonien und Dissonanzen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2015, 9–25; Hentschel, 'Unterschiede', 260–262.

54 See Weber, W., *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848*, Aldershot 2004, 133–145; Scott, D. B., *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, Oxford 2008, 3–14; Weber and Scott, however, overlook the fact that the specialization of musicians began significantly later.

Finally, to a significant degree, the specific position of German musical life as perceived both internally and externally is the result of the sweeping expansion and cultural valorization of military music in the German Empire. The densely populated theatrical and orchestral landscape in Germany would hardly have been able to develop without this large reservoir of flexibly trained musicians, which was promptly replenished from 1933 onwards after a temporary decline under the Weimar Republic. All these developments in the history of music, which can help us shed light on the specific position of German musical life in the international context, come into view only if we widen our social and aesthetic perspectives, and consider the lives of musicians in the broad context of their occupational lifeworld rather than focusing narrowly on music as a specific art form.

The relevant literature on the lifeworld of career musicians is relatively easy to survey. Crucial to the present study are Martin Wolschke's account of municipal pipe bands in the nineteenth century, Josef Eckhardt's examination of civil and military musicians in the German Empire, Heribert Schröder's study of dance and popular music in the Weimar Republic, Michael Kater's two books on jazz and on composers and performers under Nazism and Alan E. Steinweis's standard work on the Reich Chamber of Culture (*Reichskulturkammer*).⁵⁵ For early West Germany, however, no scholarly study on this professional group exists. In seeking to provide an overall view of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the present book thus breaks new historiographical ground.⁵⁶

The present study could not have been written without the scholarly output of the aforementioned authors. Nonetheless, in addition to their restriction to short periods of time in the aftermath of political caesuras, their texts suffer

55 See Wolschke, M., *Von der Stadtppfeiferei zu Lehrlingskapelle und Sinfonieorchester. Wandlungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, Regensburg 1981; Eckhardt, J., *Zivil- und Militärmusiker im Wilhelminischen Reich. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Musikers in Deutschland*, Regensburg 1978; Schröder, H., *Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusik in Deutschland 1918–1933*, Bonn 1990; Kater, M. H., *Gewagtes Spiel. Jazz im Nationalsozialismus*, Cologne 1995; Kater, M. H., *Die mißbrauchte Muse. Musiker im Dritten Reich*, Munich 1998; Steinweis, A. E., *Art, Ideology & Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts*, Chapel Hill, NC 1993; for a recent study of the Reich Chamber of Music, see also Riethmüller, A. and M. Custodis (eds.), *Die Reichsmusikkammer. Kunst im Bann der Nazi-Diktatur*, Cologne 2015.

56 But see the long-term studies of the United Kingdom and the United States: Ehrlich, C., *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century. A Social History*, Oxford 1985; Kraft, J. P., *Stage to Studio: Musicians and the Sound Revolution, 1890–1950*, Baltimore, MD 1996.

two other shortcomings. First, Kater's separate monographs on jazz and on the world of classical music exemplify the dominance of aesthetic typologies in music historiography in general. Musicians' work is categorized as 'serious' or 'popular', while composers, conductors, soloists and orchestral musicians are neatly separated from one another.⁵⁷ This is paralleled by studies focused on genres and musical worlds. There is a general failure to relate historical research on opera to that on concerts, while military music, salon music and jazz are usually examined separately as well.⁵⁸ Still, such analyses were indispensable to the present book as well. The genre-based logic underpinning them may be one reason why this is, perhaps, the first attempt to provide a comprehensive history of the music profession: a cross-genre perspective is essential to such an undertaking.

Second, the existing literature is dominated either by a focus on famous artists or by approaches that foreground the history of institutions or structures. In addition to Kater's study of classical music, a prime example of the first of these approaches is Timothy C. W. Blanning's *Triumph of Music*. For the purposes of his grand narrative evoking the rise of musicians to the very top of the arts, he begins with Bach, before turning to Beethoven, Liszt and Wagner and finally – from the twentieth century onwards – switching abruptly to the field of popular music, which enables him to remain true to his story of ascent.⁵⁹ Most of the literature on musicians' migration is also committed to this perspective. Jessica Gienow-Hecht's portrayal of German musicians in the emerging classical music world of the United States during the long nineteenth century revolves mainly around significant conductors. The focus on famous artists was long perpetuated in research on exile, though recently

57 See Salmen, W., *Beruf: Musiker. Verachtet – vergöttert – vermarktet. Eine Sozialgeschichte in Bildern*, Weimar 1997; Salmen, W. et al., 'Der soziale Status des Musikers', in H. de la Motte-Haber and H. Neuhoff (eds.), *Musiksoziologie*, Laaber 2007, 183–211; Wicke, P., 'Zwischen musikalischer Dienstleistung und künstlerischem Anspruch. Der Musiker in den populären Musikformen', in H. de la Motte-Haber and H. Neuhoff (eds.), *Musiksoziologie*, Laaber 2007, 222–243; Rink, J., 'The Profession of Music', in J. Samson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, Cambridge 2001, 55–86.

58 See Ther, P., *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft. Operntheater in Zentraleuropa 1815–1914*, Vienna 2008; Ziemer, H., *Die Moderne hören. Das Konzert als urbanes Forum 1890–1940*, Frankfurt am Main 2008; Ballstaedt, A. and T. Widmaier, *Salonmusik. Zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis*, Stuttgart 1989; Partsch, C., *Schräge Töne. Jazz und Unterhaltungsmusik in der Kultur der Weimarer Republik*, Stuttgart 2000; Jockwer, A., 'Unterhaltungsmusik im Dritten Reich', Dissertation Universität Konstanz 2005.

59 See Kater, *Muse*; Rathkolb, O., *Führertreu und Gottbegnadet. Künstlereliten im Dritten Reich*, Vienna 1991; Blanning, T. C. W., *The Triumph of Music: The Rise of Composers, Musicians and their Art*, Cambridge, MA 2008.

greater attention has been paid to 'forgotten' musicians.⁶⁰ This limitation is certainly due in part to a sources problem: little biographical material has survived from unknown musicians. More than enough of it exists, however, for us to pay it far greater analytical attention than has generally been the case.

The older studies by Eckhardt and Wolschke as well as Schröder's work on Weimar, meanwhile, are informed by institutional and structural history. All three books are largely actor-free; we learn virtually nothing about how musicians experienced and interpreted their everyday working lives. Much the same applies to the historiography of music education and training, which mostly adopts an institutional perspective, whereas the present book seeks to cast light on periods of education chiefly from the perspective of the apprentice musicians themselves.⁶¹

Despite this institutional focus, the history of musicians' professional associations and unions is yet to be written. The most important such organization is the General German Musicians' Union (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikerverband* or ADEMUV), founded in 1872. Although it is discussed in some of the aforementioned studies, they neither provide a systematic account of its activities nor trace them over a significant period of time. Finally, we have yet to see a scholarly study of the history of the German Orchestra Union (*Deutsche Orchestervereinigung* or DOV), founded in 1952 and today the most important interest group for professional musicians.⁶²

In sum, the existing research is characterized by short periods of investigation, a genre-based logic, one-sided methodological foci, and lacunae with respect to musical associations. The present study takes a different approach in many ways. In addition to the synthesis that I seek to produce, I also aim to help reduce some of these gaps in the research in order to enhance our understanding of German musical life and the history of creative work.

60 See Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*; Crawford, D. L., *A Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California*, New Haven 2009; Brinkmann, R. and C. Wolff (eds.), *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, Berkeley 1999.

61 Studies of Berlin and Leipzig are particularly illuminating. See Schenk, D., *Die Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin. Preußens Konservatorium zwischen romantischem Klassizismus und Neuer Musik, 1869–1932/33*, Stuttgart 2004; Wasserloos, Y., *Das Leipziger Konservatorium der Musik im 19. Jahrhundert. Anziehung und Ausstrahlungskraft eines musikpädagogischen Modells auf das internationale Musikleben*, Hildesheim 2004.

62 See Eckhardt, *Zivil- und Militärmusiker*; Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*; a US-American dissertation from 1979 on the early history of the musicians' union was never published. See Newhouse, M. J., 'Artists, Artisans, or Workers? Orchestral Musicians in the German Empire', Dissertation Columbia University in the City of New York 1979.

This book draws on extensive source materials. The archives of the Academy of Arts (*Akademie der Künste*), the University of the Arts (*Universität der Künste*) and the Berlin Philharmonic (*Berliner Philharmoniker*), all of them in Berlin, the Goethe and Schiller Archive (*Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv*) in Weimar, the German Diary Archive (*Deutsches Tagebucharchiv*) in Emmendingen, the Military Archives (*Militärarchiv*) of the Federal Archives (*Bundesarchiv*) in Freiburg, the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York and the relevant departments of the state libraries of Berlin, Dresden and Munich, as well as the New York Public Library, were consulted for biographical material. I also examined numerous published memoirs and recollections of well-known and less well-known musicians.⁶³

The *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* ('German Musicians' Newspaper'), the most important periodical for musicians between 1870 and 1933, serves as a primary source when it comes to identifying key discourses within this occupational field. German public archives and libraries are typically oriented towards art and thus have little interest in preserving and documenting materials relating to musicians as an occupational group. This is palpable in the curious fact that the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* is not fully available in any German library, with the first three years being accessible only in the New York Public Library. Depending on the case in question, I supplement my analysis with many other relevant periodicals, including the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* ('New Journal for Music'), *Der Artist* ('The Artist'), the *Deutsche Militär-Musiker-Zeitung* ('German Military Musician Newspaper') and *Das Orchester* ('The Orchestra'); I also draw extensively on contemporary literature.

In order to reconstruct the strategies of the professional associations, I examined the holdings of the General German Music Association in the Goethe and Schiller Archive and those of the Arts Union (*Gewerkschaft Kunst*) at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, studied documents held by the German Orchestra Union (*Deutsche Orchestervereinigung*) in Berlin and consulted relevant materials pertaining to the General German Musicians' Union in the Berlin State Archives (*Berliner Landesarchiv*) and at the Berlin branch of the Federal Archives. In the latter, I also studied extensive material on the Reich Chamber of Music (*Reichsmusikkammer*) and Nazi music policy in general. Finally, to explore other dimensions, I examined material in the Cologne War Theatre Archive (*Kriegstheaterarchiv*), the State Archives (*Staatsarchive*) in Hamburg and Munich, the West German Broadcasting Archive (*Archiv des*

63 See the bibliography. An (outdated) overview is provided by Jaenecke, J. (ed.), *Verzeichnis der Musiknachlässe in Deutschland*, Berlin 2000.

Westdeutschen Rundfunks) and the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam.

The present study basically follows a chronological approach. It is divided into three parts and eleven chapters, which follow a consecutive pattern but overlap to some extent. Part I portrays the life of musicians in the nineteenth century. In the manner of a prologue, chapter one traces the career of Wilhelm Wieprecht, a simple orchestral musician who rose to the top of Prussian military music largely by chance. Wieprecht's life path brings out the quite pre-modern and unprofessional structures of German musical life in the first half of the century. The second chapter is devoted to the emergence and motives for founding the General German Music Association in 1861 and the General German Musicians' Union eleven years later. In these first supra-regional musicians' bodies, which were closely interrelated, for the first time different visions of the occupation of musician between art and labour began to emerge.

Chapter three sheds light on the education system and musicians' everyday working lives in the late nineteenth century. Largely unaffected by state regulation, both fields were subject to the mechanisms of the free market, while the strains it imposed were exacerbated by the privileged position of military music. Constant complaints within the profession about rampant destitution among musicians are an accurate reflection of male musicians' lifeworld in the late nineteenth century. In contrast, women musicians lived in a different world, as chapter four brings out. They gained access to higher education but could scarcely benefit from it because they were still largely denied the opportunity to practice a profession. The nineteenth century, then, offered this occupational group very little: the commercialization of musical life, the expansion of military music, an internally disunited and poorly organized profession, along with powerful gendered orders, made social advancement and social recognition near-impossible.

Against this background, across four chapters, Part II examines projects of professionalization between 1880 and 1930. First, chapter five provides an account of this occupational group's self-civilizing measures and intensified lobbying as reactions to the social question in musical life around 1900, developments that led to gradual improvements and brought musicians closer to the bourgeoisie. Chapter six then outlines musicians' lifeworld during the First World War on both front and home front, exploring to what extent musicians managed to turn the realities of war to their advantage. Chapter seven examines the sometimes highly conflictual division of the occupation into instrumentalists, music teachers and composers: time and again, aesthetic, professional and political antagonisms between these branches eclipsed ini-

tatives towards establishing a musicians' chamber to speak for the entire profession. Finally, chapter eight probes the diverse experiments conducted within the Weimar cultural and welfare state. These ranged from music policy reforms and mini-projects of professionalization with the aid of the new media, through the playing of (and playing with) new musical forms, to efforts to achieve a new professional self-confidence. Though some of these experiments were short-lived, the 1920s as a whole took the occupation of musician irreversibly into the modern age.

In three chapters, Part III traces musicians' lives from the global economic crisis to Nazism and World War II and finally from the Allied occupation to the apogee of the economic miracle in the early 1960s. Chapter nine discusses the aspirations and reality of Nazi music policy. I show that this policy was able to remedy the consequences of the economic crisis only very slowly and inadequately overall. Civilian musical life, including the education system, was neglected in comparison to the Weimar era, to other arts and especially to military music. Chapter ten examines the various forced migrations triggered by the Nazi regime. It illuminates the lifeworlds of musicians on the run and in exile, in ghettos and in concentration camps, but also on the war front, in occupied areas and in the Reich itself. The Nazi regime's expulsion and extermination policies and the Second World War decimated the profession, setting the course in many ways for developments after 1945. Finally, chapter eleven makes it clear that these amounted to a story of social ascent, at least for permanently employed orchestral musicians, regardless of musical genre. Partly due to staffing and institutional continuities, the newly formed German Orchestra Union (*Deutsche Orchestervereinigung*) shaped the fate of the entire profession, while the broadcasting organizations and their musicians dominated the world of light music.

The conclusion summarizes the present study's key findings, places them in an international context and thus brings out the specific developments in German musical life at the crossroads of art, play and labour. In light of this, finally, I draw some conclusions about future research on the history of creative work that tie in with the current debate on this topic.

History does not record whether Pablo Casals would have approved of a music history from below. But the idea does not seem too outlandish. Casals was not only a world-famous cellist and recognized artist. As the founder and director of the *Orquestra Pau Casals* in Barcelona, he was also very familiar with the lifeworld of ordinary musicians and invested a great deal of time and money in an attempt to place his orchestra on a reasonably professional foundation. Casals could certainly have recognized himself and his life as a musician more readily at the fraught interstices of art, play and labour than

solely in the idea of artistic genius.⁶⁴ As we will now see, this applies all the more to the profession as a whole – even in Germany.

64 See Casals, *Licht und Schatten*, 131–139, esp. 137.

PART 1

Lifeworlds in the Nineteenth Century



Wilhelm Wieprecht or on the Life of the Musician in the *Sattelzeit*

Berlin, May 1838. A special kind of concert was in the offing at the Court Opera. A 'grand military music performance for the benefit of the distressed residents of the districts of East Prussia and Lithuania along the Polish border' had been announced.¹ All infantry and cavalry bands of the Royal Guard Corps in Berlin were conducted by its director, Royal Chamber Musician Wilhelm Wieprecht; the military bands were augmented by the opera chorus and two actors from the local theatre. The programme featured a colourful mix of operatic overtures, including those to Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Armide* and Gioachino Rossini's *Wilhelm Tell*, various kinds of marching music and two declamations delivered by actors.²

The concert, which was attended by the very highest social circles – led by King Frederick William III and his guest of honour, Emperor Nicholas I of Russia – but also by an audience of common folk, met with an extremely positive response. The *Berlinische Zeitung* opined that 'the assurance and precision with which every piece of music was performed were testimony both to the performers' talent and to the diligence and meticulousness of the conductors presiding over them.'³

This was the second joint concert by all Berlin's military bands within a short period of time; the first had taken place four days earlier at the city's Schlossplatz to mark the Russian emperor's arrival. On that occasion, in contrast to the event in the opera house, Wieprecht had conducted 16 infantry and 16 cavalry bands plus 200 drummers simultaneously in the open air – around 1,200 military musicians are said to have followed the lead of this diminutive individual in his civilian clothes as they performed the Russian national anthem and a number of marches.⁴ In the shape of the '*monstre*

1 'Königliche Schauspiele', *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* no. 110, 13 May 1838.

2 Ibid.

3 'Militairisches Concert im Opernhause', *ibid.* no. 115, 18 May 1838; see also Kalkbrenner, A., *Wilhelm Wieprecht. Direktor der sämtlichen Musikchöre des Garde-Corps. Sein Leben und Wirken nebst einem Auszug seiner Schriften*, Berlin 1882, 26 f.

4 See Höfele, B., *Die deutsche Militärmusik. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Geschichte*, Cologne 1999, 129 f.

(monster) concert', it was not long before an apt term was found for this type of event, a label that remained inextricably linked with the name of Wilhelm Wieprecht. An 1882 tribute on the tenth anniversary of his death stated that his *monstre* concerts had made him popular 'to an unusual degree': 'The way he conducted his multitude in the Hofjäger, making use of every limb, is forgotten, and in this respect he remains one of a kind. On many hundreds of occasions, thousands laughed about his work as conductor [due to his comical conducting style], and yet the same thousands just as often rapturously applauded him'.⁵

Wieprecht's true significance to the history of the music profession lies in the reforms to military music that he initiated, a topic I will be returning to later. Less well-known, but all the more informative when it comes to musicians' lifeworld in the first half of the nineteenth century, is his musical career. This is because he came into contact with all the important institutions of musical life: the apprentice bands and municipal pipe bands, the municipal orchestra with its array of obligations in church, theatre and the public sphere, the court orchestra and, last but not least, the armed forces. In this prologue-like chapter, then, Wieprecht's life as a musician serves as a guiding thread that brings out the essential characteristics of this occupational field in the *Sattelzeit*.⁶ In contrast to other accounts that emphasize the modernity of bourgeois musical life at the end of this transformative era around 1850, a focus on musicians highlights the ongoing overlap between the traditional courtly and estates-based structures of musical life and newer, bourgeois forms of commercial music. In short, the professionalization of this occupational field was far less advanced in the middle of the century than suggested by a narrow focus on a small number of musical metropolises or famous composers and performers.⁷

5 Newspaper article, undated (1882), in SBB Slg. Darmstaedter 2r 1835 Wieprecht, fol. 8; on his busy schedule of concert work at the Hofjäger and other Berlin entertainment venues, see Jansen, W. and R. Lorenzen, *Possen, Piefke und Posaunen. Sommertheater und Gartenkonzerte in Berlin*, Berlin 1987, 137–144.

6 The research interest in Wieprecht has recently grown considerably beyond the history of military music as narrowly conceived. See for example Applegate, C., 'Men with Trombones', in Applegate, C., *The Necessity of Music: Variations on a German Theme*, Toronto 2017, 311–366. His letters and writings were recently edited; see Hofer, A. and L. Schiwietz (eds.), *Wilhelm Wieprecht (1802–1872). Korrespondenz, Schriften und Dokumente zu Leben und Wirken*, Würzburg 2020.

7 See for example Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, 42–44 and 133 f. In the preface to the second edition, however, Weber qualifies his assumption of modernization somewhat. A similar argument is put forward by Blanning, *Triumph*, 30–57; see also Kaden, C.,

Municipal Pipe Bands

Wilhelm Friedrich Wieprecht was born on 8 August 1802 in Aschersleben. He was the eldest son of Friedrich Jacob Wieprecht, a cavalryman and trumpeter in the Quitzow Carbine Regiment. As a result of the Peace of Tilsit of July 1807, which incorporated this garrison town into the Kingdom of Westphalia for a few years, his father left the armed forces and attained the post of official municipal musician (*Stadtmusicus*).⁸ Wieprecht senior remained in this role until his death in 1845. His son Wilhelm, whom he first taught violin and clarinet, and later trombone, was to become his most famous student. Wieprecht junior's memories of this apprenticeship were quite positive: 'For four full years I was a loyal, obedient apprentice and lived under my father's strict regime, which [...] has had a salutary effect on the rest of my life.'⁹

Like Wieprecht, well into the second half of the nineteenth century and beyond, countless musicians learned their trade in a municipal pipe band (or *Stadtppfeiferei*, to use the historically rooted term for this musical institution). From 1800 onwards, it was increasingly known as the municipal band (*Stadtmusik*) or council band (*Ratsmusik*), and an official municipal musician (*Stadtmusicus*) or so-called municipal musical director (*städtischer Musikdirektor*) was appointed to run it.¹⁰ If we look further back still, the most famous municipal pipers were undoubtedly the Bach family, though Johann Sebastian did not manage to follow in his father Ambrosius's footsteps as head of the municipal band in Eisenach, instead being employed mainly as an organist and cantor.¹¹

The fathers of composers Johannes Brahms and Richard Strauss, however, illustrate that this institution, which dates back to the High Middle Ages, was still having an impact at the dawn of modernity. Johann Jacob Brahms, born in Heide (Holstein) in 1806, was an apprentice musician in his hometown as well as in the neighbouring towns of Meldorf and Wesselburen for a total of five years, before arriving in Hamburg in 1826 in a near-penniless state. He initially earned an income at the entertainment venue on the so-called Hamburger

"Professionalismus in der Musik" – eine Herausforderung an die Musikwissenschaft', in Kaden, C. and V. Kalisch (eds.), *Professionalismus in der Musik*, Essen 1999, 17–31.

8 See Applegate, 'Men', 213 f.

9 Kalkbrenner, *Wilhelm Wieprecht*, 6–8, quotation on 8.

10 On the terminology, see Wolschke, *Stadtppfeiferei*, 68.

11 On the Bach family, see Wolff, C., *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*. Oxford 2001, 13–32. When Ambrosius died in February 1695, Johann Sebastian was only nine years old; see *ibid.*, 33 f.

Berg – the later suburb of St. Pauli.¹² And Franz Strauss, born in 1822 and long a horn soloist at the Munich Court Opera (Hans von Bülow liked to call him ‘Joachim on the French horn’ after the famous violinist) had begun his musical career as apprentice municipal piper to his uncle in Nabburg in the Upper Palatinate. At an advanced age, when his asthma made it impossible for him to play the horn, he benefited once again from his broad musical training, joining the viola section of his orchestra without further ado.¹³

Yet the municipal band around 1800 no longer had a great deal in common with the old institution of the municipal pipe band – and as the century wore on the common ground diminished further. The latter had emerged here and there in the Holy Roman Empire from the fourteenth century onwards and, on a broader basis, in the mid-sixteenth century out of councils’ need for music to representative ends.¹⁴ Municipal pipers were recruited mainly from among the hordes of itinerant minstrels, who thus became more settled and gained permanent employment. In the early modern period, the pipers’ main tasks included sounding the daily fanfare (*Abblasen*) from the municipal tower, providing a musical framing for council events such as elections or visits from rulers, playing market music, framing church services and providing musical training in accordance with guild regulations, that is, in the form of apprenticeships and the training of journeymen. In return, the pipe bands gained a musical monopoly within a given municipality, including the right to participate in annual processions, crowned by the New Year’s parade. Municipal musicians’ exclusive right to perform music within a town or city ensured them a certain, though usually rather meagre, income. Employment by the municipality entailed a salary in certain places, while in others it merely involved the adventitious provision of items such as wood, grain, clothing or free beer – and sometimes these musicians received no material compensation at all.¹⁵

12 See Hofmann, K., *‘Sehnsucht habe ich immer nach Hamburg ...’: Johannes Brahms und seine Vaterstadt. Legende und Wirklichkeit*, Reinbek 2003, 9–16.

13 See Walter, M., *Richard Strauss und seine Zeit*, Laaber 2000, 35–37.

14 Lüneburg (1335) and Frankfurt am Main (1348) are considered to be the first towns in the Holy Roman Empire to employ musicians. Beyond its borders, the evidence points to the same development at an earlier stage in Florence (1291) and Ypres (1297). See Schwab, H. W., ‘Stadtpeifer’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 24, edited by S. Sadie, Oxford 2001, 252–254, here 252.

15 See Wolschke, *Stadtpeiferei*, 17–24; Michel, P., ‘Die Ausbildung des Orchestermusikers im 19. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musikerziehung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse in Thüringen’, Dissertation Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 1957, 6.

After the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, the institution of the guild-based municipal band faced a stern test in many places. Amid the general pressure to modernize triggered by the French Revolution and the advance of Napoleon, reformers targeted trade and industrial policy. In Prussia, it was primarily financial motives that prompted State Chancellor Karl August Fürst von Hardenberg to introduce a general trade tax, and thus indirectly freedom of trade, in the autumn of 1810, whose precise form was laid down only a year later. The edicts of 1810–11, based on the French or Westphalian model, did not abolish the guild system, but eliminated the privileges enjoyed by guild members vis-à-vis their freelance counterparts, which gave the latter the right to take on apprentices and journeymen. In the shape of freelancing musicians, this created additional competition for the municipal pipe bands within musical life. Until then, they had shared their field of work mainly with musicians in the princely court orchestras and licensed theatre orchestras.¹⁶

Even so, it is astonishing how early the academic literature places the decline of municipal music and how much it associates such music with derogatory evaluations of quality. With a focus on Munich, Walter Salmen locates the ‘declining “trade of municipal musician” at the beginning of the nineteenth century’ chiefly in the inn and, among other things, cites ‘waning professional ethics’ and ‘inadequate training’ as reasons for this development.¹⁷ Heinrich W. Schwab, meanwhile, has municipal pipe bands dying out virtually in parallel with the French Revolution. Freedom of trade, along with the mounting technical requirements of classical and romantic compositions, ‘led to the replacement of the old *Stadtpipeifer* – the all-round musician – by a new type, the specialist, whose education was provided by the newly established conservatories of music’, Schwab asserts.¹⁸

In contrast, Wieprecht’s career is an impressive and exemplary case demonstrating that municipal music remained an important point of reference in musicians’ lifeworld even in the first half of the nineteenth century. After four years of apprenticeship under his father, with the active support of clarinet virtuoso Johann Simon Hermstedt, Wieprecht made the leap to the city of Leipzig

16 For a general account of the pressure to modernize, see Möller, H., *Fürstenstaat oder Bürgernation. Deutschland 1763–1815*, Berlin 1998, 595–632. On the trade regulations in Prussia, see Quante, C., ‘Die geistesgeschichtlichen Grundlagen und die Entwicklung der Gewerbefreiheit in Deutschland’, Dissertation Universität Münster 1984, 45–55. Details can be found in Mascher, H. A., *Das deutsche Gewerbewesen von der frühesten Zeit bis auf die Gegenwart*, Potsdam 1866, 484–495.

17 See Salmen, *Beruf*, 139 f.

18 Schwab, ‘*Stadtpipeifer*’, 253.

in Saxony. Hermstedt's letter of recommendation did not prompt Leipzig's official municipal musician Wilhelm Leberecht Barth to offer Wieprecht a job but did at least result in a successful referral to his colleague Johann Gottlieb Zillmann in Dresden, where he started work in November 1821. In this royal capital, between the daily beer hall concerts and dance events, Wieprecht made the acquaintance of court conductor Carl Maria von Weber while providing stage music for an operatic performance. On his recommendation, he was fortunate enough to receive lessons from Louis Haase, a violinist in the court orchestra.

But his stint by the Elbe also made the young Wieprecht familiar with the dark side of a municipal musician's life. First, a three-week period of national mourning was detrimental to his finances as musical entertainment was prohibited for the duration. Lent followed shortly afterwards, with another ban on the playing of music. As a result, his basic salary fell to a meagre twelve groschen a week, and many of his fellow apprentices took to their heels.¹⁹

After almost nine months, Wieprecht moved on as well. He was steered back to Leipzig by official municipal musician Leberecht Barth, ushering in what he himself described as a happy period of his life. In Leipzig, he had the opportunity to play trombone in the theatre orchestra, received lessons at no cost from the concertmaster of the theatre and concert orchestra, August Matthaei, and played violin at concerts in the *Gewandhaus*. Through Matthaei, he also gained access to Leipzig's elite social circles. The more he frequented them, to cite Wieprecht's own words, 'the more painfully aware I was of the shortcomings in my academic education. Only then did I feel deeply that, despite my practical experience, I was more craftsman than true musician (*Tonkünstler*)'.²⁰

But this municipal musician was soon receiving private lessons in German, literature, geography and history, and even attended lectures by philosopher and music historian Johann Amadeus Wendt, who was the first to apply the term 'classical period' to music history, that is, to the Viennese trio of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.²¹ He described everyday life in the Barth household on *Stadtpeiffergässchen* ('City Pipers' Lane') as pleasant; the shared mealtimes had 'most beautifully expressed the sense of togetherness that we all felt'. At

19 See Kalkbrenner, *Wilhelm Wieprecht*, 10–13.

20 *Ibid.*, 15.

21 As for example in Wendt, J. A., *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Musik besonders in Deutschland, und wie er geworden*, Göttingen 1836, 3. See also Chèvremont, A., 'L'émergence de la notion de classique dans la musique chez Amadeus Wendt (1783–1836)', *Cahiers d'études germaniques* vol. 65, 2013, 59–72.

last, he felt that his work was in some measure appreciated: on holidays, he stated, the mayor visited the council band in person, serving the musicians wine.²²

Municipal Theatres

While Wieprecht's social activities between guild room and scholarly circles were certainly something very special at the time, the radius of his professional activities between beer hall and concert hall was far from unusual. The history of the Leipzig *Gewandhaus* Orchestra, in whose concerts Wieprecht participated as a journeyman violinist for two years, points up the still fluid nature of the transitions between council band and concert ensemble as well as between service for theatre and church in the first half of the nineteenth century. We can also discern how the old municipal band became an important nucleus for the formation of the modern symphony orchestra – a process of transformation that Leipzig experienced relatively early but that continued into the twentieth century in some parts of Germany.²³

Around half the members of the so-called *Großes Konzert* (Grand Concert) ensemble, which was founded in 1743 in Leipzig on the private initiative of a concert society, were former municipal musicians. The other half was made up of members of the student orchestra, probably being conducted by Johann Sebastian Bach at the time.²⁴ While the associated series of concerts, which was financed mainly by Leipzig businessmen, had to be suspended repeatedly a few years later due to the Seven Years' War and the famine, a privately run theatre orchestra was formed around the same time on the occasion of a guest performance by an Italian opera company. Such theatre groups came to town so regularly that the new orchestra was always busy. In any case, for the most part the same musicians played in it as in the concert orchestra, partly because the municipal musicians were unable to put together an orchestra under their own steam.²⁵

22 Kalkbrenner, *Wilhelm Wieprecht*, 14–16.

23 See chapter 5.

24 As Wolff, *Bach*, 354 surmises. Bach, however, played no role in this initiative, possibly due to an excessive workload or because of his status as *Thomaskantor* (musical director of Leipzig's *Thomanerchor*), which may have been incompatible with private projects, but perhaps also on aesthetic grounds. See Nösselt, H.-J., *Das Gewandhausorchester. Entstehung und Entwicklung eines Orchesters*, Leipzig 1943, 33.

25 See Jung, H.-R., *Das Gewandhausorchester. Seine Mitglieder und seine Geschichte seit 1743. Mit Beiträgen zur Kultur- und Zeitgeschichte von C. Böhm*, Leipzig 2006, 34–36.

While the concert society revived the *Großes Konzert* in August 1781, moving it into the *Gewandhaus*, a trading house for cloth makers and wool merchants that had been expanded to host concerts, the concert and theatre orchestras initially remained loosely organized. It was pending negotiations with Italian theatre entrepreneurs that prompted more than twenty musicians to sign a reciprocity contract in July 1786, which established a 'musical society united in pursuit of the highest of aims'.²⁶ This contract regulated staffing issues, laid down disciplinary and organizational rules for the theatre orchestra and established a pension fund financed by membership fees, charitable events and endowments. Though eventually the only significant provision that remained was the pension fund, this founding document marked a turning point for the Leipzig musicians: it heralded a new self-conception as a permanent orchestral entity and as a solidary musical community.²⁷

Among the twenty-one founding members were the four municipal pipers and three violinists, so-called *Kunstgeiger*, who formed the Leipzig council band at the time.²⁸ Their main task, in addition to sounding the fanfare from the town hall, was to play church music at the weekend. In the wake of a reform, in 1805 the council band was not only centralized, but also enlarged and linked even more closely with the theatre and concert orchestra. The four municipal pipers and three violinists were replaced by a single official municipal musician (*Stadtmusikus*), who was given overall control and was responsible for running an educational institute organized on a guild basis. In addition, in the shape of concertmaster Matthaei, cellist Friedrich Dotzauer and double bassist Karl Gottfried Wach, the three best strings in the concert orchestra were turned into church musicians and were thus permanently employed by the city.²⁹

26 Forner, J. (ed.), *Die Gewandhauskonzerte zu Leipzig 1781–1981*, Leipzig 1981, 50; Creuzburg, E., *Die Gewandhaus-Konzerte zu Leipzig 1781–1931*, Leipzig 1931, 21–23; Hennenberg, F., *Das Leipziger Gewandhausorchester*, Leipzig 1984, 12–14.

27 The reciprocity contract is reprinted in Nösselt, *Das Gewandhausorchester*, 52–57. See also Böhm, C. and S.-W. Staps (eds.), *Das Leipziger Stadt- und Gewandhausorchester. Dokumente einer 250-jährigen Geschichte*, Leipzig 1993, 36. The establishment of a pension fund was, however, nothing new. A scheme of this kind had been instituted in Dresden in 1712 and in Vienna in 1771.

28 See the orchestral list in Nösselt, *Das Gewandhausorchester*, 241–256.

29 They ultimately occupied the three *Kunstgeiger* positions, since one of the violinists, Gottlob Anton Maurer, had been appointed official municipal musician and another had died; for the third, an additional position was created in the municipal pipe band. See Hempel, G., 'Das Ende der Leipziger Ratsmusik im 19. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* no. 15, 1958, 187–197, here 189–191.

The idea that this reform was a reaction to a decline in quality in the municipal band, as repeatedly suggested in the literature,³⁰ appears doubtful. First, violinist Gottlob Anton Maurer, a veteran municipal musician, was appointed as head of the reformed institution. Second, all the municipal musicians also played in the concert orchestra. And third, there are some indications that, for reasons of prestige, the city fathers wished to listen to the best musicians not only at concerts and in the theatre, but also at church services. Hence, rather than looking to compensate for declining standards, they sought to enhance the council band's artistic status.

In line with this, the city showed little interest in winding up the council band. On the contrary, after Maurer had died of typhus in 1813 during the Battle of Leipzig (along with seven other orchestra members), he was succeeded by Leberecht Barth, though this entailed no change in his rights or duties. His commission of 1821 confirmed the official municipal musician's duties as sounding the fanfare and performing church music, while his rights comprised a monopoly on wedding, funeral and ball music.³¹ Against this background, it comes as no surprise that Wieprecht, as a Leipzig-based journeyman musician, had a positive view of the city fathers.

Twenty years later, however, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy came to a very different conclusion about the Leipzig Council and its music policy. In October 1839, more than four years after he had become musical director of the *Gewandhaus* Orchestra, Mendelssohn addressed himself to the city's leaders in order to underline to them the precarious situation of his musicians. This well-travelled composer and conductor was well aware of his orchestra's outstanding quality. In his view, while other bands had a greater number of individual virtuosos, 'only very few exhibit greater excellence when it comes to ensemble playing and musical education'. Furthermore, nowhere else had he 'witnessed so few examples of insubordination, disorder and coarse, immoral conduct', behaviours of which he had had ample experience in other locations – and that he feared would come to blight Leipzig in the foreseeable future as well, should the city fail to provide greater support for the orchestra. He also believed the more gifted musicians would soon leave Leipzig unless something changed quickly.³²

30 See Böhm and Staps, *Leipziger*, 49; Hempel, 'Ende', 189. This supposed difference in quality is also emphasized by Spitzer, J. and N. Zaslav, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815*, Oxford 2004, 428–433.

31 See Hempel, 'Ende', 191 f.

32 'Mendelssohn an den Rat der Stadt Leipzig, 8.10.1839', in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 7: *Oktober 1839 bis Februar 1841*, edited by I. Jach and L. Schiwietz, Kassel 2013, here 29 f.

There were plenty of grounds for complaint. The orchestra's obligations to play in churches, at concerts and in the theatre had further increased, due especially to the establishment of the City Theatre in 1817, while rates of remuneration had increased only negligibly. In addition, in view of the growing number of events, it was necessary to rehearse ever more often and at ever greater length. In the theatre orchestra alone, by the end of 1829, no less than sixty rehearsals had taken place since the beginning of the season in September, though the same number was envisaged contractually for the entire season.³³ At the same time, the artistic demands made by composers and conductors in terms of work and interpretation grew significantly. This had serious physical effects, as concertmaster Ferdinand David reported to his conductor: 'On some days I played in the orchestra for ten hours, which left me with a bad arm, and I had to have ten leeches put on it.'³⁴

His orchestra, as Mendelssohn continued his lament, routinely had to play at the theatre and concert hall at the same time, which made the use of substitutes indispensable. However, he explained, these were hard to come by, since neither the municipal band nor other freelance musicians could be forced to play, and commercial music-making was far more lucrative. Meanwhile, Mendelssohn sometimes spotted his musicians, whose contractual duties were far greater than those of the municipal ensemble, immediately after a concert at an inn, where they played 'waltzes and marches', walked around with their hats and 'collected more than double the amount they had earned from the concert'.³⁵

In view of this precarious situation, Mendelssohn called on the council to require another orchestra, the so-called *Vereinigtes Musikchor*,³⁶ to carry out substitute service in the theatre and to engage the services of the *Gewandhaus* Orchestra as a whole to perform in churches, for which the city should

33 See Böhm and Staps, *Leipziger*, 76. For a detailed treatment of the expansion of church music, see Hempel, G., 'Von der Leipziger Ratsmusik zum Stadt- und Gewandhausorchester. Die Entwicklung des Leipziger Orchesterwesens in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', Dissertation Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig 1961, 44–50.

34 'David an Mendelssohn, 15.5.1838', quoted in Schreiber, O., *Orchester und Orchesterpraxis in Deutschland zwischen 1780 und 1850*, Berlin 1938, 73.

35 'Mendelssohn an den Rat der Stadt Leipzig, 8.10.1839', in Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Briefe*, here 35.

36 The *Vereinigtes Musikchor* was a thorn in Mendelssohn's side, particularly because it could act freely to a great extent yet received a substantial subsidy from the municipal authorities. It had been founded in 1833 in the wake of a break-away by nine apprentices in Leberecht Barth's municipal band who were dissatisfied with his leadership. See Hempel, 'Ende', 192–194.

provide an annual pay rise of 500 thalers.³⁷ The problem of substitute service for the theatre, however, initially went unresolved. It was not until 1864 that the *Gewandhaus* musicians were exempted from playing interludes.³⁸ But when it came to his pecuniary demands the city fathers were more willing to listen to Mendelssohn, though of course they imposed conditions of their own. In return for the new funds, the council secured the right to administer and oversee the orchestra's pension scheme. As a result, in 1840 the *Gewandhaus* Orchestra was finally transformed from a private theatre and concert orchestra into a 'municipal orchestra' that was recognized and subsidized by the council and that now exclusively provided church music – the municipal band's original, core function.³⁹

It is futile to discuss whether the municipal orchestras that emerged in many parts of Germany in the course of the nineteenth century ousted the municipal band, as in Leipzig, or whether the municipal band reinvented itself as an orchestra.⁴⁰ More important when it comes to Leipzig is the finding that by the middle of the century these institutions were still closely interwoven in terms of personnel and function. From a social and economic point of view, then, it was by no means necessarily more appealing to be an orchestral musician than to play in the municipal band. In fact, the new municipal orchestra, the direct successor to the municipal band, formed in 1840 and consisting of 27 musicians, constituted the true core of the famous *Gewandhaus* Orchestra, and only these 27 signed decent contracts featuring pension entitlements. The remaining 15 (later 27) musicians hired by the theatre company completed the renowned ensemble, but with significantly worse conditions and with no prospect of a pension.⁴¹

37 Ibid., 35 f.

38 See Hempel, I. and G. Hempel, '250 Jahre Gewandhausorchester', in *Musikstadt Leipzig 1993*, edited by Rat der Stadt Leipzig, Leipzig 1993, 58–81, here 67 f. On interludes, see also chapter 2.

39 See Jung, *Gewandhausorchester*, 95–97. See also *Vortrag die Verhältnisse des Stadtorchesters betreffend, erstattet von der Rathsdeputation für das Theater und Musikwesen*, Leipzig 1881.

40 This must be determined on a case-by-case basis. In Göttingen, the orchestra gradually emerged from the municipal band. See Egdorf, B., 'Die Göttinger Stadtmusik in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Göttinger Jahrbuch* no. 38, 1990, 127–141. The Braunschweig municipal band was scrapped in 1828, though no specific successor institution had been established. See Greve, W., *Braunschweiger Stadtmusikanten. Geschichte eines Berufsstandes, 1227–1828*, Braunschweig 1991, 239–245. The thesis of continuity is espoused in particular by Wolschke, *Stadtppfeiferei*, 67 f.

41 See Jung, *Gewandhausorchester*, 97–99 and 153–155; *Vortrag*, 52–55.

Furthermore, the musicians' brief average stint in the orchestra demonstrates that the working conditions at the *Gewandhaus* were anything but satisfactory. This is also evident in individual biographies, such as that of flautist Christian Gottlieb Belcke, who left the *Gewandhaus* Orchestra in 1832 to take up the post of official municipal musician in Lucka, or violist Christian Matthies, who tried and failed to obtain such a position in Greiz in 1861.⁴² Hence, by mid-century, if at all, we can discern merely the beginnings of a clear job hierarchy within the music world that tied income and social prestige to certain musical institutions.

Typologizing accounts that seek to make qualitative contrasts between the municipal pipe band and the concert orchestra thus fail to capture the historical realities of many musicians' lives in the nineteenth century. This is also apparent in the education system of the time. In 1840, for instance, around half the musicians in the *Gewandhaus* Orchestra had still received their training from an official municipal musician or in a municipal pipe band, and many of them, like Wieprecht, had been both municipal musician and orchestra member before the municipal orchestra was established. The founding of the Leipzig Conservatoire (*Leipziger Konservatorium*) in 1843, which took place thanks to Mendelssohn's efforts, did little to change things for up-and-coming musicians in the first instance: this establishment initially dedicated itself mainly to the training of soloists, such that relatively few of its graduates found their way to the *Gewandhaus*.⁴³

Last but not least, musicians from both institutions largely drew on the same repertoire. While that of the municipal band traditionally encompassed all genres, from so-called utility music (*Gebrauchsmusik*) to concerts, the *Gewandhaus* Orchestra provided musical entertainment during theatre service in the shape of vaudevilles and Viennese farces (*Wiener Possen*), among other things, as Mendelssohn reported.⁴⁴ In fact, orchestra members appeared so often at private entertainments that it led to disputes with the official municipal musician, who felt his privileges were being infringed.⁴⁵ Hence, the *Gewandhaus* musicians were anything but tied to a particular genre.

42 See Nösselt, *Das Gewandhausorchester*, 242 and 249; on Greiz, see Michel, 'Ausbildung', 38 f.

43 See Jung, *Gewandhausorchester*, 98. A similar argument is made by Wolschke, *Stadt-pfeiferei*, 69–71. Wasserloos, in contrast, contends that many students took up posts at the *Gewandhaus* after their graduation; see Wasserloos, *Konservatorium*, 9.

44 See 'Mendelssohn an den Rat der Stadt, 8.10.1839', in Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Briefe*, here 31. On the municipal band's repertoire, see also Egdorf, 'Göttinger Stadtmusik', 133.

45 See Hempel, 'Ende', 194.

As is well known, the *Gewandhaus* Orchestra gained an excellent reputation as a first-class concert orchestra in German territories and beyond during the *Sattelzeit*. Not least because of this reputation, it drew Mendelssohn Bartholdy, in the words of musicologist Richard Taruskin, ‘perhaps the nineteenth century’s most important – and successful – civic musician’,⁴⁶ to Leipzig in 1836. In view of this artistic excellence, it is all the more surprising that the socio-economic circumstances in Leipzig were so straitened and that the maintenance of boundaries with other musical worlds proved virtually impossible in practice. If not at the Leipzig *Gewandhaus*, where could one have expected to find a well-funded orchestra specializing in classical music in Germany around 1850?

Court Orchestras

Of course, Leipzig was not a royal seat, and the *Gewandhaus* was not a court orchestra such as the Royal Berlin Court Orchestra (*Königliche Berliner Hofkapelle*), to which Wilhelm Wieprecht moved in May 1824 after almost two years in Leipzig. He hoped that this would advance his career and he was evidently a beneficiary of the court orchestra’s expansion; it had grown from 60 to over 90 permanent positions since Gaspare Spontini took up the position of chief music director (*Generalmusikdirektor*) in 1820.⁴⁷ Compared to Leipzig, however, Wieprecht found work at the court orchestra far less varied, describing it as ‘a daily monotony’, and he also criticized the lack of discipline. Generally, he contended, symphonic music did not get its fair share of performance time and usually took place only in bits and pieces during theatrical interludes, when it attracted ‘very little attention’. He also found his financial situation highly unsatisfactory.⁴⁸

Wieprecht’s descriptions of the court orchestra are consonant with the picture painted by musicology, according to which the ensemble was regarded as the conservative element par excellence in Berlin’s musical life at the time. Spontini even tended to put concertmaster Carl Moeser in charge of Beeth-

46 Taruskin, R., *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 3: *The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 2005, 171.

47 See Henzel, C., ‘Zur Professionalität des höfischen Orchestermusikers im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert’, in C. Kaden and V. Kalisch (eds.), *Professionalismus in der Musik*, Essen 1999, 179–184, here 180 f.; Haedler, M., ‘425 Jahre Musik für Berlin’, in G. Quander (ed.), *Klangbilder. Portrait der Staatskapelle Berlin*, Frankfurt am Main 1995, 11–31, here 16 f.

48 Kalkbrenner, *Wilhelm Wieprecht*, 16 f.

oven's symphonies; while the latter deployed musicians from the court orchestra in these concertos, this was not part of its official programme.⁴⁹ However, there was no inevitable aesthetic gap between musical institutions serving different parts of society. Even social hierarchies were by no means firmly bound to these institutions. Musicologist Christoph Henzel has already drawn attention to the fundamental ambivalences of court musicianship: high social prestige was paired with an uncertain post that depended on the whims of the ruler and could be terminated from one day to the next.⁵⁰ This dependency was expressed not least in the fact that in the nineteenth century court musicians were still sometimes used as cupbearers or had to serve at table, reflecting their classification as court servants. In addition, the salary level differed considerably from one court to another: while Christoph-Hellmut Mahling assumes that average court musicians were usually in the middle of the court hierarchy and thus made a good living, in Darmstadt, for example, monetary salaries for musicians were not even introduced until 1819, and municipal musicians in Württemberg around 1800 earned significantly more than their counterparts at court.⁵¹

As court theatres were placed in public hands, opened to the general public and subjected to market forces over the course of the nineteenth century, court musicians then began to lose social prestige, although in some places this was offset by greater job security. In the Prussian court orchestra, where Wieprecht found employment, by 1811 Frederick William III had already abandoned the aristocratic organizational approach to the orchestra as a fully financed representative institution and had introduced the principle of merit. The orchestra was obliged to perform regular theatre duties and had to generate a large part of its budget through public ticket sales. This was paralleled by a reduction

49 See Mahling, C.-H., 'Zum "Musikbetrieb" Berlins und seinen Institutionen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', in C. Dahlhaus (ed.), *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, Regensburg 1980, 27–284, here 28–34; Haedler, '425 Jahre', 17 f.

50 See Henzel, C., 'Zum sozialen Status der Orchestermusiker in der preußischen Hofkapelle um 1800', *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* no. 34, 1992, 76–105, here 76 f.; Mittmann, J.-P., 'Musikerberuf und bürgerliches Bildungsideal', in R. Koselleck (ed.), *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2: *Bildungsgüter und Bildungswissen*, Stuttgart 1990, 237–258, here 243.

51 See Mahling, C.-H., 'The Origin and Social Status of the Court Orchestral Musician in the 18th and early 19th Century in Germany', in W. Salmen (ed.), *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, New York 1983, 219–264, here 241–252; Schreiber, *Orchester*, 14–18.

in salaries along with a significant increase in work; the *quid pro quo* was a secure, permanent position.⁵²

Looking back over the first half of the century, however, cultural historian and folklorist Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl discerned a far more fundamental loss of status for many court musicians. An early cultural pessimist, in his 1851 book *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft* ('Bourgeois Society'), the second part of his four-volume *Naturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes* ('Natural History of the German People'), Riehl perceived the emergence of a 'fourth estate', which he called the 'intellectual proletariat' and which, he stated, was recruited to a significant degree from among former court musicians:

It is among musicians that we first encounter a fully developed artistic proletariat. While it is hardly customary to evaluate artistic developments from a social standpoint, there can be little doubt, for example, that the collapse of the old Holy Roman Empire played no small part in the decline of an authentic German tradition of instrumental music. Once there ceased to be as many princes in the empire as days in the year, the number of court orchestras also declined, and as a consequence instrumental music became deprived of its sturdy material foundation. The solid court musician of old became transformed into the modern touring virtuoso, and with this change in social position the methods and aims of instrumental music as a whole became completely distorted.⁵³

Although the musical lifeworld at court varied depending on the coffers and a given ruler's enthusiasm for art, and must therefore be assessed on a case by case basis, by and large – with Riehl – it is fair to say that from the dawn of the bourgeois era to the second half of the nineteenth century, even musicians who played in court orchestras had little prospect of improving their social and economic position. Whether employed at court, by a municipality or privately, orchestral musicians generally failed to join the ranks of their increasingly bourgeois audience. Instead, regardless of their growing professional self-image as artists, they remained on the same social level as wage labourers and craftsmen.⁵⁴ Riehl's evocation of the 'fourth estate' seems some-

52 See Henzel, 'Professionalität'; Henzel, 'Status', 94 f. Orchestral musicians occupied a relatively low position within the social hierarchy of court theatres. See Daniel, U., *Hoftheater. Zur Geschichte des Theaters und der Höfe im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1995, 140–142.

53 Riehl, W. H., *The Natural History of the German People*. Translated by David J. Diephouse. Lewiston, NY 1990, 239.

54 See Mittmann, 'Musikerberuf', 245.

what exaggerated with respect to the middle of the century; as a prophetic vision of the future, it was spot on.

Military Bands

In view of the lifeworld at court, it is understandable that Wieprecht looked around for other fields of activity that might provide him with additional income. Shortly after his arrival in Berlin, he discovered one such option in the shape of military music. The garrison city of Berlin provided ideal conditions for this. Around 1820, the armed forces, with more than 16,000 soldiers, made up around 8 percent of Berlin's total population of about 200,000. By about 1850, thirteen guard regiments were stationed on the Spree.⁵⁵ Marching and strolling soldiers, then, were a common sight in the cityscape, just as their music shaped the urban soundscape. In fact, Wieprecht experienced a profound sense of awakening when he heard an infantry band play Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Figaro* overture on the way to a parade.

In 1829, he received his first official appointment, to the 'Regiment Garde du Corps' in Potsdam, where he was entrusted with instructing the trumpeters. Nine years later, in February 1838, Frederick William III appointed him director of all the Guard Corps' bands; the concerts held in May of the same year saw his first major appearances in this capacity. However, he not only remained a civilian, but also kept his job in the court orchestra for the rest of his life.⁵⁶

Wieprecht's musical career between municipal, court and military ensembles was more rule than exception for civilian musicians in the first half of the nineteenth century. Even military musicians experienced such hybrid scenarios at times, as Louis Spohr discovered when he took up his post as conductor at the Kassel court in 1822. There he found an orchestra made up of military and civilian musicians. Spohr's attempts to remove the military musicians failed because they held positions for life just like their civilian colleagues. Even the composer's request to have the entire orchestra perform in uniform or entirely without failed to sway the elector. 'To the astonishment of every foreigner visitor', as Spohr recalled, this 'motley orchestra' thus existed until 1830, when the revolution resulted in the installation of a new government. In terms of quality, however, this mixture caused no problems. On the

55 See Mahling, 'Musikbetrieb', 27 f.

56 See *ibid.*, 18–25; Panoff, P., *Militärmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Berlin 1938, 153 f. According to Höfele, however, he was soon freed from the need to perform regular orchestral duties. See Höfele, *Militärmusik*, 129.

contrary, the conductor explicitly praised the military musicians as ‘outstanding artists’.⁵⁷

Wieprecht aspired to train military musicians in such a way as to make artists of them. Thanks to his activities in Berlin, Potsdam and beyond, military music and military musicians gained significantly in social importance and remained an important factor for the profession into the twentieth century. First, Wieprecht fundamentally reformed the military band. The time was ripe for such a project, not least because the introduction of compulsory military service in Prussia in 1813 and the subsequent wars of liberation made the military band accessible to broad sections of the population. With this transition to a *Volksarmee* or national army, the bands also grew steadily in size. The period of peace that followed the wars of liberation in Prussia and the entire German Confederation and, apart from the short-lived unrest in the central German states around 1830, ended only with the 1848 revolution, also benefited the development of the military band. This peaceful era gave Wieprecht the time he needed to try out and implement important innovations in the field of wind instrument construction.⁵⁸

For example, he got the cavalry to use the new valve trumpet despite opposition from the advocates of the traditional natural trumpet, thereby expanding the musical possibilities of this branch of the armed forces and also alleviating its qualitative musical shortcomings compared with the infantry band.⁵⁹ He then devoted himself to the further development of various wind instruments such that different instruments could be more easily combined with each other and in order to achieve greater tonal balance. He thus introduced new instruments while helping redesign others, such as the bass tuba, which soon became a permanent feature of the symphony orchestra.⁶⁰ Finally, Wieprecht provided a new instrumental system in which all the instruments used in the

57 Spohr, L., *Lebenserinnerungen*, edited by F. Göthel, Tutzing 1968, 128.

58 See Heidler, M. F., ‘Militärreformen im Spiegel der Militärmusik’, in: K.-H. Lutz (ed.), *Reform – Reorganisation – Transformation. Zum Wandel in deutschen Streitkräften von den preußischen Heeresreformen bis zur Transformation der Bundeswehr*, München 2010, 523–543. here 523–529; Müller, R., and M. Lachmann, *Spielmann – Trompeter – Hoboist. Aus der Geschichte der deutschen Militärmusiker*, Berlin 1988, 26–33; Kandler, G., ‘Zur Geschichte der deutschen Soldatenmusik’, in B. Schwertfeger and O. Volkmann (eds.), *Die Deutsche Soldatenkunde*, Leipzig 1937, 472–523, here 486–490. On 1830 and 1848, see Mommsen, W. J., *1848, die ungewollte Revolution. Die revolutionären Bewegungen in Europa*, 1830–1849, Frankfurt am Main 1998, 49–52 and 108–120.

59 See Höfele, *Militärmusik*, 121 f.; Müller and Lachmann, *Spielmann*, 30.

60 See Cottrell, S., *The Saxophone*, New Haven 2013, 41 f.; Kalkbrenner, *Wilhelm Wieprecht*, 88–97.

various military music formations could be integrated into one score. It was by standardizing and modernizing military music in this way that Wieprecht laid the ground for military bands to penetrate the public sphere.⁶¹

Second, Wieprecht went beyond this groundwork, deploying all his creative energy to secure a prominent place for the military band in German musical life. He was active as a composer and, perhaps even more importantly, as a tireless arranger. While even his own compositional work did not focus exclusively on marches and other military music, but also included instrumental fantasies and solo concertos, the original templates for his arrangements were all operatic overtures and symphonies from the First Viennese School and the Romantic genre.⁶² In short, to a substantial degree it was down to this bandmaster in civilian dress that the military band was removed from the straightjacket of pure utility music and opened up to the repertoire of the classical concert. Together with the improvement in the quality of these ensembles, this programmatic expansion palpably enhanced the status of military music within society, as reflected, for example, in the praise heaped upon Wieprecht's musical activities by Hector Berlioz and Franz Liszt.⁶³

Unlike the bourgeois concert, the military music concert strove not for social distinction but for a position at the centre of society.⁶⁴ Thanks in part to Wieprecht's reforms, his compositions and arrangements, the military concert soon became part of Berlin's everyday musical life. In summer especially, a military band could be heard in almost every public garden. While it is fair to say that Wieprecht is the best-known figure associated with events of this kind, he was by no means the first. The pioneer of the garden concert was Friedrich

61 See Höfele, *Militärmusik*, 122–125 and 132 f. What I have in mind here is the bugle music of the infantry battalions, the trumpet music of the cavalry and artillery regiments, the French horn music of the light infantry battalions (*Jäger-Bataillone*) and engineer battalions (*Pionier-Bataillone*) and the Janissary music of the infantry regiments. This tableau enabled different formations to make music together and thus made Wieprecht's large-scale events centred on military music possible in the first place.

62 See Kalkbrenner, *Wilhelm Wieprecht*, 69–72. Among other things, Wieprecht arranged five symphonies by Beethoven and Mozart's *Jupiter* symphony for military music ensembles.

63 See Müller and Lachmann, *Spielmann*, 31; Michel, 'Ausbildung', 164. On Berlioz, see Jansen and Lorenzen, *Possen*, 104 f.; Liszt was extremely gratified that Wieprecht wished to arrange his symphonic poem *Tasso* for military music. See Kalkbrenner, *Wilhelm Wieprecht*, 52 f.

64 Friedrich Deisenroth, head of the *Bundeswehr*'s Staff Band (*Stabs-Musikkorps*) in the early days of West Germany, went so far as to compare the role of military bands in the nineteenth century with the phonograph record and radio in the twentieth century. See Deisenroth, F., *Deutsche Militärmusik in fünf Jahrhunderten. Die Entwicklung von der Feldmusik zur modernen Militärmusik*, Wiesbaden 1961, 26 f.

Weller, but numerous other local heroes and guests from abroad, such as Austrian ‘military music marvel’ Josef Gungl, ensured that the Berlin audiences were kept entertained.⁶⁵

Third and finally, in addition to popularizing marching and art music, for Wieprecht these concerts served another purpose: he considered regular public performances by military musicians a crucial part of a holistic musical education. In line with this, a posthumous appraisal of the conductor stated that ‘another well-conceived result of the aforementioned Wieprechtian supervision of the Prussian army’s distinct training in tonal art is that the musicians are permitted to practice their art in public entertainment venues as a sideline’.⁶⁶

But this is not the only indication of Wieprecht’s deep concern for up-and-coming (military) musicians and his focus on quality assurance and improvement. He was one of the first to advocate systematic training for bandmasters. Though he was unable to implement his plan to establish a conservatoire for military conductors at court,⁶⁷ his socio-political engagement on behalf of military musicians fell on more fertile ground. For example, he established a widow’s fund for the surviving dependents of deceased military musicians and in 1859 he set up a pension fund for bandmasters in the Prussian army.⁶⁸

In sum, Wieprecht had a dual influence on the occupation of musician. First, he helped anchor military music in public space, and second, he sought to improve military musicians’ skills as well as their social and economic position. His reforms reached far beyond the garrison, both socially and musically, ‘such that’, as Celia Applegate pithily states, ‘at some point it becomes impossible to say whether military music was pacified or civilian music was militarized’.⁶⁹

65 Jansen and Lorenzen, *Possen*, 125–130, quotation on 125; see also Chop, M., *Geschichte der deutschen Militärmusik*, Hannover 1925, 15 f.

66 See A. L. Rode, ‘Der alte Wieprecht. Skizze’. Offprint of article in *Deutsche Landes-Zeitung*, Berlin 1878, in SBB Slg. Darmstaedter 2r 1835 Wieprecht, fol. 6; see also Kalkbrenner, A., *Musikalische Studien und Skizzen*, Berlin 1903, 24.

67 See Panoff, *Militärmusik*, 155. It was not until the summer of 1874 that a special training programme for military musicians was instituted at the *Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin*. See chapter 3.

68 See Chop, *Geschichte*, 23; newspaper article, undated (1882), in SBB Slg. Darmstaedter 2r 1835 Wieprecht, fol. 8; ‘Bekanntmachung Nr. 266 “Empfehlung der Pensions-Zuschuss-Kasse für die Musikmeister der Armee”’, *Armee-Verordnungsblatt* no. 7, 1873, 251.

69 Applegate, ‘Men’, 233.

Musicians' Lives in the *Sattelzeit*

The highly decorated Wieprecht died in August 1872, shortly before his seventieth birthday. His popularity in Prussia knew no bounds and his expertise in the field of military music was in demand far beyond its borders. He is even said to have worked for the government of Guatemala as a military music advisor.⁷⁰ Regardless of the prominent status achieved by this bandmaster in civilian dress, his early musical life at least can be viewed as typical of the time and is illustrative of the professional lifeworld of many musicians in the first half of the nineteenth century. This realm was characterized by an educational practice that was as yet barely institutionalized, often rested on personal connections and thus opened up multiple paths to the music profession. This also meant that the boundary between the latter and the amateur world remained rather blurred. When Mendelssohn arranged for a performance of Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* in Berlin in 1829 for the first time in around a century and a half, the orchestra consisted of both chamber musicians from the court orchestra and amateur musicians.⁷¹ In addition, a wide range of employment opportunities was open to musicians, and as yet no clear hierarchy had emerged among the various employing institutions in terms of working conditions, remuneration and social prestige. In any case, only very few musicians had specialized in a specific genre.

From the perspective of musicians as an occupational group, these unprofessional, premodern elements characterized German musical life in the first half of the nineteenth century at least as much as the modernizing forces highlighted in the relevant literature, namely the commercialization of the music business and the associated shift into the public sphere; the rise of the bourgeois concert and the diversification of performance venues; the aesthetic invention of art music and its demarcation from folk and popular music; the emergence of a proto-scholarly music discourse; and last but not least, the professionalization of the occupation.⁷² With Reinhart Koselleck, it is import-

70 See Kalkbrenner, *Wilhelm Wieprecht*, 49.

71 See Applegate, *Bach*, 33. In Leipzig too, amateurs were still used in concerts, theatre and church during this period. See Hempel, 'Ratsmusik', 47–50.

72 For a recent treatment of commercialization, see Bashford, C., 'Introduction: The Idea of Art Music in a Commercial World', in Bashford, C., and R. Montemorra Marvin (eds.), *The Idea of Art Music in a Commercial World, 1800–1930*, Woodbridge 2016, 1–16; see also Kaden, 'Professionalismus', 28–30. On the concert, see Gramit, D., *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848*, Berkeley 2002, 125–160. On processes of demarcation, see Gelbart, *Emerging Categories*. For the essentials, see the early work by Sponheuer, *Musik als Kunst*.

ant to recall the persistent elements of the *Sattelzeit* and to emphasize the structuring (rather than transformative) power of the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous. For many musicians, the spheres of experience and expectation were still fairly closely aligned.⁷³ If we read the founding of professional associations as a conscious strategy to create new horizons of expectation that diverged from previous experiences, in other words, to focus specifically on social advancement, then musicians only moved beyond their previous experiential realm around the middle of the century in significant numbers. How this change in consciousness took place and, as a result, how a professional group in the true sense of the term was formed and organized in the first place is my focus in the next chapter.

73 See Koselleck, R., 'Einleitung', in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, edited by O. Brunner et al., Stuttgart 1972, xiii–xxvii, here xiv f.; Koselleck, R., "Erfahrungsraum" und "Erwartungshorizont" – zwei historische Kategorien', in Koselleck, R., *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, Frankfurt am Main 1989, 349–375, here 359–366.

The Discovery of the Social: Musicians' Organizations between Art and Labour

In March 1831, a large number of musicians in the city of Hamburg met in a pub on the Großer Neumarkt to form an association. The result of this initiative was the Hamburg Musicians' Association (*Hamburger Musikerverein*), whose task was to fight for the 'improvement of members' material lot and the elevation of the art of music'. Its statutes stipulated, among other things, that association members were only allowed to make music with other members.¹ In addition, members were forbidden from taking their association colleagues' jobs. The monthly membership fee was set at one schilling.²

The association initially had around 150 members, the vast majority of them freelancers. At first, the city's political elite wanted nothing to do with this new body and refused to give it any support at all. But this did nothing to hold it back. Once the association had established a health insurance fund, more and more musicians, primarily working in theatre, joined it.³ More prominent artists too were soon paying greater attention to the new organization: when the homes of many musicians were destroyed in the devastating fire of May 1842, pianist Ignaz Moscheles held a charity concert in London and donated the proceeds of around 10,000 marks to the Hamburg association. A pension fund was launched eight years later. One of the body's first members was Johann Jacob Brahms, father of famous composer Johannes. Until the introduction of freedom of trade in February 1865 and the more liberal freedom of movement regulations associated with it, the association was evidently able to provide the kind of safety net it had in mind. One innkeeper who booked non-local musicians to provide the music for an evening dance soon found out what this meant: he had to pay a heavy fine after the chairman of the Musicians' Association called in the Hamburg police.⁴

1 The only exceptions were large-scale concerts, for which higher admission fees were charged, and charity events.

2 See Höhne, W., 1831–1931: *100 Jahre Musiker-Organisation in Hamburg. Ein Buch der Erinnerung*, Hamburg 1931, 6.

3 See Lindemann, K., *Der Berufsstand der Unterhaltungsmusiker in Hamburg*, Hamburg 1938, 27 f.

4 See 'Protokoll 1852–1875', in STAHP VP 52, vol. II.A 1, 17; Höhne, *Musiker-Organisation*, 7–9.

The Hamburg association was one of the first of its kind in the German lands,⁵ and its foundation is early evidence of an incipient shift of awareness within the profession. The notion of a body advocating on behalf of musicians as a whole and fostering their social advancement, independent of a specific group of musicians, was new. Accordingly, the association was open to all musicians, regardless of their employment situation and musical activities. Nor did the association have a specific aesthetic agenda beyond its goal – phrased in rather general terms – of ‘elevating the art of music’. Its links with leading virtuosos in the classical concert business were just as evident as its provisions for musicians who played in pubs and at dances.

The Hamburg body undoubtedly played a pioneering role, though initially it remained one of a kind. It was not until thirty years later that the General German Music Association (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein* or ADMV) was established in Weimar, its founders inspired by a desire for social reform. The foundation of the General German Musicians’ Union (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikerverband* or ADEMUV) followed in 1872. These two bodies were to have a substantial influence on musical life and on musicians’ lifeworld in the German Empire and beyond. This chapter examines the motives for their formation, discusses their core characteristics and objectives, and illuminates how they were interrelated.

I argue that the driving force for the establishment of both was the discovery of the social. The conviction that the development of musical life required active participation by an organized force made up of those directly involved in the process of artistic production inspired the creation of both the Music Association in Weimar in 1861 and the Musicians’ Union in Berlin eleven years later. The later union was a break-away from the earlier association, so both grew out of the same basic impulses. The ADMV opted for an aesthetic approach to reform. It was mainly concerned with the advancement of art and the promotion of those artists who could contribute to this. Performing musicians played a merely subordinate role here. While sharing these artistic objectives in principle, the ADEMUV essentially emulated the Hamburg pioneers and sought to represent all members of the profession, a focus that went hand-in-hand with a reversal of the ADMV’s priorities. In Berlin, the social question took precedence over artistic imperatives.

The two associations’ different priorities must, however, be understood as the result of years of disputes and not, as hitherto, as having developed largely

5 See Thielecke, R., *Die soziale Lage der Berufsmusiker in Deutschland und die Entstehung, Entwicklung und Bedeutung ihrer Organisationen*, Frankfurt am Main 1921, 93; by 1798, an association had already been founded in Breslau; see *ibid.*, 92.

independently. It was the failed attempt to address holistically the social realities of the profession within the Music Association that gave rise to this institutionalized division of labour within musical life between art and labour, between aesthetic discourse and socio-political agitation.⁶ Precisely because these fields remained closely related in musicians' lifeworld, the class struggle within the profession was put on hold. In fact, in its founding phase, the Musicians' Union exhibited some notable similarities with the social-liberal trade union movement around Max Hirsch and Franz Duncker; this common ground makes it seem reasonable to place it within the same political spectrum of moderate left-liberalism.

Liszt, Wagner and the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein*

Franz Liszt was one of the driving forces behind the initiative to found the General German Music Association. The piano virtuoso and composer distinguished himself as an advocate for the arts and as a visionary musical reformer.⁷ This he did through his writings, but at a more practical level he was one of the first to vigorously promote musicians' social interests.⁸ Essentially, however, he campaigned only for those musicians whom he recognized as artists. This is particularly clear in the debate on so-called interlude music, that is, those pieces performed by members of court and municipal theatre orchestras between the acts of a play, while the members of the audience chatted or refreshed themselves. Richard Wagner, also a founding member of the ADMV, had condemned these break-fillers wholesale in 1849:

The livelier portion of the audience derides and mocks this music when it arrests attention by its importunity or dullness, but deliberately or involuntarily stops its ears to it as a rule. Now judge the effect which these evils combine to produce on the bandsmen! The sleepy, older bandsman grows still sleepier at such performances, the younger, fierier one feels a

6 The research literature on the Music Association does not examine this state of affairs, while that on the Musicians' Union deals with the Association only superficially and as a contrasting foil. See Lucke-Kaminiarz, I., 'Der Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein und seine Tonkünstlerfeste 1859–1886', in D. Altenburg (ed.), *Liszt und die Neudeutsche Schule*, Laaber 2006, 221–235; Newhouse, 'Artists', 82 f.

7 See Dömling, W., *Franz Liszt und seine Zeit*, Laaber 1985, 72–77.

8 See Sittard, J., *Geschichte des Musik- und Concertwesens in Hamburg vom 14. Jahrhundert bis auf die Gegenwart*, Hildesheim 1971 (1890), 237 f.; Höhne, *Musiker-Organisation*, 7.

positive hell-torment in being bound thereto. To have to cast his beloved art before an audience either talking aloud or yawning, must enrage him to begin with, demoralise him to end with. For the honour of music, the honour of the play, and finally the honour of the public, this arrangement must be discontinued.⁹

Nothing less than orchestral musicians' artistic integrity was at stake here, and Franz Liszt took the same view. He defined interludes simply as 'bad music made by good musicians' and added that even a 'moon-dweller' or a 'man of the desert, such as Abdelkader' would immediately grasp what an impertinence it was to expect musicians to provide such a service.¹⁰ He went on to state that it was

against all notions of honour and ambition that spur men on to noble activity, to intelligent devoted zeal, that in the theatres [...] the orchestra – and the orchestra consists of [...] artists – is forced to prostitute itself [...] by regularly having to submit to the fatal habit of making a *métier* out of art.¹¹

This was not the first time Liszt had placed art in opposition to labour.¹² But when it came to the specific case of incidental music, he made another, aesthetic contrast between serious art and playful entertainment: 'What do we artists care for the promenade and garden concerts, all the establishments where people listen and eat or eat without listening?' Liszt soon answered his own question, stating that such venues, which were essentially unacceptable as settings for art music, would at least edify 'the uneducated, who are unable to ascend to an understanding of the higher regions of art'.¹³

Liszt's conclusion was crystal clear: interludes were perhaps a necessary evil but must not occur at the expense of the artist. Gone were the days, he contended, when court musicians alternated between orchestra pit and dining

9 Wagner, R., *Pilgrimage to Beethoven and Other Essays*. Translated by William Ashton Ellis. Lincoln 1994 (1849), 348 f.

10 Liszt, F., 'Keine Zwischenakts-Musik – ! 1855', in Liszt, F., *Gesammelte Schriften III, Hildesheim 1978 (1881)*, 136–150, here 143. Abdelkader (1808–1883) was an Algerian freedom fighter.

11 *Ibid.*, 145.

12 See Liszt, F., 'Zur Situation der Künstler und zu ihrer Stellung in der Gesellschaft (1835)', in Liszt, F. (ed.), *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 1: *Frühe Schriften*, edited by R. Kleinertz, Wiesbaden 2000, 2–65, here 11 f.

13 Liszt, 'Zwischenakts-Musik', 141.

hall. Rather, orchestras should be rated as 'good' as soon as 'the elimination of mechanical players' had been achieved. Pfund the timpanist in Leipzig, Müller the double bass player in Darmstadt and Nabich the trombonist in Weimar, he went on, provided proof positive that even the 'most thankless of instruments' were now being played by true artists and that they should no longer be expected to play 'table or dance music'. When it came to interludes, Liszt therefore called for 'orchestral artists' to be replaced by military bands, and by formations dedicated to dance and promenade concerts or, if these were not available, for theatres to deploy the mechanical music of the barrel organ.¹⁴ In the debate on interlude music, Liszt and Wagner indicated, albeit unintentionally, that the status of art music was not determined solely by the musical work itself, but depended in large part on recognition as such by an appropriately art-loving audience. Serious music was not for everyone. It was not for every social occasion and was certainly not the business of every musician. This was the two composers' message.¹⁵

This ideology was also the aesthetic bedrock of the General German Music Association. The idea of founding this body was conceived on the fringes of the Leipzig Convention of Musicians (*Tonkünstlerversammlung*) in 1859, which was convened on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* ('New Journal for Music'); 340 musicians took part. Two years later, the process of foundation was completed in the presence of more than twice as many attendees in Weimar, where the association also established its headquarters. The reasons for creating this body emerge from the association's statutes: 'The world of music has reached a stage at which the need to emerge from the previous naturalism and progress towards self-confident organization is becoming increasingly clear', its preamble stated. It was high time for German musicians to join forces 'for their own sake and for the benefit of their art'. The priority must now be to pool 'the scattered and thus fragmented forces' and commit them to the association's two main aims: the 'cultivation of musical art' and the 'advancement of musicians'.¹⁶

14 Ibid., 147–151.

15 Over the course of time, the social setting of the performance did in fact become the main criterion for demarcating art music from popular music. See Dahlhaus, C., 'Ist die Unterscheidung zwischen E- und U-Musik eine Fiktion?', in E. Jost (ed.), *Musik zwischen E und U*, Mainz 1984, 11–24, here 17. For a detailed treatment of the demarcation process, see Müller, S. O., *Das Publikum macht die Musik. Musikleben in Berlin, London und Wien im 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2014, 217–259.

16 'Statuten des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins', *NZfM* no. 20, 16 May 1862, 173–178, quotation on 173.

Although the statutes explicitly invoked musicians' unity, the General German Music Association has repeatedly been viewed as a lobbying organization for the so-called New German School.¹⁷ In addition to Liszt, who was court conductor in Weimar at the time, the driving forces behind the founding of the association were in fact Karl Franz Brendel, the Leipzig-based music historian and publisher of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, and Königsberg-based musical director Louis Köhler – who was the true ideas man. All of them counted themselves members of the New German School, a term coined by Brendel in his address before the Leipzig convention in 1859 in an attempt to accommodate conceptually the very different music of composers Wagner, Liszt and Berlioz. With respect to the non-German representatives of this self-proclaimed avant-garde, however, it seems little better than the older term 'music of the future' (*Zukunftsmusik*), which the concept of the New German School was supposed to replace in light of the widespread ridicule to which it had been subjected.¹⁸

The Leipzig assembly triggered a veritable trading of barbs. Johannes Brahms, Joseph Joachim and other musicians published a manifesto in May 1860 that railed against Brendel's periodical and the New Germans' attempt to set themselves up as sole legitimate authority on the aesthetics of music; this prompted Brendel to publish a satirical response in his journal.¹⁹ The underlying musical animosities were associated with preferences for different genres,

17 See Deaville, J., 'The Organized Muse? Organization Theory and "Mediated" Music', *Canadian University Music Review* no. 18, 1997, 38–51. On the problematic aspects of the New German School from the perspective of musicology, see Altenburg, D., 'Die neudeutsche Schule – eine Fiktion der Musikgeschichtsschreibung?', in Altenburg, D. (ed.), *Liszt und die Neudeutsche Schule*, Laaber 2006, 9–22.

18 See Kaminiarz, I., *Richard Strauss. Briefe aus dem Archiv des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins*, Weimar 1995, 9–13; Taruskin, *Western Music*, 416–423. According to Taruskin, the word *Zukunftsmusik* emerged in the context of the premiere of Wagner's *Lohengrin* in 1850 as a term of derision, Brendel having opined that this music would elude the intellectual grasp of the public of the day. Henceforth, deprecators of Wagner's music used it as a pejorative catch-all term for new musical movements, prompting Wagner himself to pen his essay of the same name in 1860. See Koch, K., 'Zukunftsmusik', in *Das Wagner-Lexikon*, edited by D. Brandenburg et al., Laaber 2012, 869–872.

19 'Öffentlicher Protest', *NZfM* no. 19, 4 May 1860, 169 f. Brendel had a made-up 'Public Protest' published, signed among others by 'Tom, Dick and Harry' ('Krethi und Plethi'), which declaims against him and his allies and proposes as a countermeasure a 'Brotherhood of Unexciting and Boring Art'. Further signatories to the protest included J. Geiger for the violinist Joseph Joachim and Hans Neubahn for Johannes Brahms, in allusion to Robert Schumann's article on Brahms titled 'Neue Bahnen'. This article is reprinted in *NZfM* no. 18, 28 October 1853, 185 f.; Brahms' and Joachim's critique had appeared in the *Berliner Echo* and can be found, for example, in Schmidt, C., *Johannes Brahms und seine Zeit*, Laaber 1983, 20 f.

which Brendel in particular envisaged as the answer to the Beethovenian challenge: the New Germans favoured novel forms such as symphonic poetry, other programme music and the musical drama embodied by Wagner's operas, whereas the supposedly conservative faction privileged older genres such as the symphony and chamber music. More important than the details of these opposing aesthetic visions, however, is the structural dissent itself, because it represented something fundamentally new that was to make a major impact on the (classical) music world: 'Since the middle of the nineteenth century', writes Richard Taruskin, 'the world of classical music has been a world riven with political factions and contentious publicity'.²⁰

Despite or precisely because of this conflict, the call for unity associated with the founding of the association can be read in part as an olive branch held out to the New Germans' opponents. In any case, the association's functions and objectives show that, regardless of these aesthetic debates, it addressed itself to all musicians who were serious about serious music. The association identified as its most important artistic activity the organizing of gatherings of musicians on a regular basis, as a means of

bringing these artists into closer personal proximity, delivering them from their fragmentation, providing isolated musicians with collegial support and stimulation, and thus – through general, mutual exchange of experiences and ideas about the ultimate aspirations of art – to awaken and strengthen an overall awareness.²¹

The gatherings, held at various locations in the German lands, were intended to provide an occasion for the performance of important new compositions or little-known pieces from the past as well as for talks by musicians, poets and writers on 'the challenges of the time', in other words on artistic and social issues in contemporary musical life.²² The association's social engagement encompassed funding musicians' artistic education and supporting association members in the event of illness, impoverishment and other unforeseen blows of fate.²³

20 Taruskin, *Western Music*, 416. See also Dahlhaus, C., *Nineteenth-Century Music*. Translated by Bradford J. Robinson. Berkeley, CA 1989, 252 f.

21 'Statuten des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins', *NZfM* no. 20, 16 May 1862, 173–178, quotation on 173; see also Kaminiarz, *Strauss*, 11 f.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., 174 f. Non-members could also receive financial support if justified by their accomplishments, whereas the provident fund was for members only.

Not only were all male musicians entitled to join the association, but so (explicitly) were all women musicians, even though they were not permitted to hold office. In addition, music critics, concert organizers, music dealers, instrument makers and music teachers could apply for membership, and even amateurs could be admitted if they had made an outstanding contribution to music in one way or another. However, decisions on membership were the preserve of the association's executive committee, which required applicants to undergo what amounted to an artistic aptitude test.²⁴ Irrespective of the inclusive rhetoric found in the association's statutes, this was a manifestation of its elitist-exclusivist thrust, rooted in a specific aesthetics of music.

Despite its name, the ADMV ultimately sought to make an impact far beyond the German lands. Non-German musicians were very welcome to join and apparently did so in large numbers. As early as 1859, at the Musician's Convention in Leipzig, musicians from more than twenty nations signed a declaration of membership, including Swedes, Dutchmen, Swiss, Englishmen and US-Americans. At the same time, the founding fathers around Liszt and Brendel left no room for doubt that 'Germany is currently the epicentre of the musical art as a whole' and that the association must therefore have 'German' in its name.²⁵ Hence, even at the moment of the ADMV's foundation, we can discern a peculiar 'universalistic provincialism', which Jürgen Osterhammel has identified with reference to the example of Richard Wagner's activities and which he links to the dialectical simultaneity of nation-building and globalization at the start of the final third of the nineteenth century.²⁶

But it was not just the German association's international character that was dialectical; so was its claim to represent musicians as a whole at the very moment when it suffered its first major row. As a dyed-in-the-wool Hegelian, association architect Brendel probably had a pretty good idea of what he was doing. In any case, the fact that the establishment of musicians' institutions striving for unity was essentially an indication of the growing, often conflict-ridden differentiation of this occupational group, was to become evident time and again over the following century. The founding of the General German Music Association marked the start of this development. In the main,

24 Ibid., 177.

25 See Theodor Rode, 'Aphoristische Bemerkungen in Betreff des "Allgemeinen deutschen Musikvereins"', *NZfM* no. 6, 1 February 1861, 54–56.

26 See Osterhammel, J., "'Welteroberndes Künstlertum'". *Weltsemantik und Globalisierung im Zeitalter von Richard Wagner und Werner von Siemens'*, in A. Stollberg et al. (eds.), *Gefühlskraftwerke für Patrioten? Wagner und das Musiktheater zwischen Nationalismus und Globalisierung*, Würzburg 2015, 17–35.

however, it did not induce a split between the New German School and supposedly more conservative composers and musicians. Instead, as we will now see, a socially reformist group detached itself from the ADMV, one that consisted chiefly of performing musicians, while predominantly composers and teaching musicians concerned mostly with artistic issues remained in the association.

A Rendezvous with Hirsch and Schulze-Delitzsch

In 1861, the Music Association began its practical work. Brendel became chairman, while Liszt and Hans von Bülow were put in charge of artistic matters. After three years of association activity, its first report painted a fairly positive picture. The association now had 400 members and, according to its executive committee, had already done a lot to reunite the profession and assemble 'proper artists' in one umbrella organization.²⁷ Corresponding musical messages were soon discernible in the concerts held at the musicians' conventions (*Tonkünstlerversammlungen*). Joachim's violin concerto was performed in Karlsruhe in 1864; at the so-called German Musicians' Congress (*Deutscher Musikertag*) in Leipzig in July 1869, the first of its kind, for the first time the ADMV's programme included one of Brahms' compositions in the shape of the *Geistliches Lied* for chorus and organ. The dispute over the New German School thus seemed to have been shelved for the time being. The Musicians' Congress, however, harboured new potential for conflict, whose deep causes lay more in the social than aesthetic field.²⁸

Rudolph Bensey came up with the idea of a Leipzig Musicians' Congress in July 1868 on the side-lines of the convention in Altenburg. Bensey was a Berlin-based music journalist and a good friend of Brendel's. Originally, the pair had been wondering how Berlin, as a great city of music, could be won over to the ideas and compositions of the New German School. But Bensey, who was also active in the Berlin Tonal Artists' Association (*Tonkünstlerverein*), knew only too well that Berliners were largely immune to the lure of music, because 'they all think they have enough of it already'. According to the journalist, a different approach would be far more effective: 'Discussion of educational and social questions affecting musicians' circles. That kind of thing is particularly popular in Berlin.' He thus suggested holding a purely business-focused 'Musicians'

27 'Bericht der geschäftsführenden Section des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins an dessen Mitglieder', Nov. 1864, in *GSA* 70/2.

28 See Lucke-Kaminiarz, 'Deutsche Musikvereine', 229 f.

Congress without music' between the biennial conventions, with the former providing a venue for debate on educational and social issues that had been neglected due to lack of time.²⁹

Bensey was not wrong in his assessment of Berlin musical circles. The metropolis had in fact developed into something of a social avant-garde in the course of the 1860s and by the end of the decade it was the spearhead of a supraregional musicians' movement from below; this reached its preliminary apogee in the establishment of the empire-wide General German Musicians' Union in September 1872. Although the leaders and large sections of the associated social movement in no way lagged behind members of the General German Music Association in terms of their artistic self-image, the new body's emergence just as the empire was being established reflected a new division within the profession, one motivated less by aesthetic than social and thus ultimately political issues.

At first, however, it looked as if musicians might come together under the umbrella of Liszt's association. A key role here was played by the Berlin musicians who had banded together to form a so-called Sickness and Provident Association (*Kranken- und Unterstützungsverein*) in 1867. Its foundation was prompted by the sudden death of the Berlin flautist Adam Paulsen, who had been employed at the Victoria Theatre. Having made no provision for such an eventuality, his death plunged his widow and six young children into destitution. Leading figures in Berlin's musical life were involved in the founding of the association, including Louis Lewandowski, royal musical director and conductor of the synagogue choir, who took over the chairmanship, and conservatoire director Julius Stern. Two years later, this body already had over 600 members. More joined thanks to a *monstre* concert based on the Wieprecht model, featuring 500 active musicians. As a result, a pension and death benefit fund was set up in addition to the aforementioned sickness scheme.³⁰

A few months later, Lewandowski travelled with Berlin-based conductor Hermann Thadewaldt and other association colleagues to the Leipzig Musicians' Congress organized by the ADMV. The Berlin and Dresden tonal artists' associations (*Tonkünstlervereine*), which had existed since 1844 and 1854 respectively, and which initially brought together musicians, educators and

29 Rudolph Bensey, 'Blüthen und Früchte', *NZfM* no. 23, 30 May 1873, 233–235, quotations on 234.

30 See Emil Breslauer, 'Zur gegenwärtigen Lage der Musiker', *NZfM* no. 37, 10 September 1871, 307 f.; Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 96 f.; Newhouse, 'Artists', 77–82.

music lovers, sent delegates.³¹ Music teachers, cantors and music dealers rounded out the gathering in the Hôtel de Prusse, in which around one hundred people took part; a remarkable third of the attendees were women.³² The pedagogical and social issues discussed at the first Musicians' Congress included, among other things, the introduction of music lessons in primary schools, the establishment of a state music authority to 'promote and oversee the artistic cultivation of musical art', and the need to improve the financial situation of concert institutes, music and choral societies and, last but not least, performing musicians.³³

The participants welcomed these reformist ideas and resolved to set up bespoke committees in order to discuss them in detail by the time of the next Musicians' Congress and elaborate suitable proposals and measures. Only the issue of performing musicians required more extensive debate. Lewandowski suggested setting up a Reich-wide organization for this group that would oversee a unified system of death benefits, widows' pensions and old-age pensions. After a heated discussion, his proposal was finally accepted by a large majority. At the suggestion of the Music Association's new chairman, Carl Riedel, the plenum also passed a resolution stating that the German Musicians' Congress 'takes a keen interest in the well-being of performing musicians and would welcome any institution capable of promoting this well-being'. Among others, Lewandowski, Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch and Max Hirsch were elected to the committee set up to explore how to improve musicians' lot.³⁴

The fact that the founding father of the German cooperative movement was present at the Leipzig Musicians' Congress may have had something to do with the proximity of the venue to his hometown of Delitzsch, though he had sat in the Prussian House of Representatives since 1859 and was a district judge in Potsdam. In addition, perhaps due to his upbringing, Schulze himself was very

31 On Berlin, see Alsleben, J., *Festschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Bestehens des Berliner Tonkünstlervereins im Jahre 1894*, Berlin 1894, 7 f. The early history of the German *Tonkünstlervereine* or tonal artists' associations has yet to be subjected to scholarly scrutiny. A purely documentary work has been produced by Vetter, H.-J., *Die Tonkünstler-Verbände 1844–1984*, Regensburg 1984, 16–23. Initially, the associations had no clear profile, only becoming a hub for music teachers over the course of time.

32 See Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 98 f. On the situation of women musicians, see chapter 4.

33 See Directorium des ADMV, 'Musikertag zu Leipzig', *NZfM* no. 27, 2 July 1869, 227.

34 'Die Verhandlungen des ersten deutschen Musikertages zu Leipzig', *NZfM* no. 34, 20 August 1869, 277–280.

fond of music and could draw on relevant practical experience.³⁵ But it is likely to have been chiefly socio-political rather than private motives that prompted the two social reformers' trip to Leipzig. As a leading figure in the social-liberal trade union movement, Max Hirsch, with Schulze-Delitzsch's support, had succeeded just a few months earlier in amalgamating the cross-sectoral trade unions (*Gewerkvereine*) that were sprouting up throughout the German lands, especially in Prussia, into the Federation of German Trade Unions (*Verband Deutscher Gewerkvereine*).³⁶ It seems a reasonable assumption that Hirsch and his colleague Schulze-Delitzsch wanted to go to Leipzig to find out whether musicians could find a new home in the trade union movement.

But apparently no relevant meetings took place. There is no evidence that Schulze-Delitzsch, Hirsch, Lewandowski and the other committee members ever got together to discuss the social and organizational issues affecting performing musicians. Another reason to doubt that they did is the fact that the committee was not mentioned at all two years later at the Musicians' Congress in Magdeburg, in contrast to all the others instituted in Leipzig.³⁷ The encounter between the leading figures in the musicians' and social-liberal trade union movements seems to have been an isolated incident.

Berlin delegate Hermann Thadewaldt was in fact far from pleased with what he saw as the Musicians' Congress's elitist approach. In view of the lack of participation by Leipzig musicians, without further ado he organized a parallel event for them. About fifty of them attended it. They were informed about the Berlin Sickness and Provident Association and its plans for a Germany-wide body, and at the end of the meeting a resolution was passed to set up a branch in Leipzig. Much like this reformist initiative pursued over the heads of those affected, however, Thadewaldt's local efforts to attract interest initially fizzled out too because they were not followed up with concrete action.³⁸ While the

35 See Bernstein, A., *Schulze-Delitzsch. Leben und Wirken*, Berlin 1879, 52 f.; Moltrecht, C. and H.-J. Moltrecht, 'Aus dem Leben und Schaffen von Hermann Schulze in Delitzsch und an anderen wichtigen Wirkungsstätten, insbesondere Vereinsgründung und Vereinstätigkeit bis 1862', in Schulze-Delitzsch, H., *Weg – Werk – Wirkung*, edited by Förderverein Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch, Wiesbaden 2008, 290–310. Schulze had founded a singers' association in Delitzsch, in which he himself sang, in which men from different classes came together and whose appeal was felt as far away as Leipzig.

36 See Fleck, H.-G., *Sozialliberalismus und Gewerkschaftsbewegung. Die Hirsch-Dunckerschen Gewerkvereine 1868–1914*, Cologne 1994, 54–61.

37 See 'Protokoll der Verhandlungen des zweiten deutschen Musikertages in Magdeburg', *NZfM* no. 42, 13 October 1871, supplement (i–iv).

38 See Hermann Thadewaldt, 'Geschichtliche Darstellung des Entwicklungsganges der Berliner Musiker-Verbindung', *DMZ* no. 1, 3 April 1870, 2 f.; Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 98–100; Newhouse, 'Artists', 94 f.

German trade union movement spawned a vast array of new organizations towards the end of the 1860s, in the summer of 1869 the time was evidently not yet ripe for musicians.

The first Musicians Congress, then, did not end particularly harmoniously and ultimately made little progress. But the Magdeburg Musicians' Congress held in autumn 1871 offered a second chance. The institutionalization of the musicians' movement from below had made good progress in the meantime: in the summer of 1869, the Berlin musicians had turned their Sickness and Provident Association into a general Union of Berlin Musicians (*Verein Berliner Musiker*), which was open to all musicians without distinction. After Thadewaldt, as the new association chairman, had rapidly and successfully concluded negotiations with Berlin theatres and innkeepers on fee increases, the Berliners launched a supraregional appeal encouraging musicians throughout Germany to join local music associations.

In parallel to this, Thadewaldt and his Berlin-based colleagues managed to put an end to the Musicians' Exchange (*Musikerbörse*) – a near-anarchic, open-air music market held daily between 11 a.m. and 12 noon at the so-called *Musikantenwache*. The Exchange was relocated to closed premises, access was tied to association membership and business transactions were monitored by that body. Finally, the Berliners brought out a journal called the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* ('German Musicians' Newspaper') that was soon receiving national attention. The all-encompassing freedom of trade introduced a year earlier due to the emergence of the North German Federation, which was particularly comprehensive in scope for musicians, also helped ensure that the aforementioned appeal attracted a wide response: between 1869 and 1873, the number of musicians' associations in Germany grew to as many as forty, and almost all of these newly established bodies took their lead from the Berlin model.³⁹

As a result, in addition to the Berlin association, delegates from all corners of the empire were present at the second Musicians' Congress in Magdeburg. Once again, however, the deliberations were greatly influenced by spokesmen for the ADMV and the Berlin associations. While there was no real progress with respect to the concerns raised at the first Musicians' Congress about music lessons in primary schools, agreement was reached on the role of the state in musical life. It should 'formally recognize musicians as enjoying equal

39 See Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 100–112 and 132; Newhouse, 'Artists', 100–118; on the freedom of trade, see also chapter 3.

status with the other artistic professions'; a corresponding petition to the Reichstag was to be set in motion.⁴⁰

But in the first instance, two new ideas seemed more important for the future of performing musicians. First, Julius Alsleben, chairman of the Berlin Tonal Artists' Association, called for the institutionalization of the Musicians' Congress and suggested that it be held every two years. Ideally, he envisaged this being done within the structures of the ADMV. In addition, following the example of the German Lawyers' Conference (*Deutscher Juristentag*), which had existed since 1860, a permanent committee was to be established to conduct business between the musicians' congresses. This initiative met with a positive response; a panel was to elaborate it.⁴¹

Second, there was widespread opposition to Berlin musical director Karl Billert's proposal that a musicians' union (*Musikerverein*) and a tonal artists' association (*Tonkünstlerverein*) be established in every city according to model statutes to be agreed upon. The general tenor was that this would foster unnecessary division, and Thadewaldt resolutely opposed the assumption 'that the musicians' unions are in some way inferior to the tonal artists' associations', of which Karl Billert was a partisan. His colleagues Oskar Eichberg and Wilhelm Tappert were against model statutes and it was finally agreed to let the envisaged permanent committee give the matter its sympathetic consideration and to issue a non-binding recommendation that musicians' unions be established in German cities. Hence, no clear difference, let alone antagonism, between *tonal artists* and *musicians*, however it might be justified, was evident in Magdeburg.⁴²

The fact that rank-and-file musicians seemed to pull together more in Magdeburg than at the Leipzig Musicians' Congress two years earlier was undoubtedly linked with the founding of the empire the same year. But once again, the commitment to a joint approach by the ADMV, tonal artists' and musicians' unions did not last long. Barely three weeks after the Magdeburg meeting, some within the Berlin Music Union began to suggest that it would be better not to wait for the panel set up by the Musicians' Congress to complete its lengthy deliberations, but to finally take action – a call heeded six months later, in April 1872. An announcement, whose authors were confident in their cause, was made in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*: 'Colleagues! The

40 'Protokoll der Verhandlungen des zweiten deutschen Musikertages in Magdeburg', *NZfM* no. 42, 13 October 1871, supplement (i–iv).

41 Ibid.

42 See *ibid.*; 'Der zweite deutsche Musikertag', *DMZ* no. 39, 24 September 1871, 305 f.; no. 40, 1 October 1871, 313 f.; no. 41, 8 October 1871, 321 f.; Newhouse, 'Artists', 151–156.

Union of Berlin Musicians has resolved to proceed with the establishment of a General German Musicians' Union. The need for such a union [...] surely requires no further explanation.⁴³

The appeal to all existing associations to join the new body met with a positive response, especially in northern Germany, such that representatives from Breslau, Bremen, Braunschweig, Dresden, Hamburg, Chemnitz, Cologne, Leipzig, Stettin and Vienna attended the founding conference in Berlin in September 1872. In addition, the ADMV sent a delegate, as did the Berlin and Dresden tonal artists' associations. Musicians' unions from another twenty-five cities, including Munich, Düsseldorf and Hanover, though not represented, had written to confirm that they would join the new body. The statutes were adopted without much discussion, and Hermann Thadewaldt was elected the first president of the General German Musicians' Union. Erstwhile conductor of a military band, at the time of his election he led the prestigious concerts in Berlin's Zoological Garden. His deputies were former military musician Julius Bumke and Julius Stern, head of the eponymous, privately run conservatoire.⁴⁴

The General German Musicians' Union

Until its dissolution in April 1933, the General German Musicians' Union was the most important body for performing musicians in Germany and over the course of its existence it did much to transform the musical lifeworld. To quote its statutes, the union aimed to 'elevate and safeguard the intellectual and material interests and thus the social position of the musical profession, as well as promoting and cultivating public musical life'.⁴⁵ A number of measures were planned to achieve this. The union wished to build a tight organization, with a head office and local associations at the municipal level; obtain wage increases; set up an employment agency for members; establish a health, death benefits and provident fund; inform and educate people about all matters musical through a union newspaper; and finally, support the establishment of orchestral schools and other educational establishments.⁴⁶

43 Quoted in Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 134 f.

44 See *ibid.*, 137 f. For a detailed account of the union's establishment, see Newhouse, 'Artists', 157–166; on Thadewaldt's career, see *ibid.*, 76 f.; on the concerts in the Zoological Garden, see Jansen and Lorenzen, *Possen*, 165–172.

45 'Statut des Allg. Deutschen Musiker-Verbandes', *DMZ* no. 40, 5 October 1873, 313 f.

46 See *ibid.*

All German musicians could become members; foreigners were also allowed to join though with limited rights. What constituted a professionally active musician, however, was quite unclear. The term 'professional musician' (*Berufsmusiker*) appeared nowhere in the statutes. All persons were entitled to join who were 'considered native musicians'.⁴⁷ The boundary separating their activities from amateurs and enthusiasts playing for fun thus remained fairly permeable. Every member had certain obligations: to refrain from fomenting competition among union members; to accept no work below determined fee rates; to play with other union members if possible; in case of engagements outside one's place of residence, to consult the local union branch; and finally, to sign only those contracts that provided for the mutual right of termination and payment of wages for at least eight weeks in the event of illness.⁴⁸

With these membership obligations, the union was far ahead of its time. The requirements were so extensive that very few musicians will have been consistently able to meet them. This litany of duties did not, however, act as a deterrent. On the contrary, the union enjoyed rapid growth: after a year it already had 44 local branches and 5,000 members, and a year later almost 6,800 musicians were organized in 76 towns and cities. Details of the membership structure in the early days remain rather obscure, mainly because of the decentralized form of organization in the local branches. But we can paint a fairly clear picture by examining the centrally administered pension scheme, which was set up at the start of 1874 and was open to union members only.

This indicates that few female musicians had joined. Although women were not excluded as such – a woman harpist, pianist and singing teacher were among the 2,173 members of the pension fund in mid-1874 – it may be assumed that the union had only very few female members.⁴⁹ Of the 2,170 men, many appear to have been ordinary musicians. In any case, the ADEMUV was not composed exclusively of a 'musical proletariat': only just over a third of members paid the minimum contribution of 15 silver groschen, while the other two thirds contributed a taler or even more. 134 musicians were employed in court orchestras, most of them in Dresden and St. Petersburg. From a musical point of view, everything that could be found on the stage at the time was represented, from conductors and military bandmasters through string, woodwind

47 Ibid., 314.

48 See *ibid.*

49 See 'Protokoll der Dritten Delegierten-Versammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musiker-Verbandes', *DMZ* no. 39, 27 September 1874, supplement 3; by 1906, of the 12,000 union members there were still only 100 women. See Waltz, H., *Die Lage der Orchestermusiker in Deutschland mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Musikgeschäfte ('Stadtpeifereien')*, Karlsruhe 1906, 112.

and brass players to timpanists, percussionists and harpists; music teachers, meanwhile, constituted a small minority.⁵⁰

Above all, then, the ADEMUV established an umbrella organization for performing musicians, regardless of the individual's employment situation, musical genre and social status, though not their gender. This was an umbrella that extended far beyond national borders. From the beginning of its existence, the union had an international focus. Outside the Reich, mainly German musicians founded local branches in Zurich, Gothenburg, Helsinki, Stockholm, Reval (present-day Tallinn), Monaco and Vyborg. St. Petersburg was the largest exclave, with 145 individual members, followed by Moscow (62), Warsaw (37) and New York (12). In 1874, one union member was even listed in Hawaii.⁵¹ In line with the union's international presence, at this early stage the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* (DMZ) was already being read not just in immediately neighbouring countries but also in the United Kingdom, Sweden, Russia, Italy and the United States.⁵² While we should be careful not to overstate the significance of this kind of mapping of German musicians in the world, it does at least indicate what an important sphere of activity Eastern Europe and the Tsarist Empire represented for them.⁵³ Both inside and outside the German Empire, then, the founding of the union clearly struck a chord, reflecting a growing need among musicians for a powerful organization capable of defending their professional interests.

50 See *ibid.*, 4. Only 39 music teachers had joined at this point.

51 The member in question was Prussian military musician Heinrich Berger, who was on a diplomatic mission to establish a band. Berger ultimately remained there, becoming the uncontested star of the local music scene. See Hennessey, P. D., *Henry Berger: From Prussian Army Musician to Father of Hawaiian Music*, Tutzing 2013; Rempe, M., 'Cultural Brokers in Uniform: The Global Rise of Military Musicians and Their Music', *Itinerario* no. 41, 2017, 327–352.

52 See 'Protokoll der Dritten Delegierten-Versammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musiker-Verbandes', *DMZ* no. 39, 27 September 1874, supplement 2.

53 See Tarr, E. H., *East Meets West: The Russian Trumpet Tradition from the Time of Peter the Great to the October Revolution*, Hillsdale, NY 2003; Lomtev, D., *An der Quelle. Deutsche Musiker in Russland. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der russischen Konservatorien*, Lage-Hörste 2002; also Amburger, E., 'Musikleben in St. Petersburg um 1800', in W. Kessler et al. (eds.), *Kulturbeziehungen in Mittel- und Osteuropa im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Heinz Ischreyt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin 1982, 201–210. On musicians' migration, see also chapter 3.

Putting the Class Struggle on Hold

After the formation of the Musicians' Union in September 1872, increasing alienation set in between it and both the General German Music Association and the tonal artists' associations, a development that found expression in both personnel and substance. The musicians' congresses within the framework of the ADMV were discontinued after three further meetings and the associated human and financial resources were poured exclusively into the performance of new music and a highly competitive form of talent promotion. From then on, the Musicians' Union was systematically ignored.⁵⁴ The tonal artists' associations, for their part, at least tried to keep alive the debate on pedagogical and training issues by amalgamating into a Reich-wide body in 1874, but apparently without much success: most notably, its *Harmonie* periodical ceased publication within a few years.⁵⁵ Ultimately, a division of labour between art and labour took hold within organized German musical life over the course of the 1870s. The Music Association saw itself as solely responsible for aesthetic discourse and artistic matters, while practical engagement to advance musicians' welfare was the preserve of the Musicians' Union. Only after 1900 was this gap – which clashed with the original vision of the ADMV's architects around Liszt and Brendel – bridged to some extent.⁵⁶

Partly because of this specific division of labour, Germany – in contrast to other Western countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States – was initially devoid of conflicts and class formation among performing musicians as well as the establishment of competing organizations.⁵⁷ In fact, the Musicians' Union was a cross-class collective movement in which simple dance musicians encountered permanently employed court musicians, civilians came into contact with members of the armed forces and performing musicians met musical entrepreneurs, and there was even room under the union umbrella for those who only wished to play a little as a sideline. For the time being, then, class struggle was not a feature of German

54 This is evident in the fact that on principle the *NZfM* carried no reports on the ADEMUV, not even on its establishment, despite the presence of ADMV observers. See Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 137.

55 See Alsleben, *Festschrift*, 20 f.

56 See also Brendel, F., *Die Organisation des Musikwesens durch den Staat*, Leipzig 1866.

57 On the United Kingdom, see Ehrlich, *Profession*; on the United States, see Seltzer, G., *Music Matters: The Performer and the American Federation of Musicians*, Metuchen, NJ 1989.

musical life. Instead, the defining approach was the cooperative reconciliation of interests.⁵⁸

From this point of view, the brief meeting between the Berlin-based leaders of the musicians' movement and Max Hirsch of the social-liberal trade union movement makes sense, though I could identify no other instances of contact between them. If we view the miners' strike in Waldenburg of 1869–70 as a crucial lesson that ultimately inspired these trade unions to develop their strategy of the cooperative balancing of interests, it becomes clear how similar the two movements were. Of course, they had other things in common as well. Both embraced self-help, considered themselves non-partisan, were both heterogeneous in composition in their own way and presented themselves as having been formed from 'below'. Both had a tightly organized headquarters in Berlin, which was also the quantitative hub in both cases. Both the musicians' union and the trade unions ultimately owed their initial success in mobilizing large numbers of people partly to a moderate, consensus-oriented approach that held out the prospect of fairly smooth integration into the existing political and social system, a *modus operandi* that fell on fertile ground among professional musicians, who often still saw themselves as craftsmen. Last but not least, the Musicians' Union and the liberal trade union movement both failed to make much headway with their socio-political agenda until the turn of the century.⁵⁹ This at least is the impression given by the following chapter, which takes a closer look at musicians' lifeworld around 1900.

58 For more detail, see chapter 5.

59 For an in-depth treatment, see Fleck, *Sozialliberalismus*, 41–68. See also chapter 5.

Musicians' Plight: Education and Everyday Working Life around 1900

The priority must be 'more love', concluded Stephan Krehl's *Musikerelend. Betrachtungen über trostlose und unwürdige Zustände im Musikerberuf* ('Musicians' Plight. Observations on the Dismal and Disgraceful Conditions in the Music Profession') of 1912. What the music theorist and composer had in mind was not the more frequent let alone more intense expression of affection between musicians. Instead, he was posing the rhetorical question of whether 'anything good [can] ever come into being in the absence of love for one's profession'. Its lack, he contended, was one of the main reasons for the advancing 'rotteness', 'degradation' and 'degeneration' of German musical life. The ideal relationship between musicians and their profession, he believed, would develop free of pecuniary or any kind of achievement-related considerations:

Performing musicians of all kinds are enthusiastically devoted to their art and proceed with touching self-sacrifice, while making no complaint if they receive no outward compensation for all their efforts. Inwardly, of course, they have gained an immeasurably rich reward. The mentality, the ingenuity of such devoted types must ceaselessly be held up to our youth as exemplary.¹

Krehl was paying tribute here to an idealized conception of the artist and artistic creation. It had begun to spread in the late eighteenth century within the framework of the music discourse typical of the educated middle class and it had found an institutional home in the General German Music Association. The wretchedness Krehl was invoking here was not so much that of the destitute, exploited musician, but rather that of the corrupted virtuoso who voluntarily offers himself up to commerce: 'Even gifted artists tend to make a business of art.' They were typified by 'a disagreeable airiness, a harmful indifferentism'. His critique explicitly extended to the education system, in which 'unworthy individuals [...] put themselves forward overtly or covertly

¹ Krehl, S., *Musikerelend: Betrachtungen über trostlose und unwürdige Zustände im Musikerberuf*, Leipzig 1912, 5 and 106 f.

as musical educators' and 'ensnare their victims with the aid of flabbergasting advertisements and promotional materials of a dubious kind'. In short, according to Krehl, the 'moral degradation, indeed barbarization' of musical life was in full swing.²

Just a few years older is Victor Noack's semi-biographical, semi-fictional diary titled *Was ein Berliner Musikant erlebte* ('The Experiences of a Berlin Musician'). Having been an experienced ensemble musician for many years, Noack assailed the social hardships suffered by ordinary musicians: from poor training conditions and miserable pay that left them struggling to feed themselves to insecure forms of employment and dreadful working conditions. Noack had his alter ego, a pianist, perform in brothel-like dives and smoke-filled pubs as well as elegant coffee houses and wine restaurants, and he portrayed him as playing both with absolute dilettantes and with graduates of the Berlin Royal Academy of Music (*Berliner Königliche Hochschule für Musik*). His message was abundantly clear: in the 'musical proletariat', as Noack called it, possibly inspired by Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, talented and mediocre musicians, the highly and minimally educated, came together, with everyone of necessity playing everywhere and with anyone for bare survival.³

Although one might think that Krehl and Noack were describing fundamentally similar phenomena in highlighting musicians' plight and the musical proletariat, Krehl was assailing the impoverishment of musical aesthetics, while Noack was taking aim at musicians' wretched lot within a social framework. Their critiques of the music business with their differing emphases are a good reflection of the institutional division between the Music Association and the Musicians' Union. In a certain sense, these opposing perspectives were mutually dependent and also had a common starting point in the observation of increasing commercialization. The latter encompassed the sheet music trade and the education system as well as concert life and military music. The emergence of a mass musical culture within the public sphere, which developed at the end of the nineteenth century on the basis of largely unrestricted freedom of trade, changed musicians' occupational lifeworld significantly.⁴

2 Ibid., 5, 11 and 100.

3 See Noack, V., *Was ein Berliner Musikant erlebte*, Berlin 1964. On Noack's personal background, see Thies, R., *Ethnograph des dunklen Berlin. Hans Ostwald und die Großstadt-Dokumente (1904–1908)*, Cologne 2006, 172 f. Riehl discerned the rise of an artistic proletariat among musicians as early as 1851. See Riehl, *Natural History*, 239; see also chapter 1.

4 See Bashford, 'Introduction'; Maase, *Grenzenloses*. On the more general implications of commercialization, see also Taylor, T. D., 'The Commodification of Music at the Dawn of the Era of Mechanical Music', *Ethnomusicology* no. 51, 2007, 281–305.

This chapter will illuminate this change by spotlighting the education system and everyday working life while also discussing its consequences. The 'musicians' plight' that comes to light here, I argue, affected the majority of performing musicians. This plight was in evidence in educational establishments of every rank as well as in the daily working lives of freelance and contractually bound musicians. The fact that their professional lifeworld became increasingly precarious at the turn of the century had much to do with the special position of military music, which participated almost without restriction in the musical labour market and thus became an unequal competitor. This specific political economy of musical life in the German Empire had three consequences. First, musicians had to be musically versatile in order to pursue their profession over the long term. Second, they had to demonstrate a willingness to be highly mobile, both within and beyond the borders of the German Empire. And third, musicians could afford no rigid expectations about their career: they might have to give up their profession in whole or in part and take up a different line of work. In a vicious circle, part-time musicians generated a grey area within the musical job market that brought together former professionals, former military musicians and ambitious amateurs, ultimately exacerbating musicians' plight.

The Hell of Apprenticeship and Little Old Men Painting Pictures

Victor Noack or his alter ego learned to play piano in one of the countless so-called music businesses (*Musikgeschäfte*) that sprung up like mushrooms in the final third of the nineteenth century. In the early Weimar Republic, Noack was still branding the associated bands 'apprenticeship hells'.⁵ In fact, the band leaders or musical directors (*Musikdirektoren*), as they also called themselves, ran their bands internally as craftsman's establishments, while posing externally as entrepreneurs in the free music market. This free enterprise was made possible by the adoption of trade regulations by the Reichstag of the North German Confederation in 1869 that reflected a wholesale commitment to freedom of trade. The legislation also eliminated the remaining guild and other privileges in the field of music. The resulting body of rules, which became valid throughout the empire when it was founded in 1871, did not initially provide for restrictions on the organization of musical performances. It was not until an amendment of July 1883 that a simple reservation of authorization was introduced:

⁵ Noack, V., *Kunst und Brot*, Berlin 1922, 4.

Anyone wishing to offer musical performances, shows, theatrical performances or other entertainments on a commercial basis, while pursuing no higher interests of an artistic or scholarly nature, from house to house or on public roads, streets and squares, requires prior permission from the local police.⁶

Even more than this simple caveat, which applied only to outdoor and self-initiated performances, a certain interpretation of the law fostered a rapid increase in apprentice bands within the empire. In many places, these bands were acknowledged as pursuing a 'higher artistic interest' such that they could operate free of the restrictions imposed by the trade regulations.⁷ In short, everyone was free to set up a music enterprise featuring apprentices and thus generate an income. The result was a veritable market in which entire apprentice bands were sold and acquired. The amendment thus failed entirely to fulfil its original goal of reining in the 'disreputable forms of variety entertainment' (*Tingeltangel*) and musical performances regarded as lowbrow.⁸

Official statistics on apprentice bands were not yet being compiled in the German Empire. Around 1900, estimated Ernst Vogel, then president of the General German Musicians' Union, around 10,000 apprentice musicians were employed in private music enterprises and publicly subsidized municipal pipe bands. Given an average apprenticeship of around four years, 2,500 musicians annually were trained in these institutions alone.⁹

Music businesses or enterprises (*Musikgeschäfte*), municipal pipe bands and apprentice bands were thus the basic educational institutions in the

6 'Gewerbeordnung für das Deutsche Reich (Fassung vom 1. Juli 1883)', *Reichsgesetzblatt* no. 15, 1883, 177–240, here 187. The relevant section with respect to the organizing of musical performances was § 33a, though this only stipulated that official permission was required for performances featuring singing. This meant that commercial performances of purely instrumental music in indoor settings remained free of restrictions of any kind, regardless of their artistic content.

7 As late as 1902, the Prussian Court of Appeal (*Kammergericht*) classified an apprentice band as an 'institution of higher musical education' (*höhere Musiklehranstalt*), ascribing to it artistic accomplishments. See Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 50.

8 'Begründung der Novelle', undated (1883), in *Landmann – Rohmer: Gewerbeordnung Erster Band. Kommentar*, revised edition by E. Eyermann and L. Fröhler, Munich 1956, 387. The amendment was part of the efforts made to restrengthen the position of the state within the trade regulations, which were perceived as too liberal. See Quante, 'Gewerbefreiheit', 107–110. The new version failed to achieve its goal partly because the Reichstag altered the bill in such a way that the caveat no longer applied to commercial music-making in indoor settings. On the market constituted by the music businesses, see also Wolschke, *Stadtspfiferei*, 84–86.

9 See Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 55 f.

musical life of the empire. They not only instructed lower-level musicians, as is often claimed, but also trained talents who carved out successful careers in various genres. One example is operetta composer Paul Lincke, who started out as an apprentice in the municipal pipe band in Wittenberge at the age of thirteen. There, he stated, he laid 'the foundation for my entire musical development'. 'A better set of practical experiences', Lincke went on, 'could scarcely be imagined. We played at union (*Verein*) events and at dances, we provided the music for parades, and we also put on symphony concerts'.¹⁰ Another prominent case is that of violin virtuoso Gustav Havemann. Until the age of thirteen, he studied in his father's municipal band in Güstrow, with its thirty apprentices, before taking private lessons in Schwerin and finally ending up under the tutelage of Joseph Joachim in Berlin.

Many musicians in various symphony orchestras had started out as apprentices. Looking back on his apprenticeship, Havemann himself remembered high-calibre classmates, some of whom he ran into again 'occupying the top positions in first-class theatre and concert orchestras' on his later tours.¹¹ The long-standing first concertmaster of the Royal Saxonian Court Orchestra in Dresden, Willy Reiner, had begun his career as an apprentice musician, as had violinist Alfred Malige and several first- and second-generation members of the Berlin Philharmonic. Well into the twentieth century, its double bass players especially were mostly former municipal pipers. This leading orchestra occasionally had some of them, such as Arno Burkhardt (1885–1968), play the tuba, their second instrument from their apprenticeship days.¹²

10 Weinschenk, H. E., *Künstlerplaudern*, Berlin 1938, 181 f.

11 *Beiträge zum Künstlerleben des deutschen Geigers Gustav Havemann, 1882–1960*, edited by W. Havemann, Dresden 1978, 16.

12 See Willy Reiner, 'Aus meinem Leben', in SLUB NL Reiner, Mscr.Dresd.App. 2508/11, 3–6; Malige, A., *Ein Musikantenleben*, Leipzig 1974, 5 f. Other contrabassists in the Berlin Philharmonic who had served as apprentices in the past were Hermann Menzel (1898–1961) from the small but musically vibrant town of Prefsnitz; Friedrich Häkler (1889–1951), who joined in 1924 as a tubist before becoming a bassist from 1945 onwards; Johannes Krause (1859–1943), known simply as 'Kletterkrause' on account of his virtuoso bass playing; Linus Wilhelm, who, like Burkhardt, had become an apprentice in Meerane; Alfred Krüger (1894–1945) and Paul Pingel (1874–1959), who joined the orchestra in 1895 and remains the longest-serving member of a philharmonic orchestra with 55 years in the job. See Wilhelm Altmann, 'Das Kontrabassisten-Quartett der Berliner Philharmoniker', newspaper excerpt, undated (1935), in ArchBPhil G 35/3; 'Er spielte noch unter Brahms', newspaper excerpt, undated (1944), in *ibid.* G Pingel/4; see also *Variationen mit Orchester. 125 Jahre Berliner Philharmoniker*, vol. 2: *Biografien und Konzerte*, edited by Stiftung Berliner Philharmoniker, Berlin 2007, 48, 66, 80, 90 and 131.

TABLE 1 Training of orchestral musicians around 1900 (average age in brackets)

Orchestral education	Heidelberg Orchestra	Municipal Orchestra, Freiburg	Municipal Orchestra, Baden-Baden	Municipal Orchestra, Gera	Court Orchestra, Darmstadt
Apprenticeship	18 (42)	7 (42)	8 (51)	7 (49)	5 (46.5)
Apprenticeship + conservatoire/private institution	4 (38)	9 (38)	6 (32)	7 (31.5)	16 (39.5)
Conservatoire + private institution	8 (32)	6 (40.5)	15 (39.5)	1 (35)	30 (43)

Survey quoted in *Waltz, Orchestermusiker*, 64 f.

A survey carried out in five different orchestras shortly after 1900 showed that musicians with an apprenticeship background made up the majority in three of them (see table 1). However, this applied more to older age groups; by the turn of the century, apprenticeships functioned less often as sole sites of training for work in the symphony orchestra. Reiner and Burkhardt, for instance, took lessons at a conservatoire after their apprenticeship before joining an orchestra. In addition, we can distinguish between court and municipal orchestras, which, as in the case of Gera, can be explained by the fact that its orchestra emerged directly from a municipal pipe band – a state of affairs I will be returning to later.¹³

Regardless of the fundamental importance of the municipal pipe bands for German musical life as a whole, musicians who had been trained in them rarely had a good word to say about everyday life in these institutions. The beginning of the apprenticeship was similar for all students, regardless of their musical ability and prior knowledge. When Paul Lincke arrived in Wittenberge at the age of thirteen, for the first few weeks, as customary for new apprentices, he was permitted to do nothing but chop wood and haul coal, although he had already had violin lessons in Berlin for several years. Others, too, recalled their training years as reminiscent of temporary serfdom: they had to peel potatoes, scrub stairs and take the boss's child for a walk.¹⁴

13 On Gera, see Michel, 'Ausbildung', 185–90.

14 See Schneiderei, O., *Paul Lincke und die Entstehung der Berliner Operette*, Berlin 1981, 19–22; Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 9; Heinrich Bock, 'Erinnerungen', in *DTAE* Reg.nr. 1656.1, here 19; Noack, *Musikant*, 111 f.

Although apprentices were deployed in these housekeeping roles, as a rule they still had to pay a fee of around 100 marks per year of training. In the case of talents such as Lincke or Reiner, who were immediately able to play in the band due to their previous musical education, the tuition fee was waived because they could help make money without delay. Conversely, Malige not only paid fees but also had to cough up for his eiderdown and travel basket. As a rule, students slept in a large hall without cupboards. Only the concertmaster had his own room, while journeymen shared two- and three-bed rooms.¹⁵

The choice of instruments was down to the musical directors. Lincke, for instance, learned the bassoon as a second instrument because this position was vacant. The quality of the instrumental training depended very much on the journeymen and band leaders. Both Lincke and Malige viewed their teachers in a generally positive light. As a rule, however, a few journeymen or the conductor alone provided instruction in all the instruments. Ordinary apprentices like Heinrich Bock from Dörteberg, who began his local music apprenticeship with no previous training, were mostly groomed for flexible deployment in the band rather than trained in a particular instrument. Great leaps in technical prowess were unlikely under such circumstances.¹⁶

Lessons could be a painful experience for apprentices. Some of Bock's recollections are dire:

Unfortunately, I failed to record how many violin bows were shattered across my skull. I often had so many bumps on my head that no hat would fit me. I still remember well one particular morning when three bows burst asunder on my head. The music was to be violently hammered into me as quickly as possible, such that I could make money for my master.¹⁷

Malige portrayed his band leader as a good-natured teacher who nevertheless delivered a clip round the ears from time to time. 'It takes a few blows to make a musician'¹⁸ – such convictions were surely quite common in the German Empire given the prevailing educational concepts and practices. However, the

15 See Schneidereit, *Lincke*, 22; Reiner, 'Aus meinem Leben', in SLUB NL Reiner, Mscr.Dresd.App. 2508/11, 6; Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 9. In Bünde, apprentices are said to have had to sleep two to a bed at times. See Marsop, P., *Die soziale Lage der Deutschen Orchestermusiker*, Berlin 1905, 61.

16 See Bock, 'Erinnerungen', in DTAE Reg.nr. 1656.1, here 18 f.

17 Ibid.

18 According to a letter sent by a musician from Mecklenburg to Waltz. See Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 48.

music apprenticeship was seen as a context in which punishment that was deemed legitimate often degenerated into disgraceful abuse, partly because the musical directors were often retired military musicians rather than trained music teachers.¹⁹ Music writer Paul Bekker went so far as to suggest that in the apprentice bands ‘a bit of the Middle Ages is still alive among us along with a devil-may-care attitude to social norms and an emphasis on the master craftsman’s prerogatives, both of which we otherwise know only from books.’²⁰

Given the miseries of education, the upswing in apprentice bands in the German Empire requires explanation. This boom was closely related, in two ways, to the increasing presence of the armed forces in public life and the accompanying expansion of military music. Many later musicians owed their musical awakening to an encounter with a military band. Lincke’s recollection is instructive:

For me there was nothing better in those days than the moment when the guardsmen of the Guard Pioneers (*Garde-Pioniere*), whose barracks were nearby, departed with a ringing performance. [...] I would bound down the stairs into the street, wait until the soldiers arrived, and then march enthusiastically along to the tight rhythm of the band as far as the guardhouse on Unter den Linden.²¹

It is true that Lincke’s statement dates from 1938, but other musicians whom we have less reason to suspect of an ideologically tinged desire to please, such as Malige or conductor Kurt Sanderling, also highlighted the importance of military music for their subsequent choice of career. Hence, the musical omnipresence of the armed forces in the German Empire, whether in the shape of the guardsmen’s parade, a bandstand concert or a commercial performance in beer gardens and other venues, exerted a great pull, especially on children.²²

19 See *ibid.*, 16 f. and 48 f. On the significance of corporal punishment in the German Empire, see Nipperdey, T., *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918*, vol. 1: *Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist*, Munich 1990, 540 f.

20 Bekker, *Musikleben*, 117. This, however, was only partially correct. Very similar conditions pertained in rural areas in which rules governing the relations between servant and master (*Gesindeordnungen*) still applied. On the countryside, see Ullrich, V., *Die nervöse Großmacht. Aufstieg und Untergang des deutschen Kaiserreichs 1871–1918*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, 306–308.

21 Weinschenk, *Künstlerplaudern*, 181.

22 See Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 4. On Sanderling, see the television documentary *Kurt Sanderling. Reisender durch ein Jahrhundert*, directed by Sasse, E., Germany 2012, 2:40–3:10.

Probably even more important to the upsurge in apprentice bands, however, was the prospect of making a living as a military musician after completing one's apprenticeship. It was not just the young Lincke who wished to pursue a musical career in the army. In general, the prospect of military service was a key reason for many families, especially poorer ones, to place their sons in an apprentice band.²³ After the wars of unification, the armies of the German Empire, standardized on the Prussian model, enjoyed high social prestige among the lower classes, but especially the bourgeoisie. The need for military musicians was great because the army had been expanding continuously since the establishment of the empire, and its public presence increased in line with this. As the armed forces grew, the number of military bands rose from just under 350 to almost 600 between 1879 and 1914. Around 1900, there are said to have been almost 18,000 military musicians. This made the army the largest employer of musicians.²⁴

The appeal of the permanent positions, which were equivalent to the career of a lower *Unteroffizier* (roughly comparable to an NCO), was not based primarily on conditions during the period of service. Instead it was due to the service bonus (*Dienstprämie*) and the so-called *Zivilversorgungsschein*: after serving for the obligatory twelve years, military musicians had truly earned their stripes, being entitled to a government job and a lump sum of 1,000 marks to help them find their way back into civilian life.²⁵ Concertmaster Willy Reiner thus aptly described his apprentice band as a 'nursery for military musicians' and stated that he too would have joined the armed forces had he not been allowed to play Henri Vieuxtemps' *Ballade et Polonaise* in his farewell concert in 1902 – more or less as his *Gesellenstück*, a piece of work qualifying him as a journeyman. His recital impressed one listener so much that he volunteered to be his patron and agreed to cover his study costs.²⁶

23 See Schneidereit, *Lincke*, 23. Lincke was, however, discharged from the armed forces. In Grimma, almost 50 percent of graduates moved into a new line of work; otherwise, at 20 percent, the armed forces were clearly the top choice, ahead of studies at a conservatoire (6 percent). See Wolschke, *Stadtpeferei*, 195.

24 For an in-depth account, see Frevert, U., *A Nation in Barracks: Modern Germany, Military Conscription and Civil Society*. Translated by Andrew Boreham and Daniel Brückenhaus. Oxford 2004, 152–236. On the expansion of the army, see the recruitment statistics in Frevert, U., *Die kasernierte Nation. Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland*, Munich 2001, 359–361. Figures quoted in *Militär-Musiker-Almanach für das Deutsche Reich*, edited by A. Parrhysius, Berlin 1879; Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 58.

25 See Eckardt, *Zivil- und Militärmusiker*, 60.

26 See Reiner, 'Aus meinem Leben', in SLUB NL Reiner, Mscr.Dresd.App. 2508/11, 6 and 9. Reiner's career as a military musician was thus limited to his two years of regular military service.

Reiner ended up at the Royal Dresden Conservatoire (*Königliches Dresdener Konservatorium*), undoubtedly one of the more renowned training institutes in the empire. Contrary to its name, however, it was run as a private family business at the time and merely enjoyed the patronage of the Wettin court.²⁷ Conservatoires were in fact commonplace in the empire because the designation was not legally protected. In Berlin alone there are said to have been 112 such institutions towards the end of the nineteenth century.²⁸ In general, private music instruction was not subject to any legal restrictions in the German Empire; regionally limited reform initiatives are the exception that proves the rule.²⁹

Against this background, the private tuition system was often hardly better than the apprentice bands. Conductor Fritz Busch, who grew up in Siegen as the son of a carpenter, dance musician and musical instrument dealer, remembered his first teacher as

a little old man who, God knows why, called himself a *Musikdirektor*. But though I never heard a note of music from him, nor a single remark about mine, on the other hand the silent *Musikdirektor* painted harmless little pictures in oils while I played Czerny's studies and Chopin's mazurkas. I do not remember that this 'teacher' or the majority of his successors ever gave me any instruction which I felt to be right and therefore worth remembering.³⁰

Legendary in this context is Alexander Moszkowski's contemporary satirical poem about the young piano student Anton Notenquetscher (literally 'note squasher') from Halle, who tries his luck in Berlin at Eduard Mond's conservatoire and learns in its prospectus how this institute differs from others:

27 For more detail, see Heinemann, M., 'Tradition & Effizienz. Zur Geschichte der Dresdner Musikhochschule von 1856 bis 1914', in M. Gervink (ed.), *Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber Dresden 1856–2006*, Dresden 2005, 7–36.

28 See Mittmann, 'Musikerberuf', 242 f.

29 In 1885, Bonn was the only city in Prussia to mandate a so-called permit (*Erlaubnisschein*) for music teachers, which could be obtained only if evidence of the relevant skills was provided. See 'Ein wichtiger Erlass', *DMZ* no. 21, 23 May 1885, 235. It was not until the Weimar Republic that the government implemented corresponding regulations throughout the country. See chapter 8.

30 Busch, F., *Pages from a Musician's Life*. Translated by Marjorie Strachey. London 1953, 26.

Yet often fruitless are the efforts / Of today's music education
 It is becoming harder every day / To bring the right teachers into play,
 Because such a private *Magister*, / Is usually just a dolt.
 In order that the monstrous / Grievances that exist in this sphere
 Are brought fully under control / And to prevent degeneration,
 Professor Mond does himself the honour / Of ensuring that an esteemed
 public
 Is made aware of his conservatoire / Once again.³¹

In the verses below, Anton asks to be admitted to the establishment of the feasting Mond. The latter then takes Anton's apprenticeship money in advance. When he asks when the teaching will begin, Mond makes it clear that

I only ever / Care about the artistic realm,
 I mean the financial. / The other, the commercial sphere
 I mean musical practice, / I quite rightly keep at arm's length.³²

Moszkowski wrote his poem in 1875. By the early twentieth century, there were six editions and a total of 15,000 copies and, beyond its mass readership, it evidently amused such glittering figures as Eduard Hanslick and Engelbert Humperdinck.³³ This may be due in part to the fact that stories of this kind have come down to us even about the most renowned training institutes in the German Empire. Because of a lack of funds, the Leipzig Conservatoire was forced to significantly increase the size of its student body and open itself further to foreign students. As early as 1877, there were 340 students enrolled for every 20 teachers, and the ratio was subsequently to worsen. The recollections of British violist Lionel Tertis of his six-month stay at the Leipzig Conservatoire in 1895 were correspondingly gloomy. Not only did he find the courses of little use overall, but the instrumental lessons in particular were a bitter disappointment: the teacher was far more interested in his stamp collection than in Tertis's violin playing.³⁴

31 Moszkowski, A., *Anton Notenquetscher. Ein satirisches Gedicht in vier Gesängen*, Berlin 1966, 24 f.

32 Ibid., 30.

33 See *ibid.*, iv f.

34 See Tertis, L., *My Viola and I: A Complete Autobiography*, London 1974, 12 f. The teacher in question was Carl Bolland, an early member of the *Gewandhaus* Orchestra. See Jung, *Gewandhausorchester*, 123 f. Tertis's compatriot Ethel Smyth discontinued her studies at the Leipzig Conservatoire because of the unsatisfactory teaching and took private lessons

In short, complaints about inadequate conditions by no means related solely to the field of elementary instruction but were pervasive with respect to both lower and higher institutions of musical education. This was bound up with the fact that the majority of these institutions had to finance themselves and received little or no state or municipal support. In addition, there was still an almost complete lack of awareness of the need to give orchestral musicians a higher education in view of the increased demands imposed by the Romantic and Late Romantic literature. The Grand Ducal Orchestra School (*Grossherzogliche Orchesterschule*), which was established in Weimar at Liszt's insistence in 1872 and was affiliated with the Court Theatre, was the absolute exception. Until the 1920s, it remained the only higher education institute dedicated to this kind of broad-based educational approach. The difference was immediately apparent in the composition of its students and teachers. Unlike the flagship institutions in Berlin, Leipzig and Munich, where a disproportionate number of women and foreigners received lessons from prominent virtuosos, the Weimar institute was devoted to the workmanlike cultivation of the next generation of orchestral musicians.³⁵

Hungry Dogs Make Good Hunters

Market-like structures not only shaped the education sector, but also concerts and musical events as a whole. In 1904, the General German Musicians' Union estimated the number of active civilian musicians working on a freelance, temporary, seasonal or permanent basis at around 50,000. Although most musicians were freelance (*freistehend*), with only a few in permanent jobs (estimates indicated just 2,000), and the former were exposed to the harsh conditions of the musicians' market far more directly than the latter, fundamentally this fraught predicament affected all civilian musicians, regardless of their position or capabilities.³⁶

instead. On this and on the conditions in general, see Wasserloos, *Konservatorium*, 48–53. Many a student, conversely, had fond memories of their time in Leipzig. See for example Grümmer, P., *Begegnungen. Aus dem Leben eines Violoncellisten*, Munich 1963, 23 f.

35 See Altenburg, D., "Punctus contra punctum". Das Leipziger Konservatorium und das Neue Weimar in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* no. 42, 2001, 185–196. On Berlin, see Schenk, *Hochschule*, 294–296. See also chapters 4 and 8.

36 Figures appear in *Recht verlangen wir, nichts als Recht! Ein Notschrei der deutschen Zivilmusiker*, edited by Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikerverband, Berlin 1904, 6. *Frei-*

Music apprentice Bock felt the full force of the tough market conditions. After his four-year apprenticeship, beginning in 1891 he made his way through the northern German provinces for about four years working as a journeyman. Well aware that his musical qualities gave him no reason to hope for a better position, the horrors of his apprenticeship continued unabated. When it came to his numerous professional posts, the food in one place was inedible, and in the next the band resembled a dovecote where all the musicians came and went as they pleased. In Milow, the conductor was the worst musician in the ensemble, while in Rathenow Bock received clips round the ear rather than a fee.³⁷

The lot of freelancing musicians was little better in the cities. Noack's pianist once found himself at the densely packed *Musikerbörse* ('Musicians' Exchange'), the venue we encountered earlier where musicians could go to look for casual work: 'Men of all ages, from sixteen to seventy, [...] ask and beg for work', was his impression, and 'everyone screams and grovels for bread'.³⁸ The destitution may have been exaggerated, and at least in those musicians' exchanges under the supervision of the Musicians' Union things were probably a little more orderly. Nevertheless, substantial demand was regularly accompanied by even greater supply – although the earnings were meagre in this field in the first place. It is true that the tariff rates set by the local branches of the ADEMUV were reasonable. Participation in an oratorio with two rehearsals brought in an average of about ten marks, while eight hours of ball music was worth about the same amount. But musicians did not obtain such lucrative assignments every day, the tariff rates were often ignored, and in small towns especially such rates were often yet to be implemented. At the turn of the century, depending on where they were, freelance musicians thus earned an average annual wage of 500 (Stettin) to 1,100 marks (Essen) – amounts that made it vital to bring in additional income.³⁹

Those musicians who found employment in an orchestra were not in a much better position overall. It is important to distinguish between different groups here, especially since very different forms of organization existed.

stehend was the common term at the time. See for example Stempel, F., *Die soziale Lage der Orchestermusiker. Ueber das Lehrlingswesen. Militärkonkurrenz. Drei Vorträge, gehalten auf der 23. Delegierten-Versammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musiker-Verbandes*, Berlin 1910, 4.

37 Bock, 'Erinnerungen', in DTAE Reg.nr. 1656.2, 1–18.

38 Noack, *Musikant*, 39 f.

39 See Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 86 and 89–96. I flesh out the significance of these amounts later in this chapter.

These organizational types had, moreover, been in a state of flux since the final third of the nineteenth century. In addition to the historically rooted court orchestras, of which there were still twenty-three shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, the symphony orchestra supported by the local municipality was an organizational model that only emerged on a significant scale around that time. The first of its kind was founded in Aachen in 1852. When the empire was proclaimed in 1871, there were only three municipal orchestras that were funded entirely out of the public purse; these were joined by eight more in the following quarter of a century, including two spa orchestras, in Wiesbaden and Homburg. Only then did a genuine trend towards the municipalization of orchestras emerge: by the start of the First World War, they had doubled in number to twenty-two.⁴⁰

The increase in orchestras financed by municipalities was undoubtedly a reflection of greater bourgeois demand for classical music and symphony concerts. In line with this, some of these orchestras, such as the Düsseldorf Symphony Orchestra (*Düsseldorfer Symphoniker*), emerged from a middle-class music society. More often, what had been privately run orchestral ventures were taken into public hands. In Saxony, outdated municipal bands formed the nucleus of modern symphony orchestras, while in the west it tended to be newly established musical enterprises that were often gradually incorporated by the municipalities. The Bonn Municipal Orchestra (*Städtisches Orchester Bonn*), for example, was formed in 1907 out of the Kreuznach Spa Orchestra (*Kreuznacher Kurkapelle*), which until then had been a purely private company owned by conductor Heinrich Sauer; initially, it was merely hired by the municipality without being fully integrated. Even when it was municipalized in 1911, it continued to function as a spa orchestra in Kreuznach in the summer.⁴¹

Such hybrid forms continued to exist in many towns and cities. In 1909, the Bielefeld Municipal Orchestra (*Städtisches Orchester Bielefeld*) was still a musical business owned by its conductor, one subsidized by the city to the tune of 10,000 marks annually for specific musical services. In Nuremberg, the city subsidized the Theatre Orchestra only during the winter season, that is, a period of a little over seven months. While half the musicians were also

40 See *Statistik über Gehalts- und Anstellungsverhältnisse der Orchester*, edited by Deutscher Orchesterbund, Darmstadt 1914. For more detail, see also table 4 in chapter 5.

41 See Schulmeister, S., 'Die Orchesterlandschaft in Deutschland – ein "Weltkulturerbe?"', in A. Jacobshagen and F. Reininghaus (eds.), *Musik und Kulturbetrieb. Medien, Märkte, Institutionen*, Laaber 2006, 253–264, here 256–258. On Saxony, see Wolschke, *Stadt-pfeiferei*, 96–101; see also Michel, 'Ausbildung', 185–190.

booked for the summer operetta season, the rest were left without work and the whole orchestra only reassembled for the new season.⁴² Alongside the military bands, then, profit-oriented music businesses were the most widespread organizational form of orchestra in the German Empire.

Regardless of the variety of organizational forms and the associated internal differences, there is no doubt that the musician's plight was shared by orchestra members. This began with an often-uncertain legal status. It was not uncommon for employers to enter into merely verbal agreements, and fixed-term contracts tended to serve the interests of the business owner. The majority of orchestral musicians, meanwhile, lacked the necessary knowledge to defend themselves against unfair contracts.⁴³ A survey of more than 250 predominantly privately run orchestras in 1902 showed that only eight fully complied with labour and employment law.⁴⁴ Particularly controversial was one clause that regularly appeared in employment contracts, according to which musicians had to be available for 'all musical performances regardless of timing, location and frequency'.⁴⁵ Unpaid rehearsals before the start of the season were commonplace, the waiving of claims for compensation in the event of an accident at work was far from unusual, and 'periods of mourning' (within a given territory), 'contagious illness', and even 'apathy on the part of the audience or other events' were considered grounds for dismissal without notice in some places.⁴⁶

The phrase 'regardless of timing, location and frequency' shows that the working hours of orchestral musicians were highly variable and far from short. Theatres in particular kept musicians very busy. In January 1905, the Bielefeld Municipal Orchestra went not a single day without playing and, including

42 See *Gehalts-Statistik Deutscher Orchester*, edited by *Präsidium des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikerverbands*, Berlin 1909, 31 f.; Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 99–101. On Nuremberg, see Walter Maisch, 'Zur Vorgeschichte des Nürnberger Städtischen Orchesters', *DMZ* no. 45, 8 November 1930, 865 f.; Rempe, M., 'Die Entwicklung des Städtischen Orchesters 1922–1965', in G. Holzer, J. Krämer, and M. Rempe (eds.), *Staatsphilharmonie Nürnberg. 100 Jahre Kulturgeschichte eines Orchesters*, Münster 2022, 19–22.

43 The genesis of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, which emerged in 1882 in the wake of a dispute with musical entrepreneur and conductor Benjamin Bilse and was organized henceforth on a self-managing basis, is an exception to the rule in this regard. See Altmann, W., *Chronik des Berliner Philharmonischen Orchesters (1882–1902)*, Berlin 1902.

44 See Paul Ertel, 'Zur Revision der Musiker-Verträge', *DMZ* no. 32, 10 August 1901, 459–461.

45 Ernst Vogel, 'Musiker-Verträge', *DMZ* no. 52, 24 December 1904, 773 f.

46 To cite a musician's contract drawn up by the Olympia Theatre Dortmund (*Dortmunder Olympiatheater*) in 1902. Reprinted in Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 80–82. On the rehearsals, see Krieger, L., *Die soziale Lage der Theaternusiker*, Heidelberg 1913, 25 f.

rehearsals, played on a total of just under one hundred occasions, lasting between two and a half (concert) and eight hours (concert and ball). The musicians at the Nuremberg City Theatre (*Stadttheater Nürnberg*) had a particularly difficult lot, because they also regularly provided the nearby cities of Fürth, Erlangen and Bamberg with operatic performances and symphony concerts. There were hardly any days off, and if, for example, there was a performance in Bamberg in the evening, the day would begin at 9 a.m. at the theatre on Richard-Wagner-Platz with a four-hour rehearsal and end sixteen hours later at 1 a.m. at the main railway station in Nuremberg.⁴⁷

Even rehearsals after performances are said to have been far from taboo in some places, and such work rhythms inevitably impacted quality. Richard Strauss found the standard in Nuremberg so abysmal that he wrote a letter of protest to the mayor expressing his outrage that 'I found in your city an orchestra which, apart from the Orchestra in Lemberg in Galicia, was the worst I have ever come across – and I have conducted orchestras in practically the whole world'.⁴⁸

The extreme workload was often coupled with a high level of uncertainty. Other than in the few large court orchestras, such as those in Berlin, Darmstadt, Dresden and Munich, and the municipally funded orchestras featuring permanent positions, contract periods were generally short. Particularly common were seasonal businesses that hired musicians only for a given season, which led to rapid turnover within these orchestras and required the musicians to be highly mobile. But this affected even the members of smaller court orchestras because they often played only during the winter season and their annual salaries were correspondingly low. For example, the Meiningen Court Orchestra (*Meiningen Hofkapelle*) was based on this seasonal principle, which is one of the reasons why famous conductor Hans von Bülow ended his engagement there. To what extent a bespoke orchestral education and musical instruction were possible at all under these conditions is an open question.⁴⁹ In any case, for many musicians in the German Empire it was part and parcel of their working lives to spend the summer in a different place than the winter.

47 See Krieger, *Theatermusiker*, 19, 109–111; Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 101.

48 Strauss, R., *Recollections and Reflections*. Translated by L. J. Lawrence. London 1953 (1949), 23–25, quotation on 23.

49 For more detail, see Hinrichsen, H.-J., 'Ist "die beste Republik ein kunstsinniger, kunstverständiger Fürst"? Meininger Hoftheater und Hofkapelle in den 1880er Jahren', in H. E. Bödeker et al. (eds.), *Organisateurs et formes d'organisation du concert en Europe 1700–1920: institutionnalisation et pratiques*, Berlin 2008, 321–332. From time to time, Bülow even paid key soloists at his own expense.

Sometimes entire orchestras followed the paying public as it sought rest and relaxation in the empire's spas and seaside resorts: the Hamburg-based musicians went to Ems, the Rostockers to Warnemünde. Foreign countries also provided work. The Berlin Philharmonic served as a spa orchestra in the Dutch seaside resort of Scheveningen between 1885 and 1911, and in the United States so many German musicians were signed up during the summer months of the 1880s that local musicians' unions took legal action against them.⁵⁰

Moving to work in places generally visited because of their health-promoting climate or waters was often detrimental to musicians' physical and mental well-being. Music critic Paul Marsop complained that spa orchestra concerts sometimes resembled 'preparatory training for a Siberian winter campaign', as the spa administrators held them no matter how bad the weather and without compromising on the dress code:

In his carefully ironed, tall silk hat, the miserable wretch with chattering teeth, whose lunch often consists of a roll and a bit of sausage, is obliged to sit opposite some philistine bather sauntering to and fro as he pleases in his casual morning attire and generally gawping uncomprehendingly at his activities.⁵¹

The spa orchestras in particular showed that the life of an orchestral musician was not necessarily more appealing than that of musicians sometimes required to spend half the night in a smoky dive.

If, once again, we discount the few first-rate court orchestras and well-equipped municipal orchestras, where a *Tuttist* (rank-and-file player) earned a basic salary of up to 3,400 marks (Berlin Court Orchestra) or 2,300 marks (Mainz Municipal Orchestra) a year, the wages of orchestral musicians were generally low if not at poverty level. *Tuttisten* in Nuremberg took home a maximum of 130 marks a month; in Bielefeld and Bonn, the wages were in a similar range.⁵² And even the better-off orchestras offered no major leap in earnings: Marsop calculated in 1905 that a musician and father of two in the Frankfurt

50 See Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 100 f. *Recht verlangen wir*, 7. Möller, T., 'Global Players. Die Berliner Philharmoniker auf Reisen', in *Variationen mit Orchester. 125 Jahre Berliner Philharmoniker*, vol. 1: *Orchestergeschichte*, edited by Stiftung Berliner Philharmoniker, Berlin 2007, 126–135. On the United States, see Hermann Thadewaldt, 'Sind Musiker Künstler?' *DMZ* no. 23, 6 June 1885, 259 f.; Spitzer, J., 'American Orchestras and Their Unions in the Nineteenth Century', in Spitzer, J. (ed.), *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*, Chicago 2012, 78–102, here 84.

51 Marsop, *Die soziale Lage*, 52 f. Similar points are made in Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 102.

52 See Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 101–105. On Bielefeld and Bonn, see *Gehalts-Statistik*, 31.

Theatre Orchestra earning 2,327 marks a year would have 1.78 marks a day for food, without factoring in maids, recreation, allowances for husband and wife and any illnesses or accidents within the family.⁵³

Finally, musicians not only suffered harsh working conditions, great insecurity and low wages. Given the stiff competition from military musicians, it was often difficult to find enough work in the first place. As we have seen, military music expanded continuously between 1871 and 1914, such that after 1900 there were around 50,000 civilian musicians compared to around 18,000 military musicians. Not even the army itself had precise figures, which was bound up with the relatively opaque organization of military bands. In addition to the almost 6,000 permanent oboists, the regiments fell back on so-called surplus military musicians in order to fill all the positions in these ensembles, which could amount to between 18 and 95 posts (in battalion bands and in the Imperial Navy, 2nd Naval Division respectively). The average was around 30 musicians.⁵⁴ Some of the 'surplus' were permanently employed assistant oboists, but the vast majority were *Gefreite* (roughly, lance corporals) and re-enlistees (*Kapitulanten*) who were withdrawn from military service without being officially listed as military musicians.⁵⁵

The competition with civilian musicians arose from the fact that in principle military bands were permitted to perform in public. There were two main aspects to the thinking of the military leadership in this regard. First, it saved the army a lot of money. The extremely low earnings of the military musicians could be supplemented substantially through commercial performances without burdening the war chest. The Prussian War Ministry estimated that around seven million marks more would have had to be raised annually merely for the surplus military musicians to receive adequate salaries.⁵⁶

Second, the military band played a key role as hinge between army and people. The public presence of military musicians served the political purpose of securing social acceptance for the emperor and nation while also enhancing the army's popularity. In view of the revenue generated, which the Musicians' Union estimated at over ten million marks a year, this approach more than paid off. In their smart uniforms and with their musical versatility, military

53 Marsop, *Die soziale Lage*, 37.

54 See *Militär-Musiker-Almanach für das Deutsche Reich*, edited by A. Parrhysius, Berlin 1899, 403–405 and 410.

55 See Rott, F., *Der Dienst im Heere als Militärmusiker*, Berlin 1898, 24; Eckhardt, *Zivil- und Militärmusiker*, 48–50.

56 See *ibid.*, 22; Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 58. Oboists, *Gefreite* and re-enlistees were paid between 8 and 19 marks a month, staff oboists up to 44 marks.

musicians enjoyed great popularity, not only among the common people, but especially with the bourgeois audience. Paul Marsop lamented a 'deeply rooted preference among broad, in many respects crucial social strata for military music', while Breslau-based musician and author Hermann Eichborn emphasized its function as musical role model: 'The civilian band, dependent on the general public, must, like it or not, adapt to this system or *it* will be given its marching orders.'⁵⁷

In addition, military bands were more popular with event organizers: they not only pulled in the crowds but were usually cheaper than their civilian counterparts. For regardless of their low wages, military musicians received extensive privileges and benefits in kind: exemption from taxation on regular income and the obligation to pay social insurance contributions, provision of housing, clothing, instruments, sheet music and medical care, train fare reductions and the granting of unlimited leave in order to make music on a commercial basis. This special position meant that military bands were more cost-effective for individual events as well as longer-term engagements and also had a presence in areas where no regiment was stationed.⁵⁸ Last but not least, a friendly press helped anchor the presence of military musicians in public spaces as a natural part of musical life in the German Empire. 'Critics fall silent before militarism', Eichborn scolded, while Marsop, referring to 'countless reviews of military concerts in newspapers of every party-political hue', could never discover anything other than 'unalloyed praise, doled out by the sackful'.⁵⁹

The heavy competition provided by military musicians affected the majority of their civilian counterparts, because the military bands were not only geographically omnipresent in the empire and beyond⁶⁰ but also extremely flexible with regard to events and musical repertoire. Since Wieprecht's reforms in the middle of the century, military ensembles had increasingly pursued artistic ambitions. The degree programme for military conductors for which Wieprecht had called in vain was established at the Berlin Royal Academy of

57 Marsop, *Die soziale Lage*, 97; Eichborn, H., *Militarismus und Musik*, Berlin 1909, 20. On this estimate, see *Recht verlangen wir*, 3.

58 See *Recht verlangen wir*, 10; Eckhardt, *Zivil- und Militärmusiker*, 91–94.

59 Eichborn, *Militarismus*, 20; Marsop, *Die soziale Lage*, 99.

60 In some cases, military bands spent the whole year performing abroad on a commercial basis, particularly in Switzerland. See 'Abschrift derjenigen Orte des Auslandes, wohin für 1896 für Militärmusikkapellen Urlaub erbeten ist', undated (1895), in BArch R 901/28778. On the context, see Remppe, 'Cultural Brokers'.

Music in 1874 and resulted in the training of well over 300 so-called bandmasters (*Musikmeister*) by the time of the empire's demise.⁶¹ A short time later, in the shape of the *Deutsche Militär-Musiker-Zeitung* ('German Military Musicians Newspaper'), a bespoke periodical addressed itself to the musical public sphere, its objectives discernible in its subheading: 'An Organ Dedicated to the Elevation of German Military Music.' It was published once a week. As well as conveying specific information to bandmasters and oboists, it also sought to address the general public and, in keeping with the pedagogical tradition of art music periodicals, to educate them 'by instructing them in musical knowledge and prowess'.⁶²

With the establishment of the position of Army Music Director (*Armeemusikinspizient*) in 1887, which was combined with a professorship at the Berlin Academy, military music was finally furnished with an official figurehead. When Berlin-based military musical director and trained violinist Gustav Roßberg was appointed to this position in 1890, he used his leading role, among other things, to add a string section to the military band, thus enlarging it to the size of a symphony orchestra. This enabled many military ensembles to perform the classical repertoire with the original line-up (figure 1).⁶³

A typical product of these artistic ambitions within military music was Albert Krantz, who had a 'classical' military music career in a dual sense, up to and including the post of Royal Musical Director.⁶⁴ Born in Königsberg, he moved to Braunsberg in 1866 to study music in an apprentice band and joined the infantry regiment in Königsberg five years later. In 1880, he was admitted to the military bandmaster course at the above-mentioned Academy of Music. Together with his fellow students from the armed forces, Krantz took part in

61 See 'Namentliches Verzeichnis der zur königlich-akademischen Hochschule für Musik abkommandierten Militärmusiker, 1888–1944', undated, in BArch-MA MSG 206/9. The number of students grew disproportionately in comparison to their civilian colleagues. For more detail, see Schenk, *Hochschule*, 172–178.

62 August Kalkbrenner, 'Unsere Zeitung', *DMMZ* no. 9, 7 December 1879, 45.

63 See Panoff, *Militärmusik*, 157 f.; Toeche-Mittler, J., *Armeemärsche I. Teil. Eine historische Plauderei zwischen Regimentsmusiken und Trompeterkorps rund um die deutsche Marschmusik*, Neckargemünd 1971, 161 f.; Schenk, *Hochschule*, 172–178; Applegate, 'Men'. Roßberg's successor, Theodor Grawert, who held this post from 1908 onwards, also played violin and was zealous in his goal of further entrenching the artistic aspirations of military music in Germany.

64 The title of 'Royal Musical Director' (*Königlicher Musikdirektor*) was conferred only on especially well-qualified military bandmasters of outstanding merit. See Höfele, *Militärmusik*, 174.



FIGURE 1 Orchestral rehearsal by the Berlin Guard Fusilier Regiment (*Garde-Füsilier-Regiment*) under Carl Frese, undated (BArch-MA MSG 206/14)

the orchestral rehearsals under provost Joseph Joachim, in which he played the alto trombone. In 1883, he returned to Königsberg as a freshly qualified bandmaster. Krantz described his first official engagements as follows:

Our concert venue at the time was Julchenthal. With an entrance fee of 10 pfennigs, our takings were 300–320 marks (in good weather). As a novelty, I introduced the composers' evenings: Strauss, Weber, Mozart, Beethoven and Wagner nights. These concerts met with great acclaim and were always very well attended.

Up to 3,200 people attended these concerts. Subsequently, there was also cooperation with the local philharmonic orchestra, the Singing Academy (*Singakademie*) and other choirs, such that Krantz and his infantry band came to form an indispensable part of Königsberg musical life.⁶⁵

65 See Albert Krantz, 'Aus meinem Leben', 1932, in BArch-MA MSG 206/3. Film composer Werner Richard Heymann, originally from Königsberg, also recalls the key significance of the military band conducted by Krantz. It was the only one, he stated, that also played more modern music. See Heymann, W. R., 'Liebling, mein Herz lässt Dich grüßen'. *Der*

Königsberg was not a special case. Throughout the empire, military bands played at garden concerts and beer festivals as well as in opera houses and concert halls. Theatre entrepreneurs, music agents and even local authorities were their employers, and performances ranged from marching music through symphony concerts to full operatic performances. This placed them in direct competition with the many private and partially subsidized orchestral ventures, and even permanently employed musicians in municipal symphony orchestras feared the military bands, which often deprived them of the opportunity to earn additional income. In addition, it is said that in the late nineteenth century military musicians sometimes still played with court orchestras, as they once did under Louis Spohr in Kassel (see chapter 1, 44); they were deployed in the wood and brass sections in particular. In some cases, then, they even challenged civilian musicians for the most coveted positions.⁶⁶

Commercial music-making, especially in the field of high culture, became so widespread that even within the armed forces' own ranks critical voices complained about the role reversal that had occurred:

Ever more often, concert performances are becoming the main task of the military band, while its military duties are perceived as irritating and inconvenient shackles [...] and many a staff oboist hires his artists based mainly on their ability as violinists or cellists, while asking merely as a secondary question which wind instrument they play.⁶⁷

Ultimately, the numerous trained military musicians provided appreciable competition for their civilian colleagues even after they had completed their military service, because it was easy to combine the earning of extra income with the undemanding civil service sinecures with which former members of the armed forces were furnished. Of course, other civil servants had the same idea. When cellist Heinrich Grünfeld arrived in Berlin in December 1875 to try his luck there, he was amazed when, on the occasion of his first engagement as a solo cellist at the Berlin Symphony Orchestra, he found himself playing with 'old military musicians, postmen, bailiffs, and so on'. Only the first stands were

erfolgreichste Komponist der UFA-Zeit erinnert sich, edited by H. Ortkemper, Berlin 2011, 25. According to the Musicians' Union, 273 military musicians were resident in Königsberg in 1907 compared with 100 civilian musicians. See *Protokoll der 22. Delegierten-Versammlung*, edited by Allgemeiner Deutscher Musiker-Verband, Berlin 1907, 141.

66 See Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 67–73; *Recht verlangen wir*, 7.

67 Major General von Schmidt, 'Unsere Militärmusik', *Jahrbücher für die deutsche Armee und Marine*, March 1904, 335–339, here 337.

occupied by professionals, though this did not affect remuneration: there was no fixed fee, with takings being shared out equally.⁶⁸

No wonder, then, that Marsop's fear of the 'growth of a proletariat of unemployed performing musicians or those forced into slavery' related to the profession as a whole, not just a specific part of it. Nor is it surprising that he began his observations by quoting Franz Lachner. When asked about the social lot of his orchestral musicians, the long-time Munich general music director showed little sympathy. His insider knowledge clearly on display and reflecting views still widespread among music entrepreneurs and other employers at the beginning of the twentieth century, he simply stated: 'Hungry dogs make good hunters.'⁶⁹

Versatile, Mobile, Flexible: Lifeworlds

The social question had undoubtedly made its entry into musical life, and it was relevant to a large number of working musicians. As long as it remained pressing, it had three key consequences. First, given the conditions I have described, only very few musicians could freely choose their employer and thus decide for themselves which music to play. Musical flexibility and a certain indifference to the social reputation of a given venue were the order of the day, not least due to the presence of their all-rounder colleagues in uniform, as illustrated by the career paths of Alfred Malige and Willy Reiner.

In April 1913, at the age of just seventeen, Malige left his apprenticeship at the Ohlau Municipal Band (*Ohlauer Stadtkapelle*) before going on to obtain his first job with the orchestra of the *Zeltgarten*, a small variety theatre in Breslau. For ninety marks a month, he only had to do three hours of evening duty a day, leaving a considerable amount of time for further training and practice. Just a few months later, he switched to the more lucrative Cinema Ensemble (*Kinoensemble*) in order to save up for a new violin. There were no days off here either, and the three to four screenings a day requiring musical accompaniment eventually became too strenuous for Malige, prompting him to accept an engagement in the Baltic Sea resort of Cranz the following summer, where he stayed until the outbreak of the First World War.⁷⁰

68 Grünfeld, H., *In Dur und Moll. Begegnungen und Erlebnisse aus fünfzig Jahren*, Leipzig 1923, 37–39. See also Hermann Thadewaldt, 'Unser Standpunkt in der Berliner Beamtenmusiker-Frage', *DMZ* no. 21, 22 May 1880, 208 f.

69 Marsop, *Die soziale Lage*, 15.

70 See Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 17–19.

Willy Reiner's career initially took him to the Bad Liebenstein Spa Orchestra in Thuringia, where he spent the summer of 1902. He then received lessons from the concertmaster of the Chemnitz Municipal Orchestra (*Chemnitzer Stadtorchester*), in which he also played in the second violins for 90 marks a month. Because of the large number of orchestral engagements, from concerts through opera and plays to ball music, he had very little chance to develop musically. Thanks to his patron, Reiner managed to gain admittance to the Dresden Conservatoire a year later, as mentioned above. Finally, in March 1905, he entered the Royal Orchestra in that city, which earned him the privilege of a secure and comparatively well-paid permanent position. His fifty-year tenure was only interrupted by military service in the 100th Life Grenadier Regiment (*Leib-Grenadier-Regiment*), where his connections made his life easier; for example, he did not have to live in the barracks. After returning to the orchestra, he switched to the first violins, becoming a conductor only in the early 1920s.⁷¹

Certainly, both violinists gained these different experiences at an early stage of their musical lives, when a greater willingness to be mobile and flexible was in the nature of things. But these experiences still point up structural characteristics of the labour market for musicians in the German Empire. First, musicians who never left home in this short-termist and stressful world rarely handed down their memories to posterity. Second, there were many orchestras that, like the Chemnitz Municipal Orchestra, played all genres. The rehearsal schedule of the Bielefeld Orchestra of January 1905, for example, included the categories of concert, philharmonic concert and theatre as well as social concert (*Gesellschaftskonzert*), table music, church music, ball, wedding and riding lesson.⁷²

In view of these diverse musical obligations, it would be a mistake to transfer the music-aesthetic discourse typical of the educated bourgeoisie one-to-one to the lifeworldly practice of performing musicians. Contrary to what one might think today, at that time playing in spa bands was by no means an inferior, artistically inappropriate activity, but rather a taken-for-granted part of the summer season for musicians of all skill levels. The Berlin Philharmonic's annual excursion to Scheveningen is a good example. There its musical foci varied, with a light afternoon concert and a symphonic evening concert; marches by Berlin military bandmaster Julius Lehnhardt were just as

71 See Reiner, 'Aus meinem Leben', in SLUB NL Reiner, Mscr.Dresd.App. 2508/11, 6–12.

72 See Krieger, *Theatermusiker*, 109–111.

much a part of the repertoire as waltzes by operetta king Leo Fall.⁷³ But even seasoned court musicians were not above a stint at a health resort. Violinist Gustav Havemann of the Darmstadt Court Orchestra spent three months at the Majorenhof in Riga in the summer of 1904. Havemann fondly remembered this time and was impressed by the high musical standards on site: 'Opera and operetta fantasies were permissible, but the potpourris common in Germany would surely have got us booted.'⁷⁴

The summer concert pavilions, then, were musical sites where aesthetic hierarchies were only partially valid, and where they were of little relevance to the performers. Naturally, this necessity for flexibility in musical matters was a thorn in the side of many a musician. The encounter related by Fritz Busch between himself and Paul Lincke in Bad Pyrmont in the summer of 1910 is instructive, regardless of its anecdotal nature. Busch had been hired there for the summer season. Weary of the light fare he was supposed to serve up, the aspiring conductor took the spa concerts as an opportunity to familiarize himself with the symphonic repertoire of Antonín Dvořák, though the programme listed works by relevant composers of popular music – chiefly Lincke. When the *grand seigneur* of the Berlin operetta, who Busch, in his own words, 'particularly hated', visited Bad Pyrmont to take a cure, the deception came to his attention. To make amends, Busch arranged a number of concerts for Lincke featuring his music, which he was also allowed to conduct himself. Meanwhile, together with his brother, Busch devoted himself to Beethoven's violin sonatas: 'Everyone was satisfied.'⁷⁵

Although Busch emphasized the different aesthetic preferences at play in his account of this involuntary encounter and gave free rein to his antipathies, he placed his own experiences in the field of popular music during his youth in a far more positive light: he had regularly played dance music with his father and his brother Adolf as the 'Busch Salon Band' at *Kirmes* fairs (held on the anniversary of the consecration of a church) in order to bolster the family finances. On such occasions, 'all artistic ideals were abandoned', stated Busch when recalling these performances, in which he played a wide variety of instruments. Yet in his subsequent career, Busch conceded frankly, the 'knowledge of light music (*Unterhaltungsmusik*) [...] was of great use to me.'⁷⁶

73 See Möller, 'Global Players', 128. That there was nothing shameful about this is also evident in light of prominent guest conductors such as Richard Strauss, George Enescu and Siegfried Wagner.

74 *Beiträge*, 38 f.

75 Busch, *Pages*, 79 f. Translation modified.

76 *Ibid.*, 36 and 52.



FIGURE 2 Schrammel Quintet, featuring Arnold Schönberg and Fritz Kreisler, July 1900
(© Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna)

The ambivalent attitudes of famous musicians dedicated to so-called serious music towards popular music is a topic worthy of systematic study in its own right. The Schrammel Quintet (figure 2), which had a top-class line-up, with Fritz Kreisler on the violin and Arnold Schönberg on the cello, shows that the gap between the two, which educated middle-class music criticism and musicology never tired of measuring, was often less deep in practice.⁷⁷ In such cases, even (or especially) the avant-garde paid homage to genres quite different from those they generally extolled, although evidently only for the joy of making music.

Conversely, it was by no means easier to evade serious music. Certainly not all, but an astonishingly broad swathe of classical music was part of the standard repertoire of formations dedicated to providing musical entertainment well into the twentieth century. A contemporary advertisement by an

77 During his time in Vienna, Schönberg took great pleasure in the operetta and in addition to Kreisler he associated with other colleagues dedicated to popular music such as Oscar Straus. See Stuckenschmidt, H. H., *Schönberg. Leben, Umwelt, Werk*, Zurich 1974, 31 and 49–51.

outfit calling itself the Beethoven Salon Band furnishes us with a conspicuous example of this. Overtures and excerpts from operas such as Wagner's *Tannhäuser* or Giacomo Puccini's *Tosca* were on the programme as well as the two movements from Franz Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* and Carl Maria von Weber's concert piece *Invitation to the Dance*, in a word: technically extremely demanding literature that got no easier when arranged for a salon orchestra.⁷⁸ As discussed earlier, even the army was not immune to the consecration of high culture. As a musician, then, the opportunities to commit to a specific genre of music were extremely limited. They were in fact restricted to that which was scarcely worthy of a musician's ambition – the tawdry dance band – or that which was difficult to achieve: a permanent post in one of the few renowned court orchestras.

Finally, those who were committed – or made to commit – to a certain repertoire included the soloists. However, it would be misleading to assume that even the most talented members of the music profession could lead an autonomous artistic life beyond social constraints. Being a soloist involved a lot of work beyond the stage. No one has described this more fittingly and with less pretension than Bronisław Huberman, a Polish violinist and student of Joachim, on the occasion of a lecture at the Vienna People's Education Association (*Wiener Volksbildungsverein*) in 1912:

I play so much violin that I can claim the title of violinist for myself on a purely 'quantitative' basis. But the duration and extent of my travels would entitle me to another professional title, that of traveller, let's say a commercial traveller [*commis voyageur*] specialized in playing the violin, just as other respectable citizens travel to sell flour, leather and the like. In addition, there is my work as an office manager (*Bureauchef*). And this is not the easiest thing to do given my many trips, when you consider how ill-suited a business enterprise is to an ambulatory approach. In addition, there are various secondary activities and demands such as: railway geography, folk psychology, advertising, etc., and it is the sum of all these activities, each of which is enough to occupy a person's time, that gives rise to the modern performing artist.⁷⁹

78 See 'Die bekannte Salon-Kapelle Beethoven', *Der Artist* no. 1384, 20 August 1911. See also advertisement 'Billige Salonorchester: Einführungs- und antiquarische Exemplare', *ibid.* no. 1644, 13 August 1916.

79 Huberman, B., *Aus der Werkstatt des Virtuosen*, Leipzig 1912, 5.



FIGURE 3 Ball orchestra featuring the world's most famous artists, undated. From right to left: Bronisław Huberman, Enrico Caruso, Franz Lehár, an unidentifiable cellist, Jan Kubelik, Hugo Becker, Eugène Ysaÿe, Willy Heß, Fritz Kreisler, Mischa Elman and Franz von Vecsey (postcard, undated, *AdK Hermann Lunger Archive* no. 116)

And just as the soloist had to be able to do much more than just master his instrument, according to Huberman he was also required to adapt to his audience: 'Of course, he has to find the right balance when assessing his impact, depending on what, before whom and for whom he is playing.'⁸⁰

Thus, just like other musicians, soloists had to be flexible in terms of music aesthetics and be willing to cater to different social strata in order to pursue their profession. In an exaggerated yet apt way, both factors came together in a postcard depicting the most famous ball orchestra in the world (figure 3), on which Huberman, together with the *crème de la crème* of violinists and cellists, were depicted in the form of a collage, under the direction, tellingly, of trained military bandmaster Franz Lehár.

A second consequence of musicians' plight was spatial in nature. It consisted in the fact that more than a few musicians drew their own conclusions from their situation and tried their musical luck elsewhere. There are no figures on the extent of musicians' labour migration or their share of the almost

⁸⁰ Ibid., 21.

three million people who bid farewell to Germany in the final third of the nineteenth century.⁸¹ However, there is no doubt that German musicians worked temporarily in many European countries and beyond or even settled permanently abroad.⁸² The *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*, first published in 1870, could be read a few years later in many neighbouring European countries, in the United States and in Russia, with large Russian cities such as Moscow and St. Petersburg being home to a particularly large number of German musicians during this decade.⁸³ In Helsinki, under Russian rule at the time, even the regulations for the orchestral association's band were in German and penalties, for example for drunkenness at work, were given in marks.⁸⁴ Membership trends in the Musicians' Union reveal veritable national trajectories. Shortly before the turn of the century, the Netherlands, for example, became an attractive place to work for musicians.⁸⁵

Most musicians, however, moved to the United States, which was the leading destination for German emigration in the nineteenth century. Many of them crossed the Atlantic only for temporary employment, but in the wake of the great waves of emigration in the years around 1848 and in the 1880s, a large number of them ended up settling permanently.⁸⁶

In individual cases, especially when it comes to more prominent musicians, it may well be true that a missionary zeal to disseminate a certain kind of 'culture' was a key motive for emigration. In other words, they sought to spread 'German' art music across the world as the 'universal language of emotions', as Jessica Gienow-Hecht puts it in her essential study on musicians' migration

81 See Ullrich, *Großmacht*, 135 f.

82 On the mobility of famous musicians, see Osterhammel, 'Globale Horizonte', 116–123.

83 See 'Kassenbericht über die Deutsche Pensionskasse für Musiker', *DMZ* no. 36, 2 September 1876, 364, and chapter 2. The extensive participation of musicians working in other European countries in the Musicians' Union pension fund implies that as a rule labour migration in Europe was temporary in nature.

84 See Tarr, *East Meets West*, 168.

85 See *Festschrift zum 25jährigen Bestehen des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musiker-Verbandes, 1872–1897*, edited by Präsidium, Berlin 1897, 37–39. The local Amsterdam branch, founded in 1894, grew from around 20 to almost 250 members within just a few years – only five German cities had more members in 1897. Branches were also established in Arnhem (1896) and The Hague (1897).

86 See Rößler, H., 'Massenexodus. Die Neue Welt des 19. Jahrhunderts', in K. J. Bade (eds.), *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Munich 1992, 148–157. The best-known ensemble within the first wave of migration is generally considered to be the Germania Musical Society. See Newman, N., *Good Music for a Free People: The Germania Musical Society in Nineteenth Century America*, Rochester, NY 2010, esp. 7–21.

to the United States.⁸⁷ As a general thesis, however, this argument is less convincing. First, Gienow-Hecht overlooks the poor socio-economic conditions and the bad reputation suffered by ordinary orchestral musicians in Germany with respect to both their audience and working lives. ‘The republican self-confidence of the Americans’, wrote a self-proclaimed ‘greenhorn’ in 1874 to a recipient in his old homeland, ‘does not allow the kind of obnoxious and ignoble bootlicking that is still quite often a commonplace in Germany, to the shame of German musicians’. This musician’s account went on to state that ‘here people are treated more like humans and less like machines’ while ‘the mentality of the subject or serf’ was alien to US-Americans. If emotions played a role at all in the emigration of musicians, it was usually less a matter of a desire to become a missionary for music and more of fleeing the widespread lack of appreciation for their occupation.⁸⁸

Second, Gienow-Hecht neglects to observe that both in Germany and in the United States there was a major gap between the discourse on music-aesthetic hierarchies and musical practices within society; musicians in the United States, moreover, had to remain flexible in terms of aesthetics, perhaps even more so than in Germany.⁸⁹ Aesthetics, to quote our ‘greenhorn’ once again, played virtually no role in professional practice in the United States. Instead, according to this source, what one often heard was: ‘I earn this or that amount’ – US-American musicians allegedly took pride only in their earnings.⁹⁰ And this seems to have changed little over time. ‘The more ambition an orchestral musician in New York has, the sooner he’ll starve’, stated a letter sent to Germany around the turn of the century.⁹¹

The prospect of fairer treatment and higher earnings is, therefore, likely to have been the main motive for migrant musicians. The fact that these hopes were by no means always fulfilled is evident if we look at the situation in New York, where, according to the same source, ‘in summer, many

87 Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*, 84–86. For the most important complement to this study, see Ostendorf, B., ‘The Diluted Second Generation: German-Americans in Music, 1870–1920’, in H. Keil (ed.), *German Workers’ Culture in the United States: 1850 to 1920*, Washington DC 1988, 261–287, who places far greater emphasis on migrants’ cultural adaptability to local musical life.

88 See H. Hammer, ‘Ansichten eines “Grünen” über amerikanische Musiker-Verhältnisse’, *DMZ* no. 12, 22 March 1874, 89 f.; Rößler, ‘Massenexodus’, 150–153.

89 On the emergence of cultural hierarchies in the United States, see Levine, *High-brow/Lowbrow*.

90 See H. Hammer, ‘Ansichten eines “Grünen” über amerikanische Musiker-Verhältnisse’, *DMZ* no. 12, 22 March 1874, 89 f.

91 See ‘Aus New York’, *DMZ* no. 9, 1 March 1899, 109.

a Leipzig conservator [...] envies the gang of Italian rascals who torment the passengers on a Long Island steamer with their so-called music, and afterwards, hat in hand, are allowed to go round collecting nickels'.⁹² A member of Theodore Thomas's orchestra complained about the harsh working conditions in the famous ensemble and called his work 'musical wood-chopping'.⁹³ Such accounts in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* regularly warned of fallacious salary expectations, but also of shady agents and musical directors, not only in the United States, but in the United Kingdom and Russia as well. 'The adage that getting into Russia is quite easy, but getting out is very difficult, is only too true', lamented one German musician writing from St. Petersburg in allusion to the low fees and high cost of living, such that saving for a possible journey home was out of the question.⁹⁴

When considering this deterrent discourse, it should be borne in mind that the authors had an obvious motive for putting off additional competition, especially in the United States, where the profession grew from 16,000 to 92,000 musicians between 1870 and 1900 and thus almost sixfold. Newly arrived musicians were, therefore, some of the strongest proponents of stricter immigration laws. In fact, the local musicians' union movement, which was greatly influenced by German immigrants, pursued a strict, if only moderately successful, isolationist course vis-à-vis these colleagues from abroad, and the fight against foreign competition was an important reason for the establishment of the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) in 1896.⁹⁵ It would thus be misleading to conclude from these reports that musicians seldom improved their social position through migration. Rather, the success and failure of migrant musicians depended on musical ability, their perception of their new environment and individual fortunes.⁹⁶

92 Ibid.

93 See 'Beleuchtung amerikanischer Musik-Verhältnisse', *DMZ* no. 31, 2 August 1874, 241 f.

94 'Musikalischer Wochenbericht – St. Petersburg', *DMZ* no. 4, 28 January 1872, 29. See also 'Musikalischer Wochenbericht – St. Petersburg', *ibid.* no. 44, 3 November 1872, 348. On the United Kingdom, see for example Wilhelm Lackowitz, 'Zur Stollungsfrage II: Spezielles aus London', *ibid.* no. 27, 7 July 1882, 277 f.

95 See Kraft, *Stage*, 29 f.; figures on 11. Kraft estimates immigrants' share of this growth at around one third. See *ibid.*, 19. On competition from foreigners as a motive for the establishment of the AFM and the general context of its emergence, see Seltzer, *Music Matters*, 1–11. On the dominance of German musicians in the trade union movement, see Spitzer, 'Unions', 80–84.

96 For a relative success story, first in Helsinki, later in St. Petersburg and subsequently other places in Russia, see the career of Willy Brandt as documented in Tarr, *East Meets West*, 146–201. Musicians' mixed record of success is also described by Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*, 83 f.

The mixture of flight from poverty and gains in prosperity that is typical of musicians' migration, their fluid transition between temporary and permanent emigration and the associated shift between high and popular cultural music styles can probably be best summarized in the term 'wandering musicianship'. In the course of the nineteenth century, this business model developed in response to economic crisis situations and was concentrated in certain rural areas of Germany, for example the Western Palatinate, the Westerwald and the Erzgebirge, which were also the seedbed of the structurally comparable women's bands.⁹⁷ By the start of the First World War, the Palatinate villages of Jettenbach and Mackenbach alone are said to have produced well over 1,000 wandering musicians, who toured throughout Europe; some of them even made it to South Africa, Australia and China.

After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 and the closure of the border with France, the United States became a popular source of work for wandering musicians, and it was not uncommon for a few band members to stay in the country after their tour was over. One of them was violinist Daniel Kuntz, who became a founding member of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1881. Another was trombonist Karl Eckhard, who joined the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra and also enjoyed success in John Philip Sousa's famous wind band. Their careers are emblematic of the broad repertoire mastered by wandering musicians. Finally, nowhere are the benefits of this business model more obvious than in the Palatinate music villages. Thanks to the good earnings brought home by band members, they developed into veritable oases of prosperity, as reflected architecturally in the so-called musicians' house (*Musikantenhaus*) style.⁹⁸

Third, the tough competition on the musical job market led some to partially or even completely withdraw from musical life. The troubled musical journeyman Bock, whom we encountered earlier, lasted just four years in the profession for which he had trained before he and his wife opened an ironing business in Schönlanke, now Trzcianka, Poland, and later a grocery. He now made music only occasionally in order to earn some extra money.⁹⁹ In

97 For more detail, see chapter 4.

98 See Widmaier, T., 'Westpfälzer Wandermusiker: Ein Beitrag zur musikalischen Migrationsforschung', *Lied und populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture* no. 52, 2007, 155–167; Widmaier, T., "'Listen to the German Band". Straßenkapellen aus Deutschland als Thema amerikanischer Songs 1872–1932', *Lied und populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture* no. 55, 2010, 77–99. On the musicians' house style, including illustrations, see Mannweiler, G., *Mackenbach. Geschichten aus dem Musikantendorf*, Mackenbach 1998, 44–46.

99 See Bock, 'Erinnerungen', in DTA Reg.nr. 1656.2, 9–18.

the weaker summer season in particular, musicians could find that they had to take jobs outside of their customary profession. There is no lack of stories such as that recounting how a violinist and family head played Wagner's *Ring des Nibelungen* in Erfurt in winter and earned his livelihood as a navy for the Reichsbahn in summer.¹⁰⁰ Whether or not these tales were true in every detail is an open question. But what the evidence as a whole reveals are the extremely hazy and porous boundaries of this professional field. In addition to a very small sector of securely and permanently employed professional musicians, there was an ever-growing grey area in which ambitious amateurs played for the sheer joy of it, former military musicians sought to improve their meagre civil servant salaries and musicians played while doing second jobs painting pictures, rolling cigars, working for an insurance company or running a corner shop.¹⁰¹

Sombart's Insights

'It was something almost entirely new for so much music to be played and heard within both the professional and non-professional spheres', Thomas Nipperdey's *Deutsche Geschichte* states fittingly with reference to the final third of the nineteenth century.¹⁰² There is no doubt that a member of the educated classes was writing about his own kind here, because Nipperdey did not see the realm of the non-professional as encompassing the majority of the profession with their precarious existence, as I have just described it. What he had in mind were the countless singing and music associations of the bourgeois amateur music movement and, last but not least, domestic music played for fun. In addition, he took the view that the 'musical enterprise organized on a capitalist basis' had been far from dominant in the German Empire, because 'traditions, subsidized musical businesses and behaviour that contradicted market norms [...] stood in its way'.¹⁰³ This narrative is still firmly anchored in music historiography and is one of the commonplaces of articles on music appearing in German newspapers' culture sections.

Nipperdey's assessment took explicit aim at Werner Sombart's 1911 account of a thoroughly commercialized German musical life. In the essay 'Technology and Culture', which Sombart published based on his lecture of the same

100 See Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 71.

101 See *ibid.*, 96.

102 Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 742.

103 *Ibid.*, 743.

name at the First Sociologists' Conference in Frankfurt am Main a year earlier, he viewed musical life as an ideal illustration of the blessings of technical progress in the field of culture. In the course of this advance, according to Sombart's key thesis, music production and music itself had been quasi-industrialized, with 'mechanically' produced popular songs, operettas generated by the 'manufacturing of melodies' and dances that were to be danced 'like a machine'. Practising musicians' 'main characteristic' was 'their vast number, which is growing rapidly'. Just like their internationality, the frequency of their performances was increasing, and in some cases their standards as well. The theatre and concert hall owners 'work with all the intensity typical of capitalist profit-seeking and squeeze out every last drop of musical output', while the ever-growing audience demanded more and more music, which is why ever-larger theatre and concert halls were being built and musical compositions were becoming ever louder and more direct. Sombart concluded by stating that musical life was being democratized and was becoming a mass urban phenomenon.¹⁰⁴

It is not difficult to see which characterization of musical life around 1900 appears more plausible from the perspective of professional musicians. As we will see, the subsidized music business that Nipperdey was talking about only reached full bloom during the Weimar Republic. In contrast, musical life in the German Empire was basically market-like on a similar scale as in France, the United Kingdom or the United States – with all the disadvantages this brought with it for professional musicians. They experienced their art primarily as hard work full of privation, because it was impossible to effectively exclude competitors such as military musicians, other moonlighting players and amateurs from the market. Only women did not yet play a role as competition in male musicians' lifeworld. Women musicians moved in a quite differently structured world in the nineteenth century and beyond, as we will now see.

104 Sombart, W., 'Technik und Kultur', *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* no. 23, 1911, 305–347, here 343–345.

In a Different World: Women in Musical Life

In the late autumn of 1869, a young American named Amy Fay settled in Berlin to forge ahead with her piano studies. The 25-year-old pastor's daughter from Louisiana, who had previously studied at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, wished to take lessons from Polish piano virtuoso Carl Tausig. After his arrival in Berlin in 1865, this student of Liszt set up a so-called Academy of Higher Piano Playing (*Akademie des Höheren Klavierspiels*), which quickly attracted students from all over the world. Tausig found little pleasure in teaching, however, so Fay had to look around for a new instructor after less than a year. Initially, she took private lessons with Theodor Kullak before managing, in 1873, to convince Franz Liszt of her skills; she spent the summer under his tutelage in Weimar. Fay stayed in Germany for a total of five and a half years before returning to the United States in May 1875, where she was to become a leading piano teacher.¹

During her stay, Fay gained an ambivalent impression of her host country, as can be seen from the countless letters she wrote to her older sister and substitute mother Melusina. On the one hand, she was overwhelmed by the seriousness with which music was made and musicians trained in Germany. Shortly after her arrival she expressed her astonishment that 'people could tell us before I came away, and really seem to believe it, "that I could learn as well in an American conservatorium as in a German one". In comparison with the drill I am now receiving, my Boston teaching was mere play'.² The musical performances at operas and concerts, she stated, were also of a quality to be sought in vain in the United States.³ Fay's enthusiasm for German musical life knew virtually no bounds, and it is not surprising that in the wake of the publication of her letters from Germany in 1880, which sold well, many female students of music felt encouraged to follow in her footsteps.⁴

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- 1 See Fay, A., *Music-Study in Germany*, New York 1979 (1882). On her personal background and later career, see McCarthy, S. M., 'Amy Fay: The American Years', *American Music* no. 3, 1985, 52–62; on Tausig, see Dannreuther, E., 'Tausig, Carl', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 25, edited by S. Sadie, London 2001, 125 f.
 - 2 Fay, *Music-Study*, 24.
 - 3 See *ibid.*, 42 f and 59.
 - 4 Her book went through twenty-five print runs in the United States. See McCarthy, 'Amy Fay', 52.

On the other hand, Fay took less pleasure in certain mores and conventions. This included her observations about meagre suppers and inelegant clothing as well as her impressions of the Germans' lack of religiosity. But she was particularly irritated by the backward gender relations:

I regard it as a shocking system as the Germans manage it. Young ladies and gentlemen only see each other in parties, and a young man can never call on a girl, but must always see her in the presence of the whole family. I only wonder how marriages are managed at all, for the sexes seem to live quite isolated from each other. [...] I've seen the evil of this German system of never allowing children to think for themselves. It does make them so mawkish. A girl here nearly thirty years old will not know where to buy the simplest thing, or do without her mother any more than a baby.⁵

Elsewhere, Fay grumbled about the contradictory qualities of Richard Wagner, who she felt fused unsurpassed genius with a bad character, and concluded self-confidently: 'if Germans can teach us music, we can teach [Germany] morals.'⁶ Fay did not specify exactly which moral precepts she had in mind; that these encompassed the relationship between the sexes in musical life becomes clear in other remarks. With respect to the sometimes uncouth behaviour of her teacher Liszt, whom she otherwise held in high regard, she commented: 'Everything is topsy-turvy in Europe according to our moral ideas, and they don't have what we call "men" over here. But they do have artists that we cannot approach!'⁷

The impressions of this young, middle-class woman from the United States of musical and social life in the newly unified German Empire indicate that women musicians moved in a different lifeworld in a number of ways. The music profession offered women opportunities for higher education earlier than other professions, and thus tended to provide better opportunities for gainful employment, because the musically educated woman, well-versed in the playing of music, was an integral part of bourgeois gender discourse. However, these possibilities were largely limited to the teaching profession. Public concerts and other musical performances, but also compositional work, remained largely in male hands. The gender-specific distribution of roles in

⁵ Fay, *Music-Study*, 81 f. See also 21, 61, 95 f. and 104 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 234.

German musical life was thus laid down in the course of the nineteenth century and had an impact far into the twentieth. In addition, it developed more and more into a characteristic feature in comparison to other Western countries, in which women had earlier access to musical activities beyond teaching.⁸ The following discussion of role models, educational opportunities and four different life paths brings out how social stratification was to a certain extent overridden in nineteenth-century musical life and eclipsed by gender-specific factors. This brought some advantages for women, but probably even more disadvantages.

Role Models

Capturing the lifeworlds of women musicians in the era of the German Empire and beyond poses a special challenge. Musical labour by women, according to Freia Hoffmann, is not a topic in the sense that ‘contemporaries reported on or argued about it in a coherent manner’.⁹ The practice of music-making was quietly adapted to the bourgeois discourse on so-called gender characteristics that had begun in the final third of the eighteenth century. In this discursive framework, it was predominantly men who assigned certain characteristics to the sexes and defined spheres of activity: the strong, rational man, acting with resolve and with a presence in the public sphere was contrasted with the weak, passive, adaptable and sensitive woman whose destiny lay within the domestic sphere.¹⁰

8 See also Frevert, U., *Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann’: Geschlechter-Differenzen in der Moderne*, Munich 1995, 156–165. Here Frevert is describing the related but not necessarily identical ‘other’ lifeworld of the middle-class woman not in formal employment.

9 Hoffmann, F., *Instrument und Körper. Die musizierende Frau in der bürgerlichen Kultur*, Frankfurt am Main 1991, 12. Similar points are made by Borchard, B., ‘Frau oder Künstlerin – Musikerinnen im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts’, in C. Kaden and V. Kalisch (eds.), *Professionalismus in der Musik*, Essen 1999, 115–122, here 122. Hoffmann’s point here relates to the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, but it applies no less to modernity.

10 Still pertinent in this regard is Hausen, K., ‘Family and Role-Division: The Polarization of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century’, in Richard J. Evans and W. Robert Lee (eds.) *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany*, 51–83. London 1981. On the reception and critique of this text, see for example Habermas, R., ‘Geschlechtergeschichte und “anthropology of gender”. Geschichte einer Begegnung’, *Historische Anthropologie* no. 1, 1993, 485–509 and for a summary, see Hausen, K., ‘Der Aufsatz über die “Geschlechtscharaktere” und seine Rezeption. Eine Spätlese nach dreißig Jahren’, in Hausen, K. (ed.), *Geschlechtergeschichte*

Certain conventions relating to instrument playing by the female sex were established in connection with these gender concepts, which had considerable potential to fortify patriarchal domination. These conventions are present in paradigmatic form in the 1783 treatise *Vom Kostüm des Frauenzimmer Spielens* ('On the Custom of Women's Playing') by pastor Carl Ludwig Junker. Junker assigned certain instruments – piano, lute, zither and harp – to the female sex. All others were inappropriate for women for one of the following reasons. First, according to Junker, there were instruments whose playing required movements that clashed with women's clothing, as well as with the woman's nature as a calm being. Second, the acoustic character of some instruments such as the trumpet or kettledrum did not match the 'acknowledged character of female weakness', which was meant both psychologically and physiologically. And third, certain instruments were out of the question simply because of their playing posture. Here the pastor was chiefly thinking of the cello, which required a wide-legged sitting position that appeared to him downright obscene in the case of women.¹¹

According to Junker, in which context and on which instruments women were musically active was a matter of propriety. Bourgeois society as a whole embraced his view: women's access to the professional musical world was in fact severely restricted in the course of the nineteenth century. Although women had hardly ever been present as ordinary members in orchestras, by the middle of the century they largely disappeared from public musical life even as soloists, because concert performances were now thought inappropriate for them.¹²

Up to 1850, the historical record identifies by name only fifty female instrumentalists who performed publicly in German-speaking countries. The great impact of the associated mechanism of repression is also evident in the fact that, from around 1750, scenes featuring women making music were avoided in the visual arts for an entire century.¹³ Women musicians were thus cast back into the amateur realm in parallel to the development of the bourgeois ideal of women as mothers and housewives. As good hosts and, as a rule, pianists, they

als Gesellschaftsgeschichte, Göttingen 2012, 83–109. The key point of contention concerning the explanatory force of discourses and practices does not arise here because both levels are incorporated into the analysis.

11 See Hoffmann, *Instrument*, 28–36, quotation on 33.

12 See Spitzer and Zaslaw, *Birth*, 433 f.; Applegate, *Bach*, 137 f.

13 See Hoffmann, *Instrument*, 66.

were permitted to gracefully set the tone, especially in the context of domestic music.¹⁴

As late as the 1860s, nothing had changed in this discourse or in the associated assignment of roles to women, which obviously had an impact on practice. Prominent music critic Eduard Hanslick, for example, complained in the Viennese press in 1863 that women concert pianists usually lacked the strength, but also the intellectual maturity, to perform more demanding compositions by Bach or Schumann. And the *Encyclopädie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens* ('Encyclopaedia of the Entire Education and Teaching System'), published a year earlier, not only reproduced Junker's view almost verbatim, but highlighted these norms' self-evident status:

Wind instruments [...] distort the female mouth in too unsightly a manner for aesthetics to permit such an outrage. Even in Catholic village communities, peasant girls blowing on French horns and clarinets at the processions marking the high festivals, their cheeks puffed up with air – a sight we have seen ourselves – is a phenomenon that surely occurs only should necessity require it.¹⁵

Around the same time in Paris, then the musical centre of the world, a public concert delivered by an all-female brass band caused a sensation. As an experimental ensemble coached by instrument-maker Alphonse Sax, the sensation-seeking Parisian audience delighted more in the women's facial expressions than in the music itself, and Sax was at least as interested in advertising his instruments as in proving that women could play wind instruments. This episodic breach of taboo is striking testimony to how clearly and closely regulated the role of women in musical life remained, even in musical metropolises such as Paris.¹⁶

14 For a detailed treatment, see Budde, G., 'Musik in Bürgerhäusern', in H. E. Bödeker et al. (eds.), *Le concert et son public. Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe de 1870 à 1914 (France, Allemagne, Angleterre)*, Paris 2002, 427–457, here 436–451.

15 'Instrumentalmusik', in *Encyclopädie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens*, vol. 3, edited by Karl Adolf Schmid, Gotha 1862, 705–712, in Hoffmann, F. and V. Timmermann (eds.), *Quellentexte zur Geschichte der Instrumentalistin im 19. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 2013, here 40; Eduard Hanslick, 'Ueber Mädchenconcerte', *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 1863, in *ibid.*, 102 f.

16 See Ellis, K., 'The Fair Sax: Brass-Playing and the Instrument Trade in 1860s Paris', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* no. 124, 1999, 221–254.

Pianomania

Hence, while the bourgeois rules for music-making by women were embraced in both metropolis and rural areas as well among both higher social circles and the common people, Hanslick's criticism makes it clear that with the dawn of the final third of the nineteenth century, women musicians once again began to appear on concert stages more often. These soloists fulfilled an important pioneering role on the tough road to recognition of women in the music profession. The single biggest group among them were pianists, with Clara Schumann leading the way, and in some places there were even complaints about a 'pianomania that has assumed epidemic proportions'.¹⁷

Violin prodigies such as Teresa Milanollo and Wilma Neruda – their public appeal surpassed only by that of French cellist Lise Cristiani, who caused a sensation throughout Europe and as far as Siberia in her short career – thus made even more of a splash.¹⁸ A fair number of music critics quite explicitly viewed the exceptional woman artist as ushering in a turning point in musical life. 'If proof were still required that the supremacy of the male sex in the field of art, which has been usurped for centuries, is coming to an end, the appearance of an endearing young lady as a cellist could provide new evidence', stated the *Hannöversche Landesblätter* newspaper on the occasion of a guest performance by Cristiani in March 1846. And a fellow critic from Königsberg wrote just under a year later:

It is still said that women are not being emancipated. Here a stately young lady appears before us and plays the serious cello, which is supposedly meant for the male hand alone, like a virtuoso in the best orchestra. Indeed, as far as the expression of sentiment is concerned – the preserve of women, of course – a man might find it very difficult to outdo her.¹⁹

17 Emil Naumann, 'Bericht aus Dresden', *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* 1873, in Hoffmann and Timmermann, *Quellentexte*, 105.

18 On the life and work of these string players, see Timmermann, V., "'So kann aber auch kein Mann spielen!' Der zeitgenössische Blick auf die Schwestern Milanollo in Wien 1843', in S. Rode-Breymann and C. Stahrenberg (eds.), *'... mein Wunsch ist, Spuren zu hinterlassen ...': Rezeptions- und Berufsgeschichte von Geigerinnen*, Großburgwedel 2011, 22–43; Heise, J., *Die Geigenvirtuosin Wilma Neruda (1838–1911). Biografie und Repertoire*, Hildesheim 2013; Hoffmann, F., 'Lise Christiani', in *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, 2010, URL: www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/cms/index.php/cristiani-lise.

19 Both critiques can be found in Hoffmann, *Instrument*, 409–411.

Of course, emancipation did not come about as quickly as implied here. Freia Hoffmann's statement that 'the profession of performing musician became established as one of the first skilled occupations for women in bourgeois society' also seems a bit premature even for the late nineteenth century.²⁰ For although a fundamentally different, more liberal gender order developed in musical life than in society as a whole, it often thwarted female musicians when they strove to combine higher qualifications, the professional performance of music and a bourgeois lifestyle.

Hoffmann's assessment was based, among other things, on the observation that women were admitted to musical training institutes earlier than, for example, universities. The Leipzig Conservatoire (*Leipziger Konservatorium*), founded in 1843, did in fact admit women from the outset. In the first year of teaching, two women pianists were already enrolled in the degree course (*Hauptfachstudium*). By 1850, sixteen more women followed, flocking to the merchant city in Saxony from all over Europe. In 1849, moreover, Johanna Eyth-Pohl, a harpist, was taken on as a teacher there.²¹

The Leipzig model caught on. Wherever higher music institutions were established in the second half of the nineteenth century – such as the first state-run conservatoire in the German-speaking countries in Munich in 1846, the privately run Stern Conservatoire (*Sternsches Konservatorium*) in Berlin in 1850, the Royal Academy of Music (*Königliche Hochschule für Musik*) in the same city in 1869 and the Hoch Conservatoire (*Hochsches Konservatorium*) founded by Joseph Hoch in Frankfurt in 1878 – they were open to women musicians.²² The growing supply came up against increasing demand, with more and more women enrolling to study music. This can also be seen in the many complaints about the supposedly alarming increase in the number of women at musical training institutes. In 1893, music writer Heinrich Ehrlich estimated the annual number of female graduates at the roughly 230 (mostly privately

20 Hoffmann, F., 'Traditionen, Hindernisse, Dissonanzen – 200 Jahre Musikstudium von Frauen', in A. Barber-Kersovan et al. (eds.), *Frauentöne – Beiträge zu einer ungeschriebenen Musikgeschichte*, Karben 2000, 17–34, here 21.

21 See *ibid.*, 25–27.

22 See Cahn, P., *Das Hoch'sche Konservatorium in Frankfurt am Main (1878–1978)*, Frankfurt am Main 1979, 15; Schenk, *Hochschule*, 294 f.; Münster, R., 'Das Königliche Konservatorium für Musik 1846–1865', in S. Schmitt (ed.), *Geschichte der Hochschule für Musik und Theater München. Von den Anfängen bis 1945*, Tutzing 2005, 13–34. Other institutions founded in the wake of the Leipzig model were Cologne (1850), Dresden (1856) and Stuttgart (1857). See also chapter 3.

TABLE 2 Percentage share of students at the Munich Academy of Music (*Münchner Akademie der Tonkunst*)

Academic year	Women students	Male students	Guests
1874–75	25.8	33.3	40.9
1878–79	41.6	32.2	26.2
1885–86	38.2	48.0	13.8
1891–92	33.2	53.7	13.1
1892–93	14.7	33.0	52.3
1899–00	24.4	33.3	42.3
1904–05	39.0	33.4	27.6
1914–15	49.2	29.4	21.4

From Keil, U. B., 'Professionelle Damenkapellen und Frauenorchester um die Jahrhundertwende', in C. Kaden and V. Kalisch (eds.), *Von delectatio bis entertainment. Das Phänomen der Unterhaltung in der Musik*, Essen 2000, 99–110, here 101.

financed) conservatoires and music schools at 'no less than a thousand' and reported that women made up the majority of pianists almost everywhere.²³

There may have been a certain tendency to exaggerate here and it is important to consider regional differences. Generally, however, the kind of distribution described above matches the reality of everyday life at institutions of higher music education at the end of the nineteenth century. From its founding in 1878 to the turn of the century, almost twice as many women as men studied at the Hoch Conservatoire in Frankfurt. During the same period, the proportion of women at Berlin's Royal Academy of Music was around 40 per cent.²⁴ Even in conservative Munich, there were often times from the late 1870s onwards when more women than men were receiving instruction in this key hub of higher musical education.

Of course, in itself the high proportion of women says little about their options, let alone about the type and extent of equality at these institutions. In any case, some of them differentiated very precisely between the sexes

23 See Heinrich Ehrlich, 'Die musikalische Ausbildung der Frau', *Die Frau. Monatsschrift für das gesamte Frauenleben unserer Zeit* 1893, 300–303, in Hoffmann and Timmermann, *Quellentexte*, here 83. For similar complaints, see the early contribution by Eugen Lünig, 'Über die Reform unserer Musik-Schulen 11', *Allgemeine Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* 1878, 349–351, in *ibid.*, here 70.

24 See the table in Cahn, *Konservatorium*, 377; Schenk, *Hochschule*, 294.

in their regulations. In Munich, the decline in the proportion of women in the 1892–93 academic year was due to the fact that the educational institution there had recently been given the designation Royal Academy of Music (*Königliche Akademie der Tonkunst*) and thus received academic consecration. In order not to create a precedent that could have boosted the demands of the women's movement for access to universities, female students were unceremoniously denied the right to complete a full course of study at the academy. Instead, its statutes distinguished henceforth between a so-called Higher Female Department and the Academy proper, which was only open to men.²⁵ In Leipzig, Mendelssohn and his colleagues had divided the theory curriculum by gender. While male students had to go through a precisely defined three-year cycle, with lessons in harmony, part-writing, counterpoint and fugue, for female students there was 'a harmony class specially tailored to their needs, with the course running over two years.'²⁶

Evidently, women were not supposed to learn to compose. According to the prevailing bourgeois norms, artistic creation was viewed as a natural, exclusive character trait of the man: creative geniuses could only be men, just as only women would naturally give birth to children, to cite the frequently repeated argument.²⁷ The Leipzig regulations apparently had the intended effect. In 1877, English composer Ethel Smyth reported that only two other women were studying composition at the conservatoire. The pianist and composer Luise Adolpha Le Beau suffered a similar fate at the Munich Conservatoire, where Joseph Rheinberger accepted her only hesitantly and only as a private student in 1876.²⁸

Conducting also remained a male domain. Even Amy Fay, who viewed herself as a progressive woman and supporter of emancipation, could see no

25 See Edelman, B., 'Königliche Musikschule und Akademie der Tonkunst in München 1874–1914', in S. Schmitt (ed.), *Geschichte der Hochschule für Musik und Theater München. Von den Anfängen bis 1945*, Tutzing 2005, 111–206, here 116 f.

26 See 'Statuten des Conservatoriums der Musik zu Leipzig', *NZfM* no. 51, 25 December 1843, 201–204, quotation on 202. See also Wasserloos, *Konservatorium*, 28 f.

27 See Unseld, M., 'Das 19. Jahrhundert', in Unseld, M. and A. Kreutziger-Herr (eds.), *Lexikon Musik und Gender*, Kassel 2010, 87–97, here 90.

28 See Hoffmann, 'Traditionen', 27; Le Beau, L. A., *Lebenserinnerungen einer Komponistin*, edited by U. B. Keil and W. H. Bauer, Gaggenau 1999 (1910), 59–61. As Le Beau tells it, Rheinberger took her on after hearing her violin sonata op. 10 and considering it 'manlike, as if not composed by a lady'. Hoffmann implies that Le Beau was admitted to Rheinberger's composition class in the normal way, but this is contradicted by a subsequent passage in Le Beau's memoirs in which she states that she was taught alone in contrast to the other students. See *ibid.*, 62.

merit in women conducting. In April 1871, when she saw Aline Hundt, a rare case as a woman composer and conductor in the nineteenth century, conduct her own symphony at the Berlin Singing Academy, she did believe that this was 'quite a step for women in the musical line'. However, she did not appreciate female conducting: 'Somehow, a woman doesn't look well with a bâton in her hand directing a body of men.'²⁹

In addition to special normative provisions, there were de facto restrictions on access, which were almost always noticeable in the choice of instruments. The violin was one of the main points of controversy when it came to the position of women in musical life in the decades around 1900. It is true that women were admitted to study violin from the 1870s onwards in Berlin under Joseph Joachim and in Vienna under Joseph Hellmesberger, as well as at the educational establishments in Frankfurt and Munich.³⁰ The subjects taken by female students at the Munich Royal Academy, however, not only demonstrate the ongoing assignment of women to piano playing and singing well into the twentieth century, but illustrate that the advance of women in violin playing only really picked up speed after 1900 and that other string instruments were not necessarily caught up in this trend.

The musical public sphere was divided about this development. Heinrich Ehrlich could not understand 'what the many young ladies struggling to play the violin are trying to achieve. To live from concert performances alone is impossible; to sit in an orchestra among men is at present not quite conceivable'.³¹ Such views were still widespread, but there were also prominent dissenting voices. As early as 1883, Hanslick, for example, called it 'a kind of cruelty to keep a talented young female violinist in the conservatoire for several years only to bar her, upon her departure, from every orchestra and thus deny her the opportunity to maintain her independence through her art'. It would, however, be misleading to portray the renowned Viennese music critic as an advocate of the musical women's movement: he wanted the court

29 Fay, *Music-Study*, 117. On Hundt, who died just a year after this performance following an unknown illness, see Bergmann, H., 'Aline Hundt', in *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, 2009, URL: www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/cms/index.php/hundt-aline. In Munich, it was not until 1902 that US-American Mabel Daniels succeeded in enrolling to study score reading. See Hoffmann, 'Traditionen', 27.

30 See Hoffmann, F. and V. Timmermann, 'Einleitung', in Hoffmann, F. and V. Timmermann (eds.), *Quellentexte zur Geschichte der Instrumentalistin im 19. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 2013, 8–20, here 10 f.; Cahn, *Konservatorium*, 104.

31 Heinrich Ehrlich, 'Die musikalische Ausbildung der Frau', *Die Frau. Monatsschrift für das gesamte Frauenleben unserer Zeit* 1893, 300–303, in Hoffmann and Timmermann, *Quellentexte*, here 84.

TABLE 3 Female students by subject at the Munich Academy of Music

Academic year	Violin	Cello	Viola	Piano	Singing
1874–75	1	0	0	32	10
1877–78	1	1	0	53	24
1888–89	4	0	0	65	26
1890–91	1	1	0	53	29
1900–01	8	0	0	46	26
1904–05	17	2	0	73	35
1910–11	20	0	0	110	47
1914–15	24	3	0	104	24

From *Keil*, 'Damenkapellen', 102.

orchestras to be spared the advent of women musicians entirely. Instead, he believed, female instrumentalists ought to pursue engagements on smaller stages, where 'there is often a lack of men'. And he felt that piano playing had been artistically devalued, even if he had revised the views he had previously expressed about feeble women pianists and now expressly praised the skill and stamina of contemporary women piano virtuosos. He attributed this decline chiefly to the large number of female pianists and, rather disillusioned in light of the 350 young women who – along with 50 men – had enrolled in piano studies at the Vienna Conservatoire in the same year, simply asked: 'Where is all this going to lead?'³²

Four Life Paths

This raises the question of where trained women musicians were to be found and what job opportunities they had under the conditions of bourgeois society. While the solo career was unattainable and rare, just as working as a piano teacher was a 'natural' and common choice, we also need to keep in mind both the haven of marriage as a secure end to a career and professional music-making on the margins and outside of bourgeois conventions. Focussing on

32 Eduard Hanslick, untitled, *Neue Freie Presse*, 13 February 1883, in Hoffmann and Timmermann, *Quellentexte*, 111 f.

four women, namely aforementioned pianist and composer Adolpha Le Beau, violinist Bertha Havemann and stepsisters and ladies' band members Marie Stütz and Ida Tschek, in this section I describe their life paths in detail. They show that musical life around 1900 gave women greater freedom of action than other professional fields. Yet despite the sometimes highly favourable educational conditions, women were largely denied adequate social recognition. In fact, performing women musicians risked social decline.

A lack of artistic acknowledgment by the male musical world was a key motive for Luise Adolpha Le Beau to withdraw from what she called the 'hustle and bustle' of musical life in 1910, after a little more than forty active years, and to record her experiences in memoirs. Partly because her deceased father would have wished it that way, she wanted to draw attention 'to the many difficulties a lady faces in the field of musical composition, to the envy and resentment of colleagues, as well as to the prejudices and ignorance of the very circles [...] who would be most qualified and able to foster talent'.³³

Born in Rastatt in 1850 as the only daughter of an officer with an affinity for music, Le Beau grew up in Baden and lived unmarried under the same roof as her parents until their death. She received her musical training on the piano and violin, as well as in music theory and composition, from Wilhelm Kalliwoda in Karlsruhe and later in Munich from Melchior Ernst Sachs and, as already mentioned, Joseph Rheinberger. Everywhere she played music – in Munich, Wiesbaden, Berlin and finally Baden-Baden – Le Beau managed to make a splash in local concert life. From Clara Schumann to Joseph Joachim and from Johannes Brahms to Franz Liszt, she encountered all the greats, although she described some of these interactions as less than pleasant.³⁴ She celebrated major compositional successes in Hamburg, where her cello sonata op. 24 won a prize in 1882, and a year later at the Leipzig *Gewandhaus*, where her piano quartet was performed for the first time.

Le Beau was undoubtedly the most successful and best-known German woman composer of her time. The course of her life shows that women in the German Empire could pursue a career in music to a certain extent. It demonstrates just as clearly that greater obstacles were put in their way compared to their male colleagues. Often, the male-dominated musical hierarchy rejected their compositions because of their gender or, in the context of composition competitions, refused even to evaluate them. The incident described

33 Le Beau, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 7.

34 Clara Schumann comes off particularly badly in her memoirs; she broke off her lessons with her after just a few weeks. See *ibid.*, 46–50.

in her memoirs in which she was denied a professorship due to her sex is another frequently cited example of the disadvantage she suffered; music critics, meanwhile, almost always praised her compositions as masculine or simply described them as such, which was its own form of praise.³⁵

Yet Le Beau's lifeworld is by no means adequately described solely with reference to gender discrimination. Other structural factors, with which both female and male composers were confronted, can be gleaned from her memoirs. In her account of her time in Berlin, Le Beau explains in several passages that it was pointless to fight to achieve the performance of one's works unless one had adequate financial means. In addition, she contends, without the goodwill of the Wolff concert agency no artist could gain a foothold in the capital. At a very general level, one can see from Le Beau's memoirs how difficult it had become, as the classical concert canon had begun to take hold, to incorporate new compositions into programmes, and how much more important social networks had become to contemporary compositions' dissemination and success.³⁶

With her detailed depictions of intrigues against her and her works, Le Beau unintentionally contradicted the notion of isolated artistry removed from society. Yet she herself was greatly attached to this idea, for example when, at the end of her memoirs, she consoled herself with 'having helped build the temple of art to the best of my knowledge and with sincere intentions'.³⁷ But it is not only her failures that show how unappreciated Le Beau felt. Her wounded artist's soul is also palpable in the satisfaction with which she described performances of her works, even if they took place in the provinces and the artistic level did not meet the standards she had set herself. Le Beau had particularly fond memories of the performance of her choral piece *Hadumoth. Szenen aus Scheffels Ekkehard* at the Inselhotel, Konstanz, in November 1895, about which she wrote in great detail:

35 On the state of the research, see Keil, U. B., *Luise Adolpha Le Beau und ihre Zeit*, Frankfurt am Main 1996, here 24 f.; Olson, J. E., 'Luise Adolpha Le Beau: Composer in Nineteenth-Century Germany', in J. Browsers (ed.), *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, Urbana, IL 1986, 282-303, here 289 f.

36 On the development of this canon, see Weber, W., *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms*, Cambridge 2008; Weber, W., 'Beyond the Classics. Welche neue Musik hörte das deutsche Publikum im Jahre 1910?', in S. O. Müller et al. (eds.), *Kommunikation im Musikleben. Harmonien und Dissonanzen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2015, 68-87.

37 Le Beau, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 279.

The concert [...] was so crowded that the attendant could not get through to light the candlesticks. [...] Here the piece had its best performance so far; it met with a splendid reception. Every scene was vigorously applauded and at the end there was an unparalleled burst of applause! Curtain call and orchestral flourish followed; a laurel wreath with a ribbon [...] was presented to me. [...] When I walked through the choir and then took the stairs leading to the cloakroom after the concert, hands were stretched out to me everywhere and everyone congratulated me.

At the subsequent dinner, the composer went on, the choir president gave an effusive speech, and the choir itself read a poem about her.³⁸

In her pursuit of artistic recognition, then, Le Beau differed little from her male colleagues. The way she wrote about her work followed typical patterns of a kind also found in the memoirs of male musicians. Highlighting one's own successes was paired with censure for those colleagues who had not been well-disposed towards one or had caused one harm. This is not a particularly surprising finding, especially since Le Beau, to the extent that she took her lead from role models, could almost exclusively have consulted the memoirs of male musicians.³⁹ What is more important is the insight that Le Beau was every bit a part of the artistic vanity fair that she criticized at such length. In this sense, she had much more in common with her male colleagues in the business of composition than with less high-profile female musicians, who had completely different concerns.⁴⁰

38 Ibid., 233 f.

39 For similar arguments with respect to La Mara's *Frauen im Tonleben der Gegenwart* of 1882, probably the first collection of female musicians' biographies in Germany, see Deaville, J., 'This is (Y)our Life: (Re)Writing Women's Autobiographies in Music in Nineteenth-Century Germany', in J. T. Pekacz (ed.), *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms*, Aldershot 2006, 135–159. See also the autobiography of *Gewandhaus* Orchestra conductor Carl Reinecke, who shared with Le Beau a strong aversion to Clara Schumann: Reinecke, C., *Erlebnisse und Bekenntnisse. Autobiographie eines Gewandhauskapellmeisters*, edited by D. Mundus, Leipzig 2005, 110 f. and 132–135. The memoirs of violin virtuoso Willy Burmester provide a striking example of stinging criticism of a colleague. The aversion Burmester expresses towards his teacher Joseph Joachim, while claiming for himself superior virtuosity, is surely unsurpassed. See Burmester, W., *Fünfzig Jahre Künstlerleben*, Berlin 1926, 42–51.

40 That women musicians' lives were also characterized by categories other than gender, was already evident, though with different emphases, in Reich, N. B., 'Women as Musicians: A Question of Class', in R. A. Solie (ed.), *Musicology and Difference*, Berkeley 1993, 125–146.

Finally, by considering Le Beau's biography after her retirement from active concert life in 1910, we can shed light on another key issue: the social mobility of female musicians. Although Le Beau saw herself first and foremost as a composer, in the course of her career she also worked as a pianist. Due to her family's wealth, however, she was not dependent on making money with her work. In fact, Le Beau earned virtually nothing from her compositions and performances. After her retirement from public musical life in 1910, she made a living from a little music journalism and continued to draw on her inheritance. But her move within Baden-Baden to a smaller apartment indicates that she had to accept certain curtailments to the upper-class lifestyle befitting an officer's daughter to which she was accustomed. After the First World War, she occasionally performed again as a pianist in her hometown and now also had to teach in order to earn a living. When hyperinflation wiped out her assets in the early 1920s, she even had to rely, until her death in July 1927, on the father of one of her piano students, who provided her with a pension.⁴¹

The social decline discernible here was typical of the career trajectory of women who earned their living as piano teachers. Since the majority of these women, like Le Beau, came from the upper or at least the middle bourgeoisie, for many of them life as a piano teacher meant a socio-economic descent in the face of stiff competition and correspondingly low earning opportunities. According to one contemporary observer, the quality of one's artistic and pedagogical training played virtually no role in this context:

Unfortunately, music teaching is completely unregulated. Anyone who can just about plunk their way through the 'Maiden's Prayer', or who has tormented a social gathering with a failed performance of the 'Wanderer' considers themselves qualified to give music lessons. The proletariat thus has a greater presence here than in any other profession.⁴²

But not only had the economic prospects of the musical profession deteriorated markedly compared to the first half of the century, when it had at least

41 See Le Beau, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 291–320; Keil, *Le Beau*, 38.

42 Krebs, C., *Die Frauen in der Musik*, Berlin 1895, 202. The 'Maiden's Prayer' ('Das Gebet einer Jungfrau') was a salon piece by Polish woman composer Tekla Badarzewska that was extremely popular in the nineteenth century. See Ballstaedt and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, 240–243; the 'Wanderer' is probably a reference to Franz Schubert's Fantasy in C Major D.760. A similar assessment to that of Krebs was put forward by Rost, K., *Frauen-Berufe: Die Tonkünstlerin. Forderungen, Leistungen, Aussichten in diesem Berufe*, Leipzig 1899, 22–24.

offered a credible livelihood due to steadily increasing demand.⁴³ The reputation of the field also suffered from the lack of quality standards. In addition, in the age of industrialization piano playing by women was viewed in a new light that further alienated it from its bourgeois origins: women pianists were seen as particularly well-suited to typewriting due to their dexterity and thus to the disdained profession of *Tippse* (a disparaging word for ‘typist’), as it arose in the commercial world around 1900. Many a woman musician’s dream will, therefore, have ended as portrayed in Erich Kästner’s poem ‘Chor der Fräuleins’ (‘Young Women’s Chorus’):

We hammer away at the typewriters. / That’s exactly like playing the piano.

Whoever has money has no need to earn it. / We have none. That’s why we hammer away.⁴⁴

The dreams of other, especially middle-class female musicians did not end at the typewriter or in any other professional activity, but at the domestic hearth. This is what happened, along with many other young women, to violinist Bertha Havemann, née Fuchs, Gustav Havemann’s second wife. Born in 1892 as the daughter of a *Regierungsassessor* (an official employed in the legal and administrative system), Havemann took her on as a student in 1908. Bertha followed her teacher to Hamburg and Leipzig as he took up posts at the conservatoires there and she soon fell in love with him: ‘I am completely *Havemanned*’, as she wrote to her mother from the Elbe in the autumn of 1909. The affection was mutual; the pair seem to have been a couple from the autumn of 1911 onwards, and they married in the summer of 1913.⁴⁵

Bertha clearly had extraordinary talent as a violinist. Between 1904 and 1918, she completed forty-four solo performances with her Guarneri, the high point probably being a concert at the Berlin Philharmonic under Gustav Havemann in February 1911. There would no doubt have been a few more of these peak experiences had she not been plagued by a stubborn arm problem, but above

43 See Roske, ‘Umriss’, 172 f.

44 Quoted in Ballstaedt and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, 245. For a detailed account, see Frevert, U., ‘Vom Klavier zur Schreibmaschine – Weiblicher Arbeitsmarkt und Rollenzuweisungen am Beispiel der weiblichen Angestellten in der Weimarer Republik’, in A. Kuhn (ed.), *Frauenrechte und die gesellschaftliche Arbeit der Frauen im Wandel. Fachwissenschaftliche und fachdidaktische Studien zur Geschichte der Frauen*, Düsseldorf 1979, 82–112.

45 Bertha Havemann, ‘Lebenschronik’, in SLUB NL Havemann, Mscr.Dresd.App. 2475/C 50, quotation fol. 210, and C 154.

all had she not married so early. Just six months after the wedding, she wrote to her mother:

I'm just very dissatisfied with my life. I used to do too much. I can't stand this life dedicated solely to enjoyment. And playing the housewife here and there doesn't satisfy me in the slightest either. Gustav often has reason to be angry about my bad mood, and that's only because I can't bear myself anymore.⁴⁶

At least by the time her first child was born in the summer of 1914, she had to put her dreams of a career as a violinist on the back burner, and after the arrival of her third child four years later, Bertha Havemann had apparently made peace with her new reality: from now on she was 'primarily a housewife and mother', as she informed her own mother, 'and whatever all the modern women might think, I would claim that this is the loveliest of professions', she added.⁴⁷ When her husband had an affair, which was to be followed by others, this (perhaps merely staged) middle-class family idyll gave way a few months later to the first tangible marital crisis. Bertha's remaining years, until her early death in the spring of 1930, were marked by her humiliation at her husband's hands, blows of fate such as the loss of her second daughter and long-term suffering from open pulmonary tuberculosis.⁴⁸

Bertha Havemann's life story is no doubt particularly tragic. But many trained women musicians had to come to grips with marriage as the end of their careers, not least because there were no socially recognized fields of activity in musical life for women other than teaching. Apart from the harp, they were denied access to regular positions in symphony orchestras, and the social prestige associated with such positions was in any case rather low. There was in fact nothing unusual in such life paths. Despite the efforts of the various branches of the women's movement to provide single, employed women with greater social acceptance, marriage, centred on the role of mother and housewife, remained the norm in the German Empire.⁴⁹

However, the prevailing gender order was challenged to a certain extent by the advance of the so-called ladies' bands (*Damenkapellen*). These formations

46 Ibid. C 191, fol. 517. See also the similar fate of composer Laura Rappoldi-Kahrer, as documented in Deaville, 'Autobiographies', 148.

47 Ibid. C 304, fol. 797.

48 See *ibid.*, C 443, 677.

49 See Dollard, C. L., *The Surplus Woman: Unmarried in Imperial Germany, 1871–1918*, New York 2009.

had their origin in the early nineteenth century in the harp and brass bands made up of itinerant musicians, which tended to include two or three women. In the German-speaking lands, Salzgitter, Hundeshagen and the Bohemian town of Preßnitz (Přísečnice) were major recruiting centres for these wandering musicians. The number of women's bands surged in the last two decades before the First World War – at least, this is what the directory produced by the *Artist* periodical suggests, in which the number of such ensembles rose from 43 to 283 between 1894 and 1914.⁵⁰

The diary entries penned by stepsisters Marie Stütz and Ida Tschek are the only remaining ego-documents written by women musicians in a ladies' orchestra (there were some men in these ensembles).⁵¹ The older of the two was born as Marie Klemm in 1856 in the Bohemian town of Sonnenberg, today's Výsluní. After her father died suddenly in 1869, she had to help the family earn a living as quickly as possible, which is why she was sent on tour with a music society headed by conductor Johann Stütz at the tender age of fifteen.

After returning in 1874, the second tour began before the year was out. Three years later, Marie married the conductor back home before the newlywed couple set off for the third time. Her final musical tour lasted for six years. While she finally settled down in Sonnenberg in 1883, now the mother of two

50 See Kaufmann, D., '... routinierte Trommlerin gesucht'. *Musikerin in einer Damenkapelle. Zum Bild eines vergessenen Frauenberufes aus der Kaiserzeit*, Karben 1997, 21–31. The directory listed only the addresses of those bands that had subscribed to the *Artist*. The true number of bands was therefore undoubtedly higher. On the essentials of this European phenomenon, see Myers, M., *Blowing Her Own Trumpet: European Ladies' Orchestras & Other Women Musicians 1870–1950*, Gothenburg 1993.

51 Myers and Kaufmann base their account in part on contemporary interviews but did not include Stütz and Tschek's accounts. The history of their transmission is complicated. The complete version of Tschek's narrative has been handed down to us exclusively in Delia, M., *Reisende Musikerinnen. Tagebuchblätter*, Vienna 1893. Stütz's diary entries for the period 1877–1883 are also to be found in Delia's text. An edited volume now exists of an earlier diary by Stütz (1874–1877) and for the years 1878–79. It has emerged that Max Delia intervened considerably in the text. Delia was the pseudonym of Görlitz girls' school teacher Theodor Uhle, who partly incorporated his ideas about gender into the diaries; cf. *Marie Stütz: Aufzeichnungen einer reisenden Musikerin. Quellentexte und Kommentare*, edited by M. Tibbe, Oldenburg 2012, esp. 11 and 116 f. Overall, Tschek's diary, as well as those writings by Stütz available to us only as filtered by Delia, must be read with an awareness of such interventions. Finally, excerpts from Tschek's diary are also reprinted in Tibbe, M., 'Vom Erzgebirge über Konstantinopel nach Saigon – Marie Stütz und Ida Tschek', in F. Hoffmann (ed.), *Reiseberichte von Musikerinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Quellentexte, Biographien, Kommentare*, Hildesheim 2011, 213–251; as far as possible, I quote from the edited volume, and otherwise from Delia's original reproduction.

children, her husband did not return until 1889. Ida Tschek, the daughter of Marie's mother's second husband and born in 1867, had also been a member of the band since 1881. While Tschek married a machinist working for the Norddeutscher Lloyd shipping company after her return, the Stützes acquired the Hotel zur Post in Sonnenberg.⁵²

In the years between 1874 and 1889, the entire period covered by the diaries of both musicians, the band's itinerary extended from the Erzgebirge to Saigon, Vietnam. The ensemble performed in Sumatra, Calcutta (Kolkata) and Bombay (Mumbai), in the military camp of San Stefano near Constantinople (Istanbul), in Singapore, Port Said and Cairo. It is no surprise that Tschek, who had been to all these places, concludes her journal with a certain disbelief that she had made it back safe and sound. Yet the geographic radius of Stütz's band was not particularly unusual. Throughout this period, fifteen to twenty bands from the Erzgebirge are said to have been stationed in Constantinople, and at times the competition was so intense that some bands had to alter their itinerary.⁵³

When it comes to women musicians' everyday working life, these records provide at least three insights into traveling women's orchestras. First, Marie and Ida found the life of traveling musician a hard fate, one they would have gladly exchanged for a job at home: 'It weighed heavy on us that we are so poor and have to earn a crust so far away', stated Stütz at the beginning of her third trip.⁵⁴ Homesickness mainly arose on festive occasions such as Christmas and Easter. Regarding her new place of work in Tultscha, today's Tulcea in Romania, Stütz wrote: 'Rather than upon departure, I cried on arrival. This contradiction shows that we have no home here, that we wander from one place to the next.'⁵⁵ The stepsisters clung especially to those experiences with which they were familiar, such as celebrating the emperor's birthday in Port Said or visiting German beer halls in Cairo. Hence, wanderlust played little if

52 See Tibbe, 'Erzgebirge', 213–215.

53 See Delia, *Musikerinnen*, 53 and 141. On the itinerary, see the map in Tibbe, 'Erzgebirge', 218 f.; on Constantinople, see *Marie Stütz: Aufzeichnungen*, 100; see also Dieck, A., *Die Wandermusikanten von Salzgütter. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des nördlichen Harzvorlandes im 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1962.

54 Delia, *Musikerinnen*, 1. After the death of her father, the extended family had to move into a small house with just one room. See *ibid.*, 36; Tschek expressed very similar feelings years later. See *ibid.*, 74.

55 *Ibid.*, 33. On homesickness on holidays, see *ibid.*, 17 and 21 and *Marie Stütz: Aufzeichnungen*, 20, 46 and 59.

any role here; instead, material hardship was the key driver of this musical nomadism.⁵⁶

Yet the women's struggle with and in foreign settings was not centred on the stresses and strains of traveling as such. On the contrary, there are many indications that the women's orchestra was doing very well financially and that a certain standard of living and traveling could be afforded. For example, a local servant by the name of Hassan was available to the women in Adrianople, the Turkish Edirne, and Marie Stütz took piano lessons there for at least three months with a local (woman) teacher.⁵⁷ Later on, in Sumatra, her stepsister led nothing less than a 'comfortable, carefree life in the so-called land of milk and honey'. Enjoying chilled champagne was apparently just as much a part of this as a civilized game of lawn tennis on a Dutch planter's property.⁵⁸ Moreover, the two women's everyday lives were characterized far more by resting than traveling, as stays of several months in the same place – as in Sumatra – were the norm; the band even spent more than a year in Adrianople.⁵⁹

Second, regardless of such comforts, in addition to a sense of rootlessness, the concrete reality of everyday working life and the low social appreciation for their work often weighed heavily on their minds. Marie felt that her day-to-day work on stage entailed a voyeuristic element and complained about gawking men. The suspicion of prostitution that is discernible here and that was repeatedly raised in connection with women's orchestras, comes up even more clearly elsewhere:

Yes, honour is a precious asset! May everyone take it to heart! And we poor girls who can bring cheer to so many people on stage with the sounds of music and can look up into the bright sky and into every human eye with a pure, clear heart and conscience, why do people doubt our honour? Thank God I am now a wife and mother and therefore above all suspicion.⁶⁰

56 See *ibid.*, 68 f. and 122. Much the same may be said of the wandering musicians of Salzgit-ter. See Dieck, *Wandermusikanten*, 11.

57 See *ibid.*, 40–42. The band evidently fell back on the same network during its many tours: Hassan waited on Marie Stütz during her second trip. See *Marie Stütz: Aufzeichnungen*, 35–37.

58 *Ibid.*, 91. On champagne and tennis, see *ibid.*, 94 f.

59 See *Marie Stütz: Aufzeichnungen*, 24–39 and 101 f.

60 Delia, *Musikerinnen*, 30. On the suspicion of prostitution, see Kaufmann, *Trommlerin*, 170 f.; for a critique of this suspicion, see Myers, M., 'Musicology and the "Other": European Ladies' Orchestras 1850–1920', in S. Fragner et al. (eds.), *Gender Studies & Musik. Geschlechterrollen und ihre Bedeutung für die Musikwissenschaft*, Regensburg 1998, 95–108, here 99.

Her stepsister, however, regardless of this contempt and lack of respect, believed that the suspicion of prostitution was no coincidence. It was entirely true, she contended, that female musicians in many other music societies violated 'decency and morals', but one should by no means lump all of them together: 'What a bitter feeling it is to be misjudged!' In Bombay at least, where the band had been hired to perform in a coffee house frequented mainly by Britons, one could 'rejoice in a better standard as far as respect and honour are concerned'.⁶¹

But it was not only in India that the music society played before an audience of an evidently middle- and upper-class character. These women musicians from the rural Erzgebirge also encountered the upper and highest echelons of society in other settings: in Ruse, they played for Prince Alexander I of Bulgaria, in Sumatra for the Sultan of Medan, in Calcutta to mark the visit of the Prince of Wales and his consort and in Saigon they performed at the opera house in the role of ball orchestra.⁶² Their repertoire, listed on the basis of arrangements,⁶³ ranged from marches and overtures, some of the latter still popular in today's concert halls, such as Rossini's *Wilhelm Tell* and Franz von Suppé's *Dichter und Bauer*, to operatic potpourris and excerpts from symphonies by Joseph Haydn. Hence, in addition to their geographical mobility, these women musicians crossed borders in other ways: in terms of form, they shifted effortlessly back and forth between simple entertainment orchestra and upscale women's band. This is demonstrated not only by their broad repertoire, but even more by the classical concert situation of quiet, attentive listening, which is described on a number of occasions.⁶⁴ In Carl Dahlhaus's words, Stütz and Tschek thus moved in a 'sort of transition zone between serious and popular music' of a kind so typical of the nineteenth century.⁶⁵

Third and finally, when it comes to the music on offer and the audience, the phenomenon of female musical societies cannot be interpreted as a purely lower-class phenomenon, as some authors have tried to do. Not even

61 Ibid., 74.

62 See *ibid.*, 25, 77 f. and 96 f.

63 The diaries tell us nothing about the line-up of the music society. Tibbe assumes that it consisted of around fifteen members, three first and second violins, two violas, cello and double bass, two flutes and clarinets along with side and bass drum. See Tibbe, 'Erzgebirge', 248.

64 See Delia, *Musikerinnen*, 25 and 95; *Marie Stütz: Aufzeichnungen*, 47; Tibbe, 'Erzgebirge', 220.

65 Dahlhaus, 'Unterscheidung', 15; see also Dahlhaus, C., 'Über die "mittlere Musik" des 19. Jahrhunderts', in H. De la Motte-Haber (ed.), *Das Triviale in Literatur, Musik und bildender Kunst*, Frankfurt am Main 1972, 131–148.

the women musicians involved consistently came from this class: occasionally, even those with a middle-class background and training at a conservatoire played in women's ensembles, though they remained in the minority in quantitative terms.⁶⁶ In this respect, attempts to differentiate semantically between middle-class ladies' orchestras playing classical music on the one hand and ladies' bands offering popular music on the other are misleading.⁶⁷ In fact, regardless of all the differences that existed in the detail, the women's ensembles show how permeable music-aesthetic and social boundaries remained in musical practice at the end of the nineteenth century.

Born to Play

Musicologist Beatrix Borchard evoked the image of the 'beautiful hand, which came into its own at the piano and had to be a playing rather than working hand' to convey the dominant view of women's role in nineteenth-century German musical life.⁶⁸ The fact that women were given access to higher musical educational establishments at an early stage does not truly reflect a progressive mindset with regard to the position of women and their artistic abilities. It merely illustrates the importance that male society attached to domestic music and musical education. Women were not supposed to create musical works of art, nor did they have the opportunity to work as performing musicians in ordinary orchestras or ensembles. Public musical life remained largely the business of men.

The women's orchestras represented a demanding, rather poorly reputed alternative means for women to work in the profession they had trained in. The other option was the far from lucrative and highly competitive field of music teaching. Women who were keen to pursue the profession of musician thus not only lived in a different world than their male colleagues. This

66 On bourgeois women musicians, see Keil, 'Damenkapellen', 106 f.; Myers, *Trumpet*, 395 f. The idea of these bands as a lower-class phenomenon is expounded by Kaufmann, *Trommlerin*.

67 See Babbe, A., 'Ein Orchester, wie es bisher in Europa noch nicht gesehen und gehört worden war'. *Das 'Erste Europäische Damenorchester' von Josephine Amann-Weinlich*, Oldenburg 2011, 57. This distinction is also anachronistic. Countless ensembles categorized in *Der Artist* as ladies' bands (*Damenkapellen*) had the term 'orchestra' in their names. Some even called themselves elite orchestras (*Eliteorchester*), while others referred to themselves as *Damenkapellen* and highlighted their artistic aspirations. See 'Adressenliste', *Der Artist* no. 1012, 3 July 1904.

68 Borchard, 'Frau' 116 f.

other world offered them hardly any opportunities for social advancement, and unmarried women musicians of a middle-class background quite often suffered social decline. The 'equality between the sexes' that women's rights activist Louise Otto-Peters optimistically viewed as 'at least partially realized' as early as 1866 with a view to the conservatoires, coexisted with blatant inequality of treatment in working life.⁶⁹ In addition to the dominant image of women as merely hobby musicians playing just for fun, this discrimination was the result of a hopelessly overcrowded labour market. This stabilized the prevailing gender order, which Amy Fay had already perceived as backward, and was one of the key reasons why women musicians only gained admittance to the profession of performing musician in the course of the twentieth century. Even in comparison with other Western countries such as Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States, in which women appeared more and more frequently as performing musicians from the turn of the century onwards, women musicians in Germany lived in a different world.⁷⁰

69 Otto-Peters, L., *Das Recht der Frauen auf Erwerb. Blicke auf das Frauenleben der Gegenwart*, edited by A. Franzke et al., Leipzig 1997 (1866), 101.

70 For a summary, see Costas, I., 'Das Verhältnis von Profession, Professionalisierung und Geschlecht in historisch vergleichender Perspektive', in A. Wetterer and J. Schmitt (eds.), *Profession und Geschlecht. Über die Marginalität von Frauen in hochqualifizierten Berufen*, Frankfurt am Main 1992, 51–82; on Sweden, see Myers, *Trumpet*; on the United Kingdom, see Ehrlich, *Profession*, 156–161. On the United States, see Kraft, *Stage*, 16–18.

PART 2

Projects of Professionalization, 1890–1930



A Circuitous Route into the Bourgeoisie: Self-Civilizing and Lobbying

‘Don’t despise the orchestral musician’ – Paul Bekker echoed Hans Sachs, though with opposing intentions. In contrast to the Nuremberg mastersinger in Richard Wagner’s opera *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, who warned praise-singer (*Preissänger*) Walther von Stolzing in his closing song not to despise the mastersingers, the music critic was recalling the fact that performing musicians had internalized Sachs’s warning and thus deserved respect as well:

Underneath all his ineptitude and clumsiness, underneath his politically imprudent behaviour, his insensitivity and lack of education, there is such a self-sacrificing dedication to art, such an enthusiasm of childlike purity, such a deep and true love of his metier, such a genuine, touching pursuit of perfection, that on these grounds alone he deserves not the opposition but the active compassion of all those whom he himself recognizes and venerates as his masters.¹

Bekker directed his appeal primarily at composers and conductors, but in a broader sense he was calling on the entire educated middle class to grant greater recognition to orchestral musicians’ daily work and the artistic achievements associated with it.

The picture Bekker drew of performing musicians in the spring of 1908 was not very flattering.² It reflects the poor reputation still endured even by orchestral musicians – as the supposedly better-off part of the profession – at the beginning of the twentieth century. In Bekker’s characterization, we can discern both implicitly and explicitly the core problems with which the profession was increasingly confronted from the final third of the nineteenth century onwards. These were, first, the widespread lack of education in its own ranks; second, a disunited, inefficient professional organization; and third, as a result of the latter, a low level of recognition in politics and society, which stood in the way of the music profession’s social and material ‘elevation’, as evoked by musicians with mantra-like regularity.

¹ Paul Bekker, ‘Zur Orchesterkrise in München’, *AMZ* no. 12, 20 March 1908, 241–243, here 243.

² On the context, see section 5 in this chapter.

To judge by Bekker's assessment and almost all the research literature after him, by the outbreak of the First World War relatively little had been done to address these problems and to bring the profession closer to the class to which the overwhelming majority of its members ultimately wished to belong: the bourgeoisie.³ The present chapter puts this thesis to the test. I show that, first, a steady process of self-civilizing began in the final third of the nineteenth century; beyond musical skills, this sought to advance musicians' general education and promote their embourgeoisement. Second, the Musicians' Union repositioned itself around 1900, acting henceforth as a more clearly recognizable advocacy group for workers' interests, while also professionalizing its lobbying. The new presidium compiled new stocks of knowledge about the professional field, forged stronger links with socially reformist forces in politics and society and, last but not least, deployed novel means to advance the union's own concerns. Though this partly trade union-like approach inspired internal controversy, it ultimately resulted in a gradual improvement in musicians' material situation and led to somewhat greater social recognition of the music profession as a whole. As contradictory as self-civilizing and trade union-like lobbying may appear at first glance, both strategies gave impetus to the embourgeoisement of performing musicians, although of course this process did not end in 1914.

Education Is Power

As mentioned earlier, the Musicians' Union's core mission was to 'elevate and safeguard the intellectual and material interests and thus the social position of the musical profession'.⁴ This 'rhetoric of elevation' (*Hebung*) resembled the debates on a civilizing mission that first took off in the United Kingdom in the early nineteenth century in relation to the abolition of slavery; this discourse of civilizing became extremely popular in the second half of the century in the United States as well, and eventually functioned as a cornerstone of European colonial expansion, regardless of national specificities.⁵ Unlike these far-reaching civilizing missions, which focussed on indigenous elite formation

3 See Bekker, *Musikleben*; subsequently also Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*; Eckhardt, *Zivil- und Militärmusiker*; Newhouse, 'Artists'; Mittmann, 'Musikerberuf'.

4 'Statut des Allg. Deutschen Musikerverbandes', *DMZ* no. 40, 5 October 1873, 313 f.

5 Osterhammel, J., "'The Great Work of Uplifting Mankind". Zivilisierungsmission und Moderne', in Osterhammel, J. and B. Barth (eds.), *Zivilisierungsmissionen. Imperiale Weltverbesserungen seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, Konstanz 2005, 363–425, here 363–376, quotation on 364.

and presupposed a clear distribution of roles between missionaries and missionized, the idea in this case was for musicians to undergo elevation from out of their midst. This, then, was a process of self-civilizing intended to upgrade within society a profession whose members still mostly came from modest backgrounds.

The *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* played a key role in the project of self-civilizing, and regardless of its declared intention to function as a forum in which colleagues could communicate with one another, it was primarily the small group of more educated musicians who made their voices heard. In terms of content, the first goal was to impart practical musical knowledge. This was done less through philosophical treatises on compositions than through essays on instrumental technique, for example on the 'role of the lips in sound production in wind instruments' or tips for violinists on 'overcoming the difficulties involved in performing the various types of staccato'.⁶

Second, the editors attached the utmost importance to the so-called 'ennoblement' of musicians' 'character'.⁷ They hoped to make a positive impact by regularly highlighting deterrent counterexamples. Once, for example, an article enumerated five enemies of the music profession that, the author was convinced, ran upright musicians 'out of the temple of art and will pursue them forever until every last trace of them is eradicated'. These 'enemies' were: musicians who spent more time in the pub than on their instruments; unprincipled and scheming musicians who did not shrink even from sabotaging their colleagues, while often being 'so stupid and uneducated that they could hardly write [...]'; vicious-tongued individuals who simultaneously dished the dirt on others to their boss, such that often the wrong person would get into trouble; irascible types who would go so far as to physically attack their colleagues; and finally, those who sought to prevent up-and-coming musicians from scaling the career ladder. All these enemies were said to be hampering the profession's 'social advancement'.⁸

Breach of contract and the regular playing of cards were also common phenomena among musicians. Union president Hermann Thadewaldt, himself a long-time conductor, recalled how 'members of my band even spent the breaks [...] playing cards, using the bass drum as a card table. [...] In most cases, those involved gamble in such a way that all too often brings the direst of con-

6 H. G. Lauterbach, 'Heutige Musikerverhältnisse', *DMZ* no. 23, 8 June 1878, 230 f.

7 *Ibid.*

8 'Die gefährlichsten Feinde des Musikerstandes', *DMZ* no. 52, 28 December 1873, 409 f.

sequences in its wake'.⁹ He also complained that musicians often failed to read their contracts and that, in general, the morals of the musical fraternity left a lot to be desired.¹⁰

Many guest contributions, especially by authors from an educated middle-class background, were replete with suggestions as to how the profession could attain a higher level of education and thus greater social appreciation. Under the motto 'education is crucial', composer and Wagnerian Oskar Möricke devised an ideal image of the orchestral musician, who had to be as adept at playing the piano as he was familiar with the operatic libretti. He also advised musicians to cultivate good handwriting, learn a foreign language and study the basics of world history. In order to implement such an educational programme, another article stated that in orchestras featuring musicians trained in art history, literature or aesthetics, a 'quasi-academic gathering' could be held once a week in the pub after work as an alternative to the usual banal small talk.¹¹ A fictitious assessment of career choices entitled 'Should I Become a Musician?', again placed great emphasis on general education. The article stated that 'the greater one's success as a musician and artist, and the higher one's social position becomes as a result, the more sorely and bitterly one will regret the absence of education and good upbringing, which can never be concealed'.¹²

This civilizing discourse rumbled on unchanged into the new century and was mirrored in concentrated form in the 'Ten Commandments of the Musician' proclaimed by the union's presidium in late 1908. The educated middle-class element came first: 'Never miss an opportunity to further educate yourself musically and intellectually. Knowledge and ability equal power', stated the first commandment. The fourth prescribed turning up 'at work sober and on time' and refraining from an 'impudent attitude towards your superiors and an arrogant one towards your colleagues', while the fifth called on musicians not to act contrary to morality and justice and to uphold the honour of the

9 Hermann Thadewaldt, 'Der Verband und sein Streben', *DMZ* no. 39, 28 September 1878, 391 f. Notorious skat player Richard Strauss, however, is evidence that playing cards was not necessarily a class-based phenomenon among musicians. See the wonderful anecdote by George Szell in the film *The Art of Conducting: Great Conductors of the Past*, directed by Knussen, S., United States 2002, 13:00–14:10.

10 See Hermann Thadewaldt, 'Ein Kapitel über Kontraktabschlüsse', *DMZ* no. 41, 9 October 1886, 491 f.

11 Heinrich Schreiber, 'Zur Anregung', *DMZ* no. 28, 14 July 1888, 12; Oskar Möricke, 'Ein soziales Kapitel für Musiker', *ibid.* no. 45, 9 November 1889, 501 f.

12 'Soll ich Musiker werden?', *DMZ* no. 29, 16 July 1898, 383.

profession. Other rules related to regular reading of the union newspaper, loyalty and commitment to the union, and to breaches of contract, which were proscribed.¹³

As well as the desire to bring the profession closer to the educated middle class, the ‘Ten Commandments’ reflect the de facto social distance that often still prevailed between musicians and their most important audience. If anything, the flaws of the musician that were thrown into relief by these precepts – lack of education, alcohol consumption and unreliability, as well as brazen and uncouth behaviour – carried an even greater negative charge than those evoked by Bekker to characterize orchestral musicians, especially given that they were formulated by musicians themselves. In this respect, it is not surprising that the project of self-civilizing continued into the Weimar Republic. Raising the general education of an entire profession, one still largely recruited from the lower classes, could not be achieved in a few decades, especially given that, as described, the specialist educational institutions all too often failed to advance this agenda.

Knowledge Production as an Aid to Self-Help

However, this discourse did not remain entirely without effect. In addition to education from within, the union top brass had long since heeded the first commandment – knowledge is power – and from the late 1880s onwards they had stepped up their efforts to produce new, chiefly statistical knowledge about the occupation. This was intended to undergird their lobbying empirically. Thus, the ‘scientification of the social’ in its classic form swept through musical life. However, the impetus for this came far less from the state than in other areas of society.¹⁴ Musicology, which was institutionalized at more or less the same time, had just as little to do with it. The field gave preference to themes immanent in musical compositions, topics in musical aesthetics, and

13 Präsidium des ADEMUV/Fritz Stempel, ‘Die zehn Gebote des Musikers’, *DMZ* no. 50, 12 December 1908, 790 f. On the problem or accusation of alcoholism among musicians, see also Hans F. Schaub, ‘Alkohol und Musik’, *ibid.* no. 29, 16 July 1910, 447; here Schaub assailed the common notion that musicians are bigger drinkers than workers in other fields.

14 Raphael, L., ‘Die Verwissenschaftlichung des Sozialen als methodische und konzeptionelle Herausforderung für eine Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts’, *GG* no. 22, 1996, 165–193. For an important methodological supplement, see also Graf, R. and K. C. Priemel, ‘Zeitgeschichte in der Welt der Sozialwissenschaften. Legitimität und Originalität einer Disziplin’, *VJZ* no. 59, 2011, 479–508.

comparative questions, while showing no interest at all in the socio-economic aspects of musical life.¹⁵

It was chiefly cameralists and economists who addressed such topics in doctoral studies and other scholarly publications. One of the most fruitful dissertations, a 1906 examination of the 'Situation of Orchestral Musicians in Germany', was penned by political scientist Heinrich Waltz. He wrote it in Heidelberg under the supervision of Marburg-based professor Karl Rathgen, who was standing in for Max Weber (following his resignation due to illness) at his chair of national economy and finance. Ludwig Krieger's doctoral thesis, entitled 'The Social Situation of Theatre Musicians', which appeared seven years later, was also written in Heidelberg in the orbit of Weber and his successor at the chair, Eberhard Gothein.¹⁶ This new body of knowledge was supplemented by the essays of music critics such as Paul Marsop and Paul Bekker, and journalists who, like Victor Noack, wrote social reportage on musical life in the cities.¹⁷

However, the Musicians' Union itself was the main source of new knowledge about the music profession. For Waltz, the Heidelberg doctoral student, two of his most important informants were President Ernst Vogel, who took office in 1896, and his deputy Fritz Stempel. By the late 1880s, the union had begun to collect information about the situation on the ground by means of surveys and to use it to generate statistical data. The reason for the first survey was the controversial push by then President Thadewaldt to subject apprentice bands to the trade regulations in order to give musicians access to the recently introduced social security schemes.¹⁸ How many bands were active in one place; how many apprentices and journeymen were employed; and the quality of the journeymen's teaching: the local branches were supposed to find all of this out and report back to Berlin.¹⁹ This type of information acquisition

15 The academic institutionalization of musicology was a fairly late occurrence. Vienna led the way in 1861 with Hanslick's professorship in the history of music. Further chairs in music were not established until just under forty years later, first in Strasbourg (1897), then in Berlin, (1904) and Munich (1909). See Applegate and Potter, 'People', 18 f. With articles on Western, non-European and folk music, the first issue of the *Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, founded in 1885 by Guido Adler, reflects the strong presence of comparative musicology (*Komparatistik*), which would soon give rise to the subdiscipline of ethnomusicology; see Nettl, B., *Nettl's Elephant: On the History of Ethnomusicology*, Urbana, IL 2010, 3–21.

16 See Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, iii and 127; Krieger, *Theatermusiker*, 113; see also the legal treatise by Osterrieth, A., *Der sozial-wirtschaftliche Gedanke in der Kunst*, Hannover 1913.

17 See Marsop, *Die soziale Lage*; Bekker, *Musikleben*; Noack, *Musikant*.

18 Details follow in section 4 of this chapter.

19 See Hermann Thadewaldt, 'Aufforderung!', *DMZ* no. 15, 14 April 1888, 200 f.

ran like a thread through the union's history in the following decades. A condensed expression of years of collecting and organizing such information was, for example, the *Notschrei der deutschen Zivilmusiker* ('A Cry for Help from German Civilian Musicians'), published in 1904, to which I will be returning later.²⁰

One of the main reasons why the organized musicians so diligently generated empirical and statistical knowledge about their occupation was that the imperial government generally produced quite uninformative surveys of professions, and these were of particularly little use to musicians. It is true that the 1895 occupational and trade census recognized an astonishingly wide range of musical professions, starting with the general designations *Musikant*, *Musiker* and *Tonkünstler* (all suggesting 'musician' and, in the last case, 'tonal artist' as well), through more precise terms such as *Kammernusiker* ('chamber musician'), *Orchester-Mitglied* ('orchestra member'), *Virtuose* ('virtuoso') and *Straßenmusiker* ('street musician'), to individual instrumentalists such as the *Cellist* ('cellist') and *Drehorgelspieler* ('organ grinder').

Evidently, however, the reason for this spectrum was merely that the details provided had been entered into the list unchanged. This is the only way to explain why a *Cellist* and a *Violoncellist* were listed in addition to a *Geiger* and *Violinist*, despite these pairs of words meaning the same thing. In addition, these and all other musicians were lumped in with all the professions in the field of 'theatre and shows of all kinds' and thus with 'monkey theatre owners', 'shooting gallery owners', 'foot artists', 'jugglers' (*Gaukler*), 'necromancers', 'animal tamers' and 'conjurers'.²¹ Ultimately, the imperial statisticians did not care how many of the almost 60,000 employed persons in this category played an instrument, wielded a conductor's baton or owned a music box. When it came to clarity, this type of statistical work offered stiff competition to the 'dissolving images demonstrator' (*Nebelbilder-Vorführer*), another 'professional group' included here.²²

20 See *Recht verlangen wir*.

21 See *Berufs- und Gewerbezahlung vom 14. Juni 1895. Berufsstatistik für das Reich im Ganzen, Erster Theil (=Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, n. s., vol. 102)*, edited by Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, Berlin 1897, 76 f. On the context of the surveys, see Schneider, M. C., *Wissensproduktion im Staat. Das königlich preußische statistische Bureau 1860–1914*, Frankfurt am Main 2013, 384–404.

22 See *ibid.*, 77 and 129. In 1911, Werner Sombart was still complaining that official statistics yielded no reliable figures on musicians. See Werner Sombart, 'Technik', 344. On the low informative value of the Occupational Census in general, see Tooze, J. A., *Statistics and the German State, 1900–1945: The Making of Modern Economic Knowledge*, Port Chester, NY 2001, 51–55.

In the subsequent occupational census of June 1907, the Imperial Statistical Office (*Reichsstatistikamt*) continued to adhere to this undifferentiated approach, although the Musicians' Union had contacted it beforehand and explicitly asked for more specific data to be collected. The lack of response prompted Vogel to further intensify the union's own efforts. In the orchestral field in particular, a brisk knowledge production now developed, spurred on to a significant extent by the establishment of the German Orchestra Association (*Deutscher Orchesterbund* or DOB) the same year, which functioned as a specialist group under the umbrella of the Musicians' Union.²³ Its chairman Albert Diedrich, violinist and member of the Darmstadt Court Orchestra (*Hoforchester*), ensured that the extremely varied orchestral landscape in Germany was systematically surveyed for the first time and subdivided into court, municipal and municipality-subsidized or private institutions.

Information on salaries, allowances and pensions thus became comparable, as did the terms of short-term engagements or longer-term employment. In addition, the Musicians' Union collected empirical data on those orchestras whose members paid for disability insurance, whether and if so how musicians were insured in case of illness, whether wages continued to be paid in such cases and if so for how long: all questions to which there were no clear answers in view of musicians' diverse employment relationships as self-employed, salaried employees and civil servants, but which often revealed the need for political action. These comparative statistics, then, were also explicitly used to help people help themselves: they were intended to enable comparatively worse-off orchestral musicians to back up their demands.²⁴

Musicians' Movement and Trade Unions

Education and helping members help themselves with the aid of new stocks of knowledge: through these activities, the Musicians' Union set priorities similar to those of the social-liberal trade union movement. And the similarities between the two were not limited to the founding years.²⁵ In fact, their development exhibited remarkable parallels. A certain initial euphoria was followed by relatively unsuccessful decades. While the social-liberal trade unions (*Genossenschaftsbewegungen*), with their stubborn, ultimately utopian faith in the harmonious

23 On the Orchestra Association, see below and chapter 7.

24 See Fritz Stempel, 'Bekanntmachung', *DMZ* no. 21, 25 May 1907, 369; *Gehalts-Statistik*. On the 1907 Occupational Census, see *Protokoll der 22. Delegierten-Versammlung*, 136–143.

25 See chapter 2.

reconciliation of interests marginalized themselves to some degree, the Musicians' Union, with its inclusive concept of membership, squandered so much credit that the largest local branches in Hamburg and Berlin temporarily turned their backs on the umbrella organization.²⁶ Its clout only increased after the membership structure began to focus increasingly on civilian musicians.

Military musicians had to leave the organization as early as 1884. Nine years later, the logical decision was made to cease admitting civil servants who played music as a side-line, because many of them were nothing other than former military musicians. Finally, in 1896, the year in which Vogel was elected the new president, music entrepreneurs left the association as well because they felt the accusation of 'apprentice breeding' to be unjustified.²⁷ Hence, the conversion into a genuine workers' association catering to civilian musicians took place at more or less the same time as the rise of a new generation within the social-liberal trade union movement, one that gained influence around 1900 and that wished to (once again) place greater emphasis on the collective representation of interests.

Fundamental similarities found expression in the fact that both organizations joined the Society for Social Reform (*Gesellschaft für soziale Reform*).²⁸ Founded in early 1901 under the leadership of former Prussian Trade Minister Hans Freiherr von Berlepsch, it united bourgeois politicians with a focus on social issues from the ranks of the Centre Party (*Zentrum*) and the liberal parties as well representatives of salaried employees. It thus reproduced the centre of Wilhelmine society. As a self-appointed mediator between workers and the government, the Society for Social Reform saw one of its noblest tasks as advocating for social equality between employees (*Angestellte*) and workers (*Arbeiter*). Its key point of reference was the so-called February Decrees

26 On the *Gewerkvereine*, see Fleck, *Sozialliberalismus*, 541–543. Organized musicians in Hamburg and Berlin absented themselves from the umbrella organization between 1880 and 1887 because it had failed to oppose military and civil servant musicians with sufficient vigour. See Newhouse, 'Artists', 174–177.

27 See Eckhardt, *Zivil- und Militärmusiker*, 43. Music directors founded their own interest group in 1899 in the shape of the German Music Directors' Union (*Deutscher Musikdirektorenverband*). While around 700 music directors remained in the Musicians' Union even after this breakaway, a figure twice as large as the new body's membership, performing civilian musicians had come to dominate the agenda by this point at the latest. See *Denkschrift zur Abwehr der Angriffe des Deutschen Musikdirektoren-Verbandes*, edited by Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikerverband, Berlin undated (1907), 9.

28 See Ernst Vogel, 'Die Gesellschaft für soziale Reform', *DMZ* no. 50, 10 December 1910, 805; Fleck, *Sozialliberalismus*, 633.

issued by Wilhelm II in 1890, which had held out the prospect, among other things, of improved worker protection and workers' representation. Von Berlepsch, who had resigned from his government post six years later in protest at its failure to realize these ambitions, envisaged the newly formed society as a forum that would critically accompany the government's social policy through submissions and petitions and, as an extra-parliamentary think tank, initiate social reforms – an approach with which the musicians' movement increasingly identified.²⁹

Finally, the union (*Gewerkverein*) and musicians' movements were initially similar in that they cultivated a supposedly apolitical self-image, as expressed above all in their rejection of the free trade unions (*freie Gewerkschaften*), which were close to social democracy.³⁰ Among musicians, however, the Musicians' Union's long-cultivated image as an association pursuing purely economic interests increasingly began to falter. In July 1907, for example, the presidium invited Carl Legien at short notice to give a lecture on the free trade unions at the annual meeting in Cologne. A heated debate broke out among the delegates, who only found out about this plan on site, over whether to let this leading German trade union official speak – though Legien was already on the train to Cologne.

Later union president Gustav Cords, at that time still a violinist at the Wiesbaden Court Theatre and an ordinary delegate, was one of those who refused to accept such a lecture on the grounds that the trade unions were political organizations. The delegates finally voted against Legien's lecture by a large majority.³¹ Yet this episode was a clear sign that the distance between the musicians and both the free trade unions and social democracy was diminishing and that the influence of those claiming to be apolitical was on the wane. In addition to Cords, Vice President Amandus Prietzel, a veteran trade union-

29 For a general account, see Ratz, U., *Sozialreform und Arbeiterschaft. Die 'Gesellschaft für Soziale Reform' und die sozialdemokratische Arbeiterbewegung von der Jahrhundertwende bis zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges*, Berlin 1980, here esp. 1–11. Overall, the society had mixed success. On the one hand, it quickly gained a good reputation and helped to ensure that the situation of workers did not deteriorate. On the other hand, von Berlepsch and his comrades-in-arms did not succeed in integrating social democracy or in obtaining widespread political support for substantive demands such as the establishment of chambers of labour (*Arbeiterkammer*). See *ibid.*, 248–259.

30 The non-political self-image of the social-liberal trade unions contributed significantly to their failure to make a greater impact; as partisans of liberal groups, their leading figures were unable to attract broad support. See Fleck, *Sozialliberalismus*, 544 f.

31 See *Protokoll der 22. Delegierten-Versammlung*, 144–151.

ist, was voted onto the presidium newly elected in 1911, so that both currents were prominently represented.³²

The crucial difference from the trade union movement (*Gewerkvereinsbewegung*) lay in the successful integration of musicians who sympathized with the free trade unions (*freie Gewerkschaften*) and sometimes even with social democracy. In fact, the balance of power between free trade union musicians and those of the Musicians' Union took a form diametrically opposed to that between the social liberal and free trade unions as a whole. The Central Union of Civilian Musicians in Germany (*Zentralverband der Zivilmusiker Deutschlands*), founded in Hamburg in 1902, was close to the Social Democrats and initially brought together mainly freelance musicians and those performing music as a side-line; it had between 1,000 and 2,000 members in the period up to 1914. During the same period, the Musicians' Union was able to recruit 5,000 new members and thus grew from 11,000 to around 16,000 musicians.³³ Proletarian slogans embraced by the Central Union, such as 'Forward! With unity through struggle to victory! Let's join the fight against exploitation and slavery', which its president Gottlieb Fauth uttered on the occasion of its foundation, did not resonate with the majority of musicians.

Their professional self-image as producers of art was fundamentally different from that of factory workers, and their lifeworld in general was shaped to a far greater extent by bourgeois norms and values.³⁴ The secret of the Musicians' Union's success, however, lay in breaking through the antagonism between art and labour and in gearing its lobbying ever more towards the premise that the art of making music must be understood legally and in social policy terms as work – by musicians themselves as well as by state and society.

32 On the latter's biography, see Herbst, A., 'Prietz, Amandus', in *FDGB-Lexikon. Funktion und Struktur, Kader und Entwicklung einer Massenorganisation der SED (1945–1990)*, edited by D. Dowe et al., Berlin 2009, URL: http://library.fes.de/FDGB-Lexikon/rahmen/lexikon_frame.html.

33 In 1913, the Federation of German Trade Unions (*Verband Deutscher Gewerksvereine*) had about 100,000 members, while the Social Democratic trade unions had 2.5 million and the Christian trade unions about 340,000. See Blackbourn, D., *History of Germany, 1780–1918*, Malden, MA 2003, 255; musicians' membership figures in Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 196 and 251.

34 G. Fauth, 'An die deutschen Zivilmusiker', *Fachzeitung für Zivilmusiker* no. 1, 15 April 1902, 1. On the Central Union, see also Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 195–200.

Musicians as Workers: Social Legislation

The gradual overcoming of the antagonism between art and labour in the professional self-image was particularly noticeable when it came to clarifying – and thereby improving – musicians' legal position. This debate was triggered by the question of whether musicians should be defined as tradesmen. The proponents of this idea made the following points. First, the priority was to improve the social situation of apprentices. By making music businesses subject to the trade regulations, so the argument went, musical directors would not only be obliged to comply with basic ethical and sanitary regulations, but also to send their apprentices to institutions of further education.³⁵ Second, this would bind all music entrepreneurs to the labour law provisions specified in the trade regulations, relating, for example, to night work and rest periods, while furnishing musicians with greater legal certainty in case of dispute. Third, the profession would have access to the social security schemes that had been introduced in the 1880s, particularly health insurance. Here, across the whole of the German Empire, there was great uncertainty as to whether musicians had the right to join the initially fairly small group of insureds.³⁶

The main reason for the opaque legal situation was the legal concept of 'higher artistic interests' as found in the trade regulations: if these interests were present in a musical performance, then the trade regulations did not apply to musicians and they were not subject to compulsory social insurance. Hence, the musicians' first draft petition of autumn 1888 included the remarkable demand that 'music in a general sense no longer be counted among the liberal arts'.³⁷

The union leadership's call for the legal decoupling of professional music-making from its artistic value and, in general, its enshrining as commercial work did not, however, go unchallenged internally. To seek to exclude music from the temple of the muses, to willingly place musicians on the same level as bricklayers, industrial workers and other tradespeople – this was an unacceptable move to many a musician as it shook the artistic core of their professional

35 See for example Präsidium, 'Petition wegen Abänderung der §§ 33b und 55 der Gewerbeordnung', *DMZ* no. 35, 1 September 1888, 87–89; see also Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 50–54.

36 See *ibid.*; see also Präsidium, 'Memorandum zur Verfügung des kgl. Preußischen Ministers vom 18. Juli 1907', *DMZ* no. 22, 30 May 1908, 346 f. On the introduction of the social security schemes, see Hentschel, V., *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialpolitik 1880–1980*, Frankfurt am Main 1983, 9–20.

37 Präsidium, 'Petition wegen Abänderung der §§ 33b und 55 der Gewerbeordnung', *DMZ* no. 35, 1 September 1888, 87–89, quotation on 87.

self-image. Opposing voices insisted on a harmony of content and form, or of self-perception, external perceptions and strategic approach, contending that

both in carrying out the duties of his office and in endeavouring to improve his lot, the musician ought always to operate within a framework befitting artists, such that he can demand corresponding treatment from his superiors and occupy a position in society that is worthy of his profession.³⁸

Musicians in Germany were by no means unique in splitting over whether their artistic self-image could be reconciled with their external, state-sanctioned designation as tradespeople. Wherever the profession began to organize itself professionally from the last third of the nineteenth century onwards, it triggered a debate on whether musicians should jeopardize their social prestige as artists and fight for socio-economic improvements as musical workers. In the United States and United Kingdom, these differing views initially led to competition between several interest groups.

In the US, however, in 1896 it proved possible to unify or, more precisely, force through the unification of the profession within a single trade union, a development German emigrant and conductor Edmund Tiersch raved about to his colleagues back home: while in the United States musicians were obliged to become members of the American Federation of Musicians in line with the so-called closed-shop principle, such that a strong interest group was now in the making, no progress would be made in Germany as long as the Musicians' Union remained a loose association of individualists: 'They always want to be considered artists, yet most of them do nothing but real work.'³⁹ The American Federation of Musicians did in fact rise rapidly to become an influential player in musical life, soon emerging as the most powerful association of its kind in international comparison: it had managed to represent musicians' interests in relation to labour law and other professional issues without harming either musicians' artistic self-image or social reputation.⁴⁰

38 Hans Treichler, 'Ein ernstes Wort', *DMZ* no. 27, 7 July 1888, 6.

39 Edmund Tiersch, 'Aus Nordamerika!', *DMZ* no. 44, 29 October 1898, 586. On the establishment of the 'closed shop' principle, see Spitzer, 'Unions', 84–87.

40 On developments in the United States, see Seltzer, *Music Matters*, 1–11; on the United Kingdom, see David-Guillou, A., 'L'organisation des musiciens dans la Grande-Bretagne du XIXe siècle: Vers une nouvelle définition de la profession', *Le mouvement social* vol. 243, 2013, 9–18, here 16 f. It was not until 1921 that competing organizations in the UK founded the Musicians' Union, which still exists. See Ehrlich, *Profession*, 193 f.; Cloonan, M., 'Musi-

In Germany things were a little different. Almost twenty years after the first petition initiative, which had fizzled out, the legal position of musicians had not changed fundamentally. Music was still the only one of the arts in which the fate of its practitioners depended on the arbitrary conceptions of art informing the thinking of the justice and administrative system. This is evident, for example, in a judgement by the Royal Saxon Higher Administrative Court (*Königliches Sächsisches Oberverwaltungsgericht*) of October 1906. Although it ruled in the interests of musicians, once again it demonstrated the absurdity of the legal trope of 'higher artistic interests'. The court found that the output of the musicians in question should be viewed as entailing a 'higher, [...] a "genuine" artistic interest'. However, the ruling contended, what mattered was not just content, but also the circumstances of the performance. These artistic interests, the ruling stated, ceased to apply 'in the event of sustained commotion and external disturbances'.⁴¹ What this meant was the noise level typical of a restaurant, such that the musicians affected were subject to the protections of the trade regulations. Schönberg would surely have been appalled by this ruling.⁴²

As the ruling suggests, however, after 1900 things progressed slowly when it came to the relationship between musicians and the trade regulations. In July 1907, for instance, the Prussian Minister of the Interior made it clear, contrary to the ruling in Saxony, that the higher artistic interest did not depend on the artistic qualifications of the entrepreneur, but on the 'objective character' of a music business. Thus, pure dance bands should in future be treated as commercial enterprises in the same way as institutes employing mostly apprentices. This decree was based on a memorandum submitted by the Musicians' Union to the Imperial Office of the Interior three years earlier.⁴³

As a result of this directive, there was also a meeting between union leaders and officials of this imperial office for the first time. It was disappointing at the level of content (the call for the government to cease invoking the higher artistic interest, which was scarcely justiciable, was rejected) but it was at

cians as Workers: Putting the UK Musicians' Union into Context', *MusiCultures* no. 41, 2014, 10–29.

41 'Entscheidung des königlich sächsischen Oberverwaltungsgerichts vom 20. Oktober 1906', *Gewerbearchiv für das Deutsche Reich* vol. 7, edited by K. von Rohrscheidt, Berlin 1908, 88.

42 On the pandemonium unleashed by concerts featuring works by Arnold Schönberg, see Thrun, M., 'Der Sturz ins Jetzt des Augenblicks. Macht und Ohnmacht "ästhetischer Polizei" im Konzert nach 1900', in S. O. Müller et al. (eds.), *Kommunikation im Musikleben. Harmonien und Dissonanzen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2015, 42–67.

43 See Stempel, F., *Die soziale Lage*, 25–33; 'Preußischer Ministererlass betreffend Gewerbebetrieb der Musiker vom 18. Juli 1907', *Gewerbearchiv*, 90 f.

least an indication that politicians were taking musicians' concerns far more seriously than they had done in previous decades.⁴⁴ In the end, the union's persistence paid off. The Imperial Insurance Code (*Reichsversicherungsordnung*), newly created in 1911, which combined the previous social insurance schemes, also explicitly took theatre and orchestra members into account. Musicians in this category were given access to health and disability insurance 'regardless of the artistic value of their output', as it was called in the loveliest of 'insurance German'.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, President Gustav Cords, who was elected to office the same year, drew a sobering conclusion against the background of the upcoming Reichstag elections of January 1912. In addition to the governmental authorities, Cords stated, the general population lacked a proper understanding of musicians' concerns. Independent of class, he contended, two views about musicians were particularly widespread: the art lover 'forgets, [...] on account of the divine aspect of art per se, the earthly element that must inhere within the practitioner of art as a dust-born being, namely the most crucial preconditions underlying the possibility of his existence'. Equally misguided was the individual 'of a less subtle sensibility'. He

barely understands the intrinsic value of our profession in the first place but sees it merely as a very pleasant accompaniment of human life that he could live without. At least, it matters little to him what he is served up, and he can scarcely grasp the notion of describing music as a special profession, and indeed one with special preconditions, such as talent, hard work, capital, and so on. In many cases, he envisages music-making merely as a kind of pleasurable side-line.

Nor did Cords skimp on self-criticism. The lack of understanding among the population, he averred, was partly nourished by the fact that there were still

44 Präsidium, 'Im Königl. Preuß. Ministerium des Innern', *DMZ* no. 22, 30 May 1908, 346; Fritz Stempel, 'An unsere Mitglieder!', *ibid.* no. 46, 16 November 1907, 801 f.

45 'Die Sozialversicherung des Reiches und die Bühne', *DMZ* no. 45, 11 November 1911, 784 f. Pension insurance soon followed for permanently employed orchestral musicians. See Kocka, J., *Die Angestellten in der deutschen Geschichte 1850–1980*, Göttingen 1981, 130–140. Thoughtfully enough, this group was explicitly excluded from accident insurance due to the high risk of injury on stage. See 'Die Reichsversicherungsordnung', *DMZ* no. 33, 19 August 1911, 577 f.; Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 188; Schöndienst, E., *Geschichte des Deutschen Bühnenvereins. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Theaters 1846–1935*, Frankfurt am Main 1979, 239–241.

too many 'enthusiasts' among musicians who were not interested in the economic affairs of their profession and were still content with 'having their beautiful art rewarded with nothing but a cheque made out to eternity'. Unlike other professional groups, he went on, the fine arts as a whole had not considered it necessary to send representatives to parliament. The price to be paid, for Cords, was that the interests of musicians, especially in the Reichstag, had always been quite consciously ignored.⁴⁶

Cords' unsparing analysis illustrates once again the semantic field straddling art, play and labour in which musicians located themselves and in which they were located by society. In his opinion, musicians were yet to adequately reflect on the fact that professional music-making also meant work. Furthermore, he believed, broad circles of society lacked any sense of the working nature of practicing, rehearsing and giving concerts; they saw nothing in these things but sublime art or, worse still, playing merely for fun. In addition, Cords' analysis of the era was certainly correct in stating that other professional groups in the empire were better organized, and in particular much more closely networked with party politics, and were thus able to represent their interests more effectively than musicians.⁴⁷ Yet despite this lament by the president of the union, which may in part have been a tactical move in the context of an election campaign, in the last ten years before the outbreak of the First World War the working conditions of many musicians were meaningfully improved and the competition from military musicians was at least partially curbed.

Social Democratic Terrorism: The Munich Orchestra Scandal

Various measures were used to improve musicians' working conditions. The local union branches set about drawing up detailed minimum tariffs for various services, from funerary music through country outings and boat trips to participation in the municipal theatre or symphony concert. At the imperial level, a so-called 'standard contract' (*Normalvertrag*) was drawn up, which union members were supposed to present to their employers in order to avoid unfair contractual conditions. In addition, the union newspaper used the classic instrument of the boycott to make employers' abuse public and

46 Gustav Cords, 'Ernste Betrachtungen vor den kommenden Wahlen', *DMZ* no. 45, 11 November 1911, 783 f.

47 On these groups' influence, see Blackbourn, *History*, 254–263; Ullmann, H.-P., *Interessenverbände in Deutschland*, Frankfurt am Main 1988, 114–123.

to increase the pressure on them to uphold law and decency. General warnings about music and theatre entrepreneurs were accompanied by a refusal to accept advertisements from errant event organizers, which proved to be an effective disciplining tool. Finally, so-called *Sperren*, bans imposed on music institutions and individual employers that prohibited union members from accepting engagements with them, were considered the maximum penalty. According to the union, its members largely adhered to them. Due to its accession to the International Confederation of Musicians, founded in 1906, this boycott system even had a European dimension: musicians from all member countries were prohibited from accepting engagements in banned theatres and bands.⁴⁸

Of course, the efficacy of the tariff and boycott system was diminished by the fact that musicians who did not join the union were not bound by it. As a rule, it was relatively easy for employers to put together the desired ensemble. However, the 1907–8 strike by the Munich-based Kaim Orchestra, the immediate forerunner of the Munich Philharmonic, impressively reflected the enhanced clout of organized musicians vis-à-vis employers and the public authorities; it triggered avowals of solidarity throughout the empire, which gave the union a further boost – even if the conflict itself ultimately ended in a draw.⁴⁹ As a wake-up call for the entire profession, however, the psychological impact of the Munich orchestra scandal can hardly be overestimated.

What happened? It all started with the arrival of principal conductor Georg Schneevoigt in October 1906. Within short order, he turned all the musicians against him after giving several of them their notice. Schneevoigt also had an important figure on his side, namely Rudolph Louis, music critic of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* newspaper. It was surely no coincidence that Louis wrote disparaging things about those musicians the conductor wanted to get rid of. The orchestra initially defended itself by punishing the critic in public. At a concert in Munich in early 1908, the musicians refused to play as long as Louis was in the hall, which led to uproar and the formation of opposing camps in the audience. Though the owner of the orchestra, Franz Kaim,

48 See Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 158–163; Rempe, M., 'Backstage Integration: Europeanizing Musical Life Through International Organizations', in K. Nathaus and M. Rempe (eds.), *Musicking in Twentieth Century Europe: A Handbook*, Berlin 2021, 417–438, here 420.

49 The only in-depth account of the orchestra scandal, which has otherwise been forgotten entirely, appears in the unpublished dissertation by Newhouse, 'Artists', 381–398. None of the festschrifts produced by the Munich Philharmonic discusses it in detail. See Meyer, G. E. (ed.), *100 Jahre Münchner Philharmoniker*, Munich 1994; Schmoll, R. (ed.), *Die Münchner Philharmoniker von der Gründung bis heute*, Munich 1984.

managed to mediate in this instance, Louis's paper subsequently ignored the orchestra's concerts.

After Schneevoigt had continued to express his displeasure with his musicians in the press, he himself finally suffered the consequences. During a guest performance in Mannheim, the orchestra played the first bars of Wagner's opera *Der fliegende Holländer* half-heartedly. Kaim then dismissed Rheinhold Panzer, whom he had identified as ringleader, without notice on the grounds that he was the 'heart and soul of a contract-breaching movement' within the orchestra. In fact, the entire ensemble expressed solidarity with the flautist, who was also active in the Musicians' Union, and refused to perform the second concert in Mannheim. It was the first time that a well-reputed symphony orchestra had gone on strike in Germany – and thus resorted to the very tools associated with the trade unions that the Musicians' Union, with its aversion to strikes, had rejected hitherto.⁵⁰

But the dissatisfaction with the principal conductor was not the only reason why the members of the ensemble were swept up into a state of musical disobedience and finally went on strike. They also wished to take a stand against their employer and his particularly harsh contractual conditions. Their wages ranged between the typically low 110 marks for rank-and-file musicians and 200 marks for solo wind players per month, but the rules relating to illness were unquestionably scandalous. From the third week onwards, the musicians not only had to procure a substitute, but also to pay him. However, Kaim seems to have been determined not to recognize sick musicians as such: according to a contractual clause 'mere discomfort, slight catarrh, etc. [are] not regarded as illnesses, just as feebleness in general is not compatible with the interests of the institute and the reputation of its members'. If the orchestra was touring, sick musicians who stayed behind generally received no fee. Musicians on tour, meanwhile, received per diems of 5 marks, a sum that Kaim himself, as he freely admitted, could never have survived on.⁵¹

Kaim, a trained philologist and literary historian, thus kept an extremely tight rein on his orchestra and was also hostile to any sort of musicians' organization. Yet how he managed his ensemble raised no eyebrows in the royal seat until the strike. On the contrary, with its founding in 1893 and the subsequent construction of the Kaim Hall, the Court Councillor (*Hofrat*) had acquired an important position in Munich's musical life: there had previously been no

50 Kratzsch, M., *Der Kampf des Münchener Tonkünstler-Orchesters und seine Bedeutung für die deutschen Musiker*, Munich 1909, 6–14, quotation on 12; see also Newhouse, 'Artists', 387–389.

51 See *ibid.*, 16.

concert orchestra with its own premises. The financial difficulties he faced as a result of the construction and maintenance of the hall were offset by generous donations from the Munich bourgeoisie, headed by patron Maria Barlow, who provided 1.5 million marks. In addition, Kaim even managed to obtain substantial subsidies from the city.⁵² The strike, then, was in part a move aimed at a greedy orchestral entrepreneur who – in the musicians' eyes – had failed to recognize the way the historical wind was blowing.

The musicians' protest ultimately took aim at the leading figures in Munich's high-cultural musical life and it was this that turned a provincial skirmish into a scandal noted throughout the empire. Kaim had arranged with the Music Committee of the so-called Munich Exhibition of 1908, whose members included conductors Max von Schillings and Siegmund von Hausegger as well as music critic Paul Marsop, for his ensemble to play there. The Kaim Orchestra was supposed to perform the symphonic programme for the duration of this trade fair, which, according to the committee, was to represent 'the cultural element of music in the greatest possible purity'⁵³ and thus demonstrate Munich's position as a leading musical metropolis. The fraught aspect of this arrangement was that the committee required Kaim to agree to replace four woodwind players; they would be unable to cope with the demanding programme envisaged, claimed the committee. These were members of great merit who had been with the orchestra for many years. Kaim complied a few days after Louis had, once again, published negative appraisals of these woodwind players. Partly because of this, the next day the orchestra decided to publicly protest against the critic.⁵⁴

This scandal, as well as the threat from the Musicians' Union to impose a boycott on the exhibition because of the dismissals, prompted the Music Committee to terminate the contract with Kaim before the aforementioned events in Mannheim. In reality, this cut all connection between the two. However, the musicians, all of whom were dismissed by Kaim as a result of the strike, immediately founded a new self-governing ensemble in the shape of the

52 See Meyer, G. E. (ed.), "Für heute nur gratulieren wir Herrn Kaim zum Anfang". Wege zur Gründung', in Meyer, G. E. (ed.), *100 Jahre Münchner Philharmoniker*, Munich 1994, 28–33; Klein, D., 'Von der Tonhalle zur Philharmonie', in R. Schmoll (ed.), *Die Münchner Philharmoniker von der Gründung bis heute*, Munich 1984, 31–42; Ebnet, W., *Sie haben in München gelebt. Biografien aus acht Jahrhunderten*, Munich 2016, 71.

53 Siegmund von Hausegger, 'Kaimorchester, Ausstellung München 1908 and Allg. D. Musikerverband. Eine Klarlegung', *NZfM* no 13, 26 March 1908, 305–307, quotation on 305.

54 See Paul Bekker, 'Zur Orchesterkrise in München', *AMZ* no. 12, 20 March 1908, 241–243.

Munich Tonal Artists' Orchestra (*Münchner Tonkünstler-Orchester*), prompting the union to impose a boycott on the exhibition anyway: no ensemble other than the Tonal Artists' Orchestra was allowed to play there. This move was amazingly effective. Not only were the committee's negotiations with the Munich Court Orchestra broken off because the majority of its musicians were loyal members of the union. The boycott also led to the committee's resignation en masse because it could not find a replacement and professed itself unable to cooperate with the rebels in the Tonal Artists' Orchestra.⁵⁵ The newly appointed Music Committee, headed by Court Opera director Felix Mottl, shelved its predecessors' overambitious plans and – like the city leaders – had no qualms about rehiring the 'tonal artists' and integrating them into the pared-down programme, which primarily provided for popular music.⁵⁶

Not all those involved, then, attached as much importance to the preceding events as the former members of the committee. After resigning, they sought their salvation within the musical public sphere and launched a counterattack. Marsop criticized the orchestral musicians for not having acted earlier against the intolerable working conditions. He vehemently defended the committee's rejectionist attitude and was proud of the fact that 'we were not reduced to wimps and utter buffoons'. In addition, he accused the Tonal Artists and union leaders of being uneducated, assailing them for working with 'social-democratic tricks and pretences'.⁵⁷ Even before that, von Hausegger, fearing that the class struggle might enter musical life, had made it unmistakably clear in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* that 'social democratic terrorism [...] has no place in the field of art'.⁵⁸

This radical defensive stance, reminiscent of the era of the Anti-Socialist Laws, was remarkable and also puzzled a few contemporaries. 'It's such a shame', contended Munich-based economist and music lover Paul Busching with reference to Marsop and von Hausegger. As he put it, 'emperors and kings, ministers and professors, study and tolerate Social Democracy because they recognize its famously "legitimate core", but two German musicians wish to

55 See Siegmund von Hausegger, 'Kaimorchester, Ausstellung München 1908 und Allg. D. Musikerverband. Eine Klarlegung', *NZfM* no. 13, 26 March 1908, 305–307.

56 See *Geschäftsbericht über die Ausstellung München 1908, erstattet vom Direktorium und den einzelnen Ausschüssen*, Munich 1908, 50–52.

57 Paul Marsop, 'Zur Münchner Musikrevolution. Vierzehn Fragen und eine Moral', *AMZ* no. 18, 1 May 1908, 361–363, quotations on 663.

58 Siegmund von Hausegger, 'Kaimorchester, Ausstellung München 1908 und Allg. D. Musikerverband. Eine Klarlegung', *NZfM* no. 13, 26 March 1908, 305–307, quotation on 307.

renounce musicians if they show allegiance to the Social Democrats.⁵⁹ Paul Bekker also criticized the committee for its lack of social intuition and felt that little was to be gained from politicizing the conflict in this way.⁶⁰

That representatives of the Musicians' Union also objected requires no special explanation. 'We want to play our part as artists, but not as helots', was Cords' self-confident response. Overall, however, he struck a fairly conciliatory tone. Certainly, he contradicted Marsop on virtually every issue; in particular, he rejected the accusation that the union was a social democratic outfit and generally criticized the Music Committee's paternalistic tone. At the same time, he called on the critic, who had left the Musicians' Union as a result of the scandal, to return.⁶¹ Notwithstanding this more conciliatory attitude on the part of the musicians, the atmospheric disturbances that the Munich affair had caused in German musical life were to persist for a considerable period of time.⁶²

Ultimately, the Tonal Artists' Orchestra and Musicians' Union could not claim a victory across the board.⁶³ Kaim was far from inactive and, despite being subject to a boycott, he managed to create a new orchestra, its members recruited mainly from the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The so-called Concert Association Orchestra (*Konzertverein-Orchester*) could continue to count on Barlow's patronage. Supportive too were the middle-class audience and the press, both of which boycotted the Tonal Artists after their strike. After the failure of merger negotiations between Kaim and Union President Vogel in June 1908,⁶⁴ the Concert Association not only fuelled competition in Munich's musical life, but also distorted the competitive environment. The Tonal Artists' Orchestra could not withstand this in the long run. It did receive moral support and financial donations from musicians and other supporters

59 Paul Busching, 'Die soziale Bewegung der deutschen Orchestermusiker', *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* no. 5, 1908, 679–694, here 690.

60 See Paul Bekker, 'Zur Orchesterkrise in München', *AMZ* no. 12, 20 March 1908, 241–243. The Tonal Artists' Orchestra was in fact under surveillance by the Political Police (*Politische Polizei*) for a time, though this appears to have involved no notable incidents. See 'Polizeidirektion München an K. Kriegsministerium, 5.1.1911', in *StAM Polizeidirektion München* 3489.

61 Gustav Cords, 'Offener Brief an Dr. Paul Marsop', *DMZ* no. 20, 16 May 1908, 311–313, quotation on 313; his appeal was, however, in vain.

62 For a detailed treatment, see chapter 7.

63 Newhouse, 'Artists', 382, refers to a victory but he had no access to the relevant issues of the *DMZ*, which were available only in East Germany prior to German reunification.

64 See Ernst Vogel, 'Bericht des Präsidenten über die Verhandlungen mit dem Konzertverein in München', *DMZ* no. 25, 20 June 1908, 392.

from all over Germany, which were raised and transferred to Munich through the union. But by the end of 1908 at the latest this source of money had dried up, while the Union's finances had also taken a hit due to its support for the Munich musicians.⁶⁵

With a small amount of financial support from the city,⁶⁶ the Tonal Artists' Orchestra survived the next two and a half years after a fashion before renewed negotiations between the two ensembles led to their reunification in July 1911. The Concert Association Orchestra had run into financial difficulties after its patron's death the same year, with the result that Kaim now wanted the municipality to take charge, which only seemed likely to happen on the condition of unification with the Tonal Artists. In the end, twenty-four of the thirty-two remaining musicians in the Tonal Artists' Orchestra switched to the Concert Association ensemble; the remaining eight were to be employed as positions became available, and the Tonal Artists' Orchestra was dissolved. The merger ended the conflict that had smouldered for more than three and a half years and with it the boycott of the Kaim Concert Association Orchestra.⁶⁷

Reconciliation of Interests and Municipalization

The strike by the Munich Kaim Orchestra unquestionably led to a kind of 'musicians' awakening', to quote a headline in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*.⁶⁸ In addition to continuous reportage from the Bavarian capital, another instrument helped bring this about, which the presidium used ever more frequently after the turn of the century: what the union itself called 'agitation'. In the first instance, this meant stepping up the mobilization of members. In the summer of 1908, for example, Vice President Stempel went on a two-and-a-half-week tour through Silesia, during which he paid a visit to fifteen spa orchestras to report time and again on the situation in the Bavarian capital; President Vogel did the same shortly afterwards before symphony orchestras in Cologne, Essen

65 See Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 170. By October 1909, the union had received donations of almost 40,000 marks; see M. Klette, 'Für das Münchener Tonkünstler-Orchester', *DMZ* no. 42, 16 October 1909, 682.

66 See Fritz Stempel, 'Vom Münchener Tonkünstler-Orchester', *DMZ* no. 14, 3 April 1909, 202.

67 See Fritz Stempel, 'Die Sperre über den Münchener Konzertverein und dessen Orchester aufgehoben', *DMZ* no. 27, 8 July 1911, 481; Paul Busching, 'Kommunale Kunstpflege', *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* no. 2, 1913, 631–637, here 633 f.; the precondition for this agreement was that twenty-four musicians left the Concert Association.

68 Fritz Stempel, 'Der Musiker Erwachen', *DMZ* no. 27, 4 July 1908, 424.

and other cities in the west of the empire. Both took full advantage of the Munich scandal to attract new union members.⁶⁹

These frequent trips by presidium members, however, were not really an attempt to declare the strike by the Munich musicians a model and thus to proclaim a musical class war. Rather, Vogel and Stempel placed their hopes in the willingness of all sides involved in disputes to engage in dialogue. They went wherever there were conflicts between orchestras, conductors and municipalities or spa administrations and the presidium was required as mediator. What looked like a forlorn attempt at intervention in Munich was to prove a successful strategy again and again in the years to come.⁷⁰ Beyond this, the experience gained was incorporated into the draft of a so-called Orchestral Regulation (*Orchesterregulativ*), which was supposed to consolidate and foster dialogue between musicians, entrepreneurs or directorates and union organs. These experiences lent impetus to the establishment of the arbitration tribunal, a body tasked with settling disputes between musical workers and employers based on equal representation, which was established in autumn 1911 in collaboration with the Association of German Conductors and Choirmasters (*Verband deutscher Orchester- und Chorleiter*).⁷¹

Regardless of the fierce attacks it faced in Munich, the union thus gained respect in German musical life and enjoyed a growing reputation in the years before 1914. An increasing number of prominent figures, such as French violinist Henri Marteau, his German colleague Gustav Havemann and the composer Max Reger were among its members; the young conductor Fritz Busch had his thoughts on spa orchestra music printed in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*, and conductor Fritz Steinbach, with whom Vogel met personally on the occasion of his visit to Cologne, was also one of the friends of the Musicians' Union.⁷²

69 Fritz Stempel, 'Aus den Kurorten', *DMZ* no. 41, 10 October 1908, 648–650; Ernst Vogel, 'Reisebericht des Präsidenten', *ibid.* no. 14, 3 April 1909, 201 f. On the first trip of this kind, see Ernst Vogel, 'Reise-Bericht des Präsidenten', *ibid.* no. 50, 13 December 1902, 703–705.

70 In 1908, for example, Vogel helped settle a dispute between the orchestra and its conductor, and his successor Cords mediated in a conflict between orchestra members in Essen. See Ernst Vogel, 'Bericht des Präsidenten', *DMZ* no. 49, 5 December 1908, 772 f.; Gustav Cords, 'Reisebericht', *ibid.* no. 8, 24 February 1912, 113.

71 See Fritz Stempel, 'Entwurf eines Orchester-Regulativs', *DMZ* no. 45, 5 November 1910, 703; Ferdinand Meister, 'Musiker-Schiedsgericht', *NZfM* no. 37/38, 14 September 1911, 522. On the Association of German Conductors and Choirmasters, see chapter 7.

72 See Hans F. Schaub, 'Unsere Koryphäen und der ADMV', *DMZ* no. 32, 6 August 1910, 496 f.; Fritz Busch, 'Kurmusik', *ibid.* no. 25, 22 June 1912, 438; Ernst Vogel, '2. Reise-Bericht', *ibid.* no. 49, 7 December 1907, 849 f.; Ernst Vogel, 'Reisebericht des Präsidenten', *ibid.* no. 14, 3 April 1909, 201 f.; Havemann is mentioned, along with other contemporary notables, in *Denkschrift*, 8 f.

Another objective of these trips was to give greater emphasis to local musicians' social and economic concerns. For example, in the autumn of 1907 President Vogel made the trip to Jena to attend the founding of a local branch and to ask the city for higher subsidies for the local orchestra. He then went on to Duisburg, where the goal was to achieve the permanent employment of all members of a steelworks band. Finally, he travelled to Halle, where the theatre director pledged to refrain from using military musicians for symphony concerts in future.⁷³ There are some indications that this aspect of lobbying too had a greater impact as a result of the Munich scandal. While Stempel's first trip to the spa bands in the summer of 1908 yielded rather modest results and the spa administrations sometimes even refused to meet him, two years later he returned to Berlin from another summer trip with reports of success: wages had improved everywhere, and in some cases genuine wage agreements had been concluded.⁷⁴

Similarly positive developments were reported among court and municipal orchestras. If we look at a list of the latter's founding dates, we find that a real shift towards municipal administration did not emerge until the turn of the century, around the same time that a new wind began to blow in the union with Vogel's election (table 4).⁷⁵ The fact that the full municipal takeover of private or partially subsidized orchestras was one of the union's core concerns found expression repeatedly in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*, and the founding of the German Orchestra Association (*Deutscher Orchesterbund*) in autumn 1907 also reflects the union's special interest in this topic.⁷⁶ Through its intensified shuttle diplomacy, with growing frequency the presidium intervened actively in the often protracted disputes between municipal administrations and orchestras. President Cords supported the orchestras in Bielefeld, Dortmund and Barmen, among others, by paying courtesy visits to their respective mayors at the beginning of 1912. It was in fact these three ensembles that were among the next to be taken fully into municipal hands – and this in the middle of the First World War.⁷⁷

73 Ernst Vogel, '2. Reisebericht', *DMZ* no. 49, 7 December 1907, 849 f.

74 As in the case, for example, of Hans Winderstein's spa orchestra in Bad Nauheim. See Fritz Stempel, 'Aus den Kurorten', *DMZ* no. 36, 26 September 1908, 617 f.; Ernst Vogel, 'Bericht des Präsidenten', *DMZ* no. 25, 24 June 1911, 447 f.

75 Schulmeister, 'Weltkulturerbe', 255 f.

76 See for example Deutscher Orchesterbund, 'Zur sozialen Lage der Orchestermusiker', *DMZ* no. 48, 26 November 1910, 771 f.

77 See Gustav Cords, 'Reisebericht', *DMZ* no. 8, 24 February 1912, 113; *Nachtrag zur Gehaltsstatistik der Deutschen Orchester vom Januar 1914. Veränderungen vor und während des Krieges*, edited by Deutscher Orchester-Bund, Darmstadt 1917, 3; see also chapter 6.

TABLE 4 Municipal orchestras to 1914

City	Year of foundation	Permanent posts
Aachen	1852	49
Düsseldorf	1864	68
Augsburg	1867	40
Baden-Baden	1872	51
Wiesbaden	1873	20
Homburg	1873	38
Strasbourg	1875	56
Mainz	1876	48
Freiburg im Breisgau	1887	60
Cologne	1888	76
Heidelberg	1889	43
Magdeburg	1897	58
Leipzig	1898	87
Essen	1899	59
Elberfeld	1901	54
Mönchengladbach	1903	38
Chemnitz	1907	63
Hagen	1907	42
Duisburg	1908	51
Bonn	1911	39
Koblenz	1913	40
Rostock	1914	Not specified

Compiled on the basis of *Statistik, 1914; Statistik über Gehalts- und Anstellungsverhältnisse der Orchester Ia und Ib*, edited by Deutscher Musiker-Verband, Berlin 1929, 253–257.

In the years after 1900, moreover, the situation of the court and municipal orchestras changed noticeably for the better. For example, Albert Diedrich, chairman of the German Orchestra Association, stated that in the 1908–9 season no less than thirty-one of forty-seven ensembles of this type were better off, whether as a result of a salary increase, standardization of the salary scale or the introduction of age additions.⁷⁸ Hence, the publicly subsidized orches-

⁷⁸ See Albert Diedrich, 'Die Gehaltsbewegung der Orchester', *DMZ* no. 37, 11 September 1909, 586 f.

tral culture, whose roots lay mainly in municipal rather than court orchestras, was by no means an exclusive invention of the music-loving educated middle class. It was at least as much the product of a musicians' movement that, as it were, drove its development from below through excellent performances and, in particular, persistent lobbying.⁷⁹

David and Goliath: Against Military Competition

After the turn of the century, musicians not only championed their interests more emphatically in relation to the municipalities. In terms of military competition, too, the union increasingly went on the offensive. In contrast to the early years or decades, when Thadewaldt's timid action against military music had led to the temporary departure of the most important local branches in Hamburg and Berlin, after his resignation in 1889 a rethink began. In 1894, for the first time, musicians submitted a petition to the Reichstag that took explicit aim at military musicians. They demanded a ban on commercial music-making by military bands outside the natural vicinity of a garrison, as well as on playing in uniform and in small groups. In addition, they called for the elimination of discounts for military musicians on the railways. The first petition, however, was just as unsuccessful as a second, with the same wording, a few years later. Despite a sympathetic debate in the Reichstag, the Bundesrat finally rejected this too in November 1902.⁸⁰

Notwithstanding such setbacks, the petition made important points. And in this field too, the professionalization of the union's work was clearly in evidence. The new petition was preceded by a questionnaire campaign lasting more than two years that was intended to put these demands on a sounder empirical basis. Following the failure of 1902, Stempel soon had this material published as *A Cry for Help from German Civilian Musicians*, an almost 160-page booklet that was exclusively devoted to military music competition and

79 The dominant role of the bourgeoisie is emphasized for example by Schulmeister, 'Weltkulturerbe'; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 741–743. Conversely, my argument is consonant with Ute Daniel's observation that the urban middle class often had no interest at all in greater financial involvement. See Daniel, *Hoftheater*, 127 f.

80 See *Recht verlangen wir*, 13–15. For an in-depth account, see Newhouse, 'Artists', 235–256. These local branches left the union in 1880, after President Thadewaldt had repeatedly delayed a planned petition against military music because he was afraid of jeopardizing the union's non-political orientation; they did not return until 1887, partly due to Thadewaldt's failure to be re-elected in 1889.

that compiled examples of unfair competition and violations of the existing regulations from every corner of the empire.⁸¹

With the *Cry for Help* of 1904, the union adopted an even more militant attitude: another petition the same year simply demanded a general ban on commercial music-making for military musicians.⁸² This lobbying, which was intensified in form and content, was not without effect. First, it roused opposition. Rudolf Wasserfuhr, a retired lieutenant, appointed himself advocate for the musicians in uniform. He published a rather pedantic response, which he combined with a plea to improve the position of bandmasters within the military hierarchy.⁸³ This insouciant approach suited civilian musicians down to the ground, especially since it kept the topic alive within the musical public sphere. In the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*, Wasserfuhr was ridiculed as 'the valiant warrior' who, armed with his little book, 'steps into the breach and gives the civilian musicians a good thrashing'.⁸⁴

Second, the more consistent lobbying attracted a growing number of sympathizers and supporters, both within the music profession and in the wider political arena. For example, the presidium noted with satisfaction that during the Reichstag's deliberations on a new petition in the early summer of 1907, it was not just long-term supporters such as Social Democrat Gustav Noske, but also Johannes Junck of the National Liberal Party (*Nationalliberale Partei*), Ulrich von Oertzen of the German Imperial Party (*Deutsche Reichspartei*) and Eduard Wagner of the German Conservative Party (*Deutschkonservative Partei*) that stood up for civilian musicians. This resulted in a cross-party consensus in the Reichstag on the urgent need for reform; in the spring of 1909, this agreement was reflected in a resolution presented to Imperial Chancellor Prince Bernhard von Bülow that provided for restrictions on commercial playing.⁸⁵

81 See *Recht verlangen wir*, 12 f.; Stempel's authorship is underlined in his obituary. See Fritz Stempel †, *DMZ* no. 19, 20 May 1930, 377.

82 See Newhouse, 'Artists', 257.

83 See Wasserfuhr, R., *Die Zukunft der Militär-Musik und der Militär-Kapellmeister*, Berlin 1905; Wasserfuhr, 'Über die Agitation der Zivilmusiker', *DMMZ* no. 9, 3 March 1905, 61 f. Specifically, he was keen to see bandmasters elevated to the rank of officer, though this remained unrealized until the Nazis took over; see also Kewitsch, T., *Vermächtnis an die deutschen Militär-Musikmeister und deren Freunde*, Berlin 1901, and chapter 9.

84 Fritz Stempel, 'Rudolf Wasserfuhr, Leutnant a. D.', *DMZ* no. 41, 14 October 1905, 621–623.

85 See '38. Sitzung des Reichstages, 25.4.1907', in *Verhandlungen des Reichstags. XII. u. XIII. Legislaturperiode*, Berlin 1907–1914/18, here 118 f.; '50. Sitzung des Reichstags, 10.5.1907', in *ibid.*, 1538–1540; see also Fritz Stempel, 'Und sie bewegt sich doch!', *DMZ* no. 17, 27 April 1907, 306; Fritz Stempel, 'Aus dem Reichstage', *ibid.* no. 20, 18 May 1907, 338 f.; on the resolution, see below. In general, organized interest groups in the German Empire tended to focus their lobbying on the Reichstag; see Ullmann, *Interessenverbände*, 120.

Around the same time, a thoughtless utterance by a high-ranking member of the armed forces on the Reichstag's Budget Committee sparked a remarkable solidarity campaign within the profession. In a discussion on reducing the number of military bands, the army representative referred to 'civilian musicians, most of whom are not purely professional', putting this forward as justification for the legal status quo. As a result, a statement of protest described as a proclamation was published, which was signed by 106 German orchestras, including 13 of the 23 court orchestras and 19 of the 20 municipal ensembles. The proclamation made it clear that military competition was intolerable not just for unemployed or freelance musicians, but for the entire profession and that therefore all German civilian musicians, without distinction, were opposed to military bands' commercial activities. The orchestras tasked the union with submitting the proclamation to the Reichstag and Bundesrat, bringing it home to the latter once again that this body was to be taken seriously as a legitimate advocacy group representing all civilian musicians.⁸⁶

The intensified lobbying against military music paid off, albeit to a modest extent. In the summer of 1906, for example, the Ministry of War felt compelled to issue 'General Regulations on Commercial Performances by Military Bands', which were tightened up again slightly three years later. They tied military musicians' playing to a permit that should be granted only if 'there are no official concerns', 'the location and type of musical performance are congruent with the dignity of military music', and 'there are no grounds to expect legitimate complaints from civilian musicians about competition against them'. Furthermore, in the case of guest performances, permission should also be made dependent on whether they could harm local military bands. This passage alone demonstrates that the War Ministry did not want the 'General Regulations' to strictly curb commercial music-making, but merely to steer it into regulated channels.⁸⁷

86 'Kundgebung', undated (1909), in BArch-MA RM 3/5101, fol. 45; see also Fritz Stempel, 'Gegen die Militärkonkurrenz', *DMZ* no. 14, 3 April 1909, 201 f. The court orchestras in Berlin, Munich and Dresden, however, did not endorse the proclamation, which no doubt had something to do with the fact that their various kings were also the supreme army commanders.

87 'Allgemeine Bestimmungen für das gewerbliche Spielen der Militärmusiker, 26.6.1909', in *Die Militärmusiker und ihre militärischen Belange im Spiegel des Armee-Verordnungs-Blattes*, edited by Arbeitskreis Militärmusik in der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Heereskunde, Dortmund 1984, 24; for details, see also Eckhardt, *Zivil- und Militärmusiker*, 75–82.

Nevertheless, the 'General Regulations' must be seen as a small step forward, because they restricted playing in uniform to some degree and prohibited military bands from actively promoting themselves – an aspect that had been criticized at great length in the *Cry for Help*.⁸⁸ Further, Emperor Wilhelm II added a few guidelines to the version from 1909 intended to counteract an excessive whirl of activity. Military music should primarily serve official purposes; music should increasingly be made available to the rank and file; lengthy guest performances should only be approved in exceptional cases; and finally, making music in 'night cafés' was banned altogether. The War Ministry had to specify precisely what this meant. What mattered was not just that these venues were open until the early hours of the morning. The ban also applied to bars, casinos and ballrooms, in short, to every 'stomping ground of bon viveurs and denizens of the demimonde'.⁸⁹

Certainly, the army leadership decided of its own free will to step up the regulation of military music. But if the Musicians' Union lacked any means of exerting pressure directly, it still made a major indirect contribution by drawing attention to structural shortcomings. The phrase 'the dignity of military music', which was included only in the second version of the 'General Regulations', was in fact invented by civilian musicians, and they were smart enough to distance themselves clearly from leftist demands for the complete abolition of military music. Instead, the union advocated enhanced state funding for military bands such that their colleagues in the army would no longer have any need to make music commercially.⁹⁰ In this pursuit of an improved status lay the common ground that prompted the War Ministry to take measures that were entirely in civil musicians' interest, even if they did not go far enough for them. The abolition of reduced fares for military musicians at the beginning of 1908 must also be seen in this context and was yet another respectable achievement for civilian musicians.⁹¹

Finally, the greatest accomplishment of civilian musicians' lobbying was a decrease in the number of permanently employed military musicians. With the government about to decide on the size of the army, the aforementioned

88 See *Recht verlangen wir*, 27 f.

89 Kriegsministerium, 'Erläuterungen zu den Bestimmungen für das gewerbliche Spielen der Militärmusiker, 9.5.1912', in BArch-MA, RM 3/5102, fol. 180–183. See also Kriegsministerium, 'Dienstliches und außerdienstliches Spielen der Militär-Musiker, 26.6.1909', in *ibid.* RM 3/5101, fol. 97.

90 Fritz Stempel, 'Die Kulturarbeit der Militärkapellen', *DMZ* no. 10, 6 March 1909, 139 f.; see also Eckhardt, *Zivil- und Militärmusiker*, 76.

91 See Fritz Stempel, 'Verbot der Militärfahrkarten', *DMZ* no. 2, 11 January 1908, 13.

resolution of spring 1909 presented to the Imperial Chancellor not only called for the restriction of commercial music-making, but also for a reduction in the size of military bands.⁹² This resolution was not without effect: the corresponding law of spring 1911 provided for a cut in the number of permanently employed oboists by a total of 1,000 men. As a result, the total number of the approximately 18,000 military musicians was reduced by a little more than 5 percent. This is all the more remarkable as the new five-year plan otherwise stipulated that the armed forces were to be increased by almost 11,000 men to more than 515,000 by 1915.⁹³

Regardless of these small successes, structurally speaking little changed in the competitive relationship between military and civilian musicians until the summer of 1914. One of the key reasons for this was that, in practice, the legally enshrined restrictions were either interpreted in favour of military musicians or simply ignored, while breaches were rarely punished.⁹⁴ In evaluating this confrontation, however, we have to keep in mind the adversaries' real-world power relations. Leaving aside gunsmiths, no other profession had to pursue its private-sector activities in competition with the army, the largest, most powerful and most popular organ of the state in Wilhelmine Germany. Militarism was omnipresent in the society of the empire and extended deep into social democracy.⁹⁵

The German army's undisputed position of political and social power throws the civilian musicians' accomplishments into relief. With their persistent lobbying, they not only triggered the mild reform of military music. The military leadership's respect for their plainclothes colleagues increased as well. The fact that Union President Cords was granted an audience at the War

92 See 'Mündlicher Bericht der Kommission für den Reichshaushalts-Etat, Aktenstück Nr. 1255, 12.3.1909', in *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, here 7659 f.; see also '231. Sitzung des Reichstags, 22.3.1909' in *ibid.*, here 7680.

93 See 'Entwurf eines Gesetzes über die Friedenspräsenzstärke des deutschen Heeres, Nr. 553, 26.11.1910', in *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, 2763–2765; see also '141. Sitzung des Reichstags, 7.3.1911', in *ibid.*, 5212. For more detail on this musical disarmament, see Eckhardt, *Zivil- und Militärmusiker*, 48 f. On the context of the military build-up and the role of the Reichstag, see Stein, O., *Die deutsche Heeresrüstungspolitik 1890–1914. Das Militär und der Primat der Politik*, Paderborn 2007, 268–278.

94 See 'Verein Berliner Musiker an Admiralsstab Marine, 29.8.1911', in BArch-MA RM 3/5102, fol. 72; 'Kommando der Marinestation der Ostsee an Verein der Berliner Musiker, 9.10.1911', in *ibid.*, fol. 84. On persistent complaints about violations, see the speech by Fritz Zubeil in '144. Sitzung des Reichstags, 19.4.1913', in *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, 4940–4945.

95 See Ullrich, *Großmacht*, 397–404. For a nuanced account of the relationship between armed forces and society, see Frevert, *Nation*, 200–236.

Ministry for the first time in early 1914, at which he could put forward civilian musicians' widely acknowledged concerns in person, symbolizes this gain in prestige.⁹⁶ Furthermore, both uniformed and civilian representatives of the opposing party began to worry about the position of military music, going so far as to stylize its continued existence as a 'matter of culture'.⁹⁷

Nietzsche's Freak Show

'Have you ever been to a concert rehearsal and really looked at the strange, shriveled, good-natured subspecies of humanity that typically makes up a German Orchestra?' This was the question Friedrich Nietzsche asked his Basel students in the last of his five lectures on the 'Future of Educational Establishments' (*Über die Zukunft der Bildungs-Anstalten*) in March 1872. 'You could never tire of watching this comedy, crude like a medieval woodcut – this innocuous parody of *homo sapiens*.' Only the presence of a brilliant leader, Nietzsche went on, could shape this sluggish mass into a melodious and pleasant-looking whole.⁹⁸ The German orchestra as freak show: though the characterization uttered by this philologist and hobby composer was malicious and exaggerated, it shows vividly how far the profession's social integration had progressed in a relatively short period of around forty years. At the end of the German Empire, musicians had long since ceased to be the weak-willed and listless beings perceived by Nietzsche. They had in fact turned themselves into a serious interest group within musical life, one quite capable of articulating and asserting itself vis-à-vis the state, the armed forces and employers.

As musicians began to work together to pursue their common interests, the music profession in the German Empire developed in paradoxical fashion. Musicians neared the bourgeoisie in a roundabout way in the sense that they succeeded in doing so through conduct that was quite unbourgeois by contemporary standards: on the one hand, through trade union-like methods

96 See Gustav Cords, 'Konferenz im Kriegsministerium', *DMZ* no. 3, 17 January 1914, 39.

97 Pfannenstiel, A., *Die Erhaltung der Militärkapellen – eine Kulturfrage*, Berlin 1914; see also Storck, K., 'Militärmusik', in Storck, K., *Musik-Politik. Beiträge zur Reform unseres Musiklebens*, Stuttgart 1911, 74–84.

98 Nietzsche, F., *Anti-Education: On the Future of Our Educational Institutions*. Translated by Damion Searls. New York 2016, 85. Translation modified. This allegory was intended to undergird Nietzsche's call for the reestablishment of the authority principle at the universities, which had supposedly been lost due to academic freedom.

and strategies, up to and including open strikes, and on the other through a dogged confrontation with military music. The prerequisite for these developments was the partial overcoming of the tendency to strictly divide art from labour in the professional self-perception, a shift that had much to do with lifeworldly experiences: most musicians around 1900 saw making music as art *and* labour, and some even viewed it exclusively as an arduous form of work.

Only the fundamental recognition of music-making as an individually and situationally experienced, always ambiguous and ambivalent activity at the intersection of art, play and labour engendered a clearer attitude among musicians towards both private and municipal employers as well as the army leadership. Based on this more open self-image and on new, largely self-produced stocks of knowledge, musicians were able to lobby their way to their first partial victories. At the same time, their self-civilizing, which was oriented towards educated middle class precepts, stifled any doubts about the profession's social ambitions for the future: in both material and social terms, this lay nowhere else than in the bourgeoisie.

These circuitous routes also demarcate the specific path musicians followed in order to fuel their social ascent. It set them apart from tradesmen and industrial workers, although their material situation was still similar in many cases. If, as Thomas Nipperdey put it, despite all the advances in the empire the latter were 'not yet fully incorporated into the citizenry, not yet integrated', then when it comes to musicians it is fair to say that some had already achieved this and that the stage was set for many more to follow – even and perhaps especially at times of war.⁹⁹

99 Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 319.

War Profiteers: Musicians at the Front and at Home

‘The soldier, the soldier / is the loveliest man in the country. That’s why the girls are such fans / of the dear, dear military man’. This was the refrain of the most popular song in the patriotic folk play *Immer feste druff* (‘Let Him Have It!’), written by Berlin theatre director Hermann Haller together with Willi Wolf and first performed on stage in October 1914 at the theatre on Nollendorfplatz; music was by Walter Kollo. With no less than 100 performances by the end of 1914 and a total of over 800 by the time of the armistice four years later, this mixture of farce, revue and operetta was one of the most successful theatrical pieces in Berlin during the war. *Immer feste druff* – the phrase was coined by Crown Prince Wilhelm in connection with the Zabern affair¹ – owed its unprecedented success, first, to its patriotic sentiments paired with harmless, easily understandable humour. This mix was extremely attractive to a wide audience during wartime. Second, comedians Karl Geßner and Claire Waldoff, who played leading roles and sang the song together, contributed significantly to the play’s popularity. After its première in Berlin, *Immer feste druff* was also very well received in other cities in the empire. Thanks to the new gramophone technology, the song ‘The Loveliest Man in the Country’ became extremely popular in the trenches and field hospitals, attaining a firm place in the soundscape of the First World War.²

The success story of *Immer feste druff* makes it clear that musical life by no means came to a standstill due to the war, but for the most part continued, not only at home but at the front as well. In view of the flood of new publications triggered by the centenary of the First World War, however, it is surprising that – when it comes to connections between war and musical production or reception – musical life during the war is still scrutinized and analysed

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- 1 The arbitrary actions of the Prussian armed forces against the population of Zabern in Alsace, which caused outrage throughout the Reich at the turn of 1913–14 and damaged the reputation of Emperor Wilhelm II, went down in history as the ‘Zabern Affair’. See Mommsen, W. J., *War der Kaiser an allem schuld? Wilhelm II. und die preußisch-deutschen Machteliten*, Munich 2002, 203–209.
 - 2 For a detailed account, see Baumeister, M., *Kriegstheater. Großstadt, Front und Massenkultur 1914–1918*, Essen 2005, 129–140.

almost exclusively from aesthetic or cultural-historical perspectives.³ Music on the stages and in the concert halls of the German Empire, including shifts in the repertoire in vogue at different times, has now been documented just as extensively for the period between 1914 and 1918 as the compositional work of famous and less famous composers.⁴

By contrast, comparatively little is known about war-induced changes in the socio-economic conditions of cultural production or about the consequences of mobilization and daily life on the home front for ordinary musicians, especially in the German Empire.⁵ Not least because the ‘loveliest man in the country’, a category that included the military musician, had been the civilian musician’s main competitor in peacetime, the First World War had specific effects on the lives of musicians beyond general political and economic changes. As we will see, they were among the small group of war profiteers, both at the front and at home. As soldiers, their professional abilities often spared them battlefield deployment; as civilians, they managed to use the war strategically to their own advantage, while their art was valorized within society.

Privileges at the Front

‘I have to go to war, I have to. I can’t stand it any longer’, wrote the young Anton von Webern to Alban Berg in September 1914. Just as Max Weber, who called

3 See Förster, S., ‘Hundert Jahre danach. Neue Literatur zum Ersten Weltkrieg’, *NPL* no. 60, 2015, 5–25. As far as I have been able to determine, only one anthology has been published on the German market so far. See Hanheide, S. et al. (eds.), *Musik bezieht Stellung. Funktionalisierungen der Musik im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Göttingen 2013. At the international level, the following volume has appeared: Huybrechts, D., *Musiciens des tranchées: compositeurs et instrumentistes face à la Grande Guerre, 1914–1918*, Brussels 2014. The book is not genuinely new, however, but an expanded edition of his useful, yet thesis-poor earlier text. See Huybrechts, D., *Les musiciens dans la tourmente, 1914–1918: compositeurs et instrumentistes face à la Grande Guerre*, Mont-de-l’Enclus 1999.

4 See for example Watkins, G., *Proof through the Night: Music and the Great War*, Berkeley 2003; Becker, A., ‘Arts’, in J. Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Great War*, vol. 3: *Civil Society*, Cambridge 2014, 475–528; Jelavich, P., ‘German Culture in the Great War’, in A. Roshwald and R. Stites (eds.), *European Culture in the Great War: The Arts, Entertainment and Propaganda, 1914–1918*, Cambridge 1999, 32–57.

5 The research is rather more advanced in this respect when it comes to other countries, especially France. See Segond-Genovesi, C., ‘L’activité musicale à l’épreuve de la guerre’, *Revue de Musicologie* vol. 93, 2007, 399–434; Audoin-Rouzeau, S. et al. (eds.), *La Grande Guerre des musiciens*, Lyon 2009; on the United Kingdom, see Kauffmann, D., ‘Introduction: Music and the Great War’, *Journal of Musicological Research* no. 33, 2014, 1–3.

the war 'great and wonderful', became a key reference point for the academic elite and Thomas Mann, with his notion of the 'soldier in the artist', who was 'so sick of peace', played a similar role for writers, von Webern's much-quoted phrase reflects the widespread approval for war, in musical circles as elsewhere. Musicians fit in seamlessly with the consensus among the academic and artistic elites that the war was a necessary, indeed, welcome development. In these groupings, the conflict was associated with hopes of overcoming the fragmentation of society, especially in the field of culture.⁶

Viewed from the perspective of society as a whole, the initial approval for the war, known as the 'August experience', in which music played a major role as a mobilizing factor, was by no means evenly distributed and entailed more than pure enthusiasm. It was more pronounced in the cities, and especially among the bourgeoisie and students, than in the country and among blue-collar workers. Often, resolve and a sometimes anxious excitement were expressed rather than true enthusiasm. Regardless of the mixed emotional state overall, representatives of the high-cultural music world in particular embraced the general tenor of enthusiastic approval. In addition to von Webern, examples include Engelbert Humperdinck, Felix Weingartner and Siegfried Wagner, that is, members of the musicians' faction of ninety-three intellectuals who signed an appeal 'To the Cultural World!'; Richard Strauss and initially Paul Hindemith, to name just two other notable figures, expressed similar views.⁷

It is more difficult to determine to what extent the musical profession as a whole was caught up in the 'August experience'. The *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* was certainly on board in its editorial in response to the outbreak of war: 'Every German, from the ruler to the smallest man, is aglow with sheer enthusiasm.'⁸

6 See Mommsen, W. J., *Bürgerliche Kultur und künstlerische Avantgarde*, Frankfurt am Main 1994, 111–153; Max Weber's statement quoted in *ibid.*, 115; von Webern's and Mann's statements quoted in Thrun, M., 'Krieg und Revolution. Über die Erschütterungen von Kunst und Kultur nach 1910', in W. Rathert and G. Schubert (eds.), *Musikkultur in der Weimarer Republik*, Mainz 2001, 19–41, here 24 f.; on von Webern, see also Huybrechts, *Musiciens des tranchées*, 198 f.

7 See Verhey, J., *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany*, Cambridge 2000, 113 f.; Leonhard, J., *Pandora's Box: A History of the First World War*. Translated by Patrick Camiller. Cambridge, MA and London 2018, 111–116. On the role of music as a factor in mass mobilization, see Morat, D., 'Cheers, Songs, and Marching Sounds: Acoustic Mobilization and Collective Affects at the Beginning of World War I', in Morat, D. (ed.), *Sounds of Modern History: Auditory Cultures in 19th- and 20th-Century Europe*, New York 2014, 177–200. On the appeal, see Thrun, 'Krieg', 25 f.

8 Präsidium, 'In schwerer Stunde', *DMZ* no. 32, 8 August 1914, 667.

The organ of the Musicians' Union thus made a clearer commitment to the war than, for example, the high-cultural *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, which merely printed a sober editorial note explaining that its reportage would be reduced as a result of the war-induced decline in concerts.⁹ Musicians from the humblest of backgrounds, such as Alfred Malige and Fritz Busch, volunteered for military service immediately after the conflict began. Busch even opted to join up despite the fact that, by his own account, he was already so successful that he could easily have continued working as a musician. In short, there is considerable evidence that clear approval for the war and a certain determination extended not just to the musical elite, but to virtually the entire professional group.¹⁰

With Kaiser Wilhelm II's declaration of war on Russia on 1 August and on France two days later, the mobilization of the German army began. Exact information on the number of conscripted civilian musicians is not available. Immediately after the outbreak of war, however, the Musicians' Union carried out a survey in an attempt to obtain the most accurate data possible on the situation in the orchestras. By mid-September, 40 orchestras had reported that a total of around 450 musicians had been detached to the front, including many married men and some with children. The figures, however, varied greatly from orchestra to orchestra. While the Munich Court Orchestra despatched just 9 of the 109 musicians permanently employed there, the Düsseldorf Municipal Orchestra had to give up 19 of 64 members of staff.¹¹ For the duration of the war, the Cologne Gürzenich Orchestra (*Kölner Gürzenich-Orchester*) lost more than 40 percent of its members to the army. Overall, then, court orchestras seem to have been less affected than municipally or privately run ensembles.¹² On average, the proportion of mobilized musicians is likely to have been between 25 and 30 percent, which means they were conscripted

9 See Schriftleitung, 'An unsere Leser', *NZfM* no. 33/34, 20 August 1914, 469.

10 See Busch, *Pages*, 100 f.; Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 19 f.; Malige, however, was not initially conscripted.

11 See DOB, 'Die derzeitige Lage der Orchester', *DMZ* no. 38, 19 September 1914, 716 f.

12 Similar points are made by Hebestreit, O., 'Die deutsche bürgerliche Musikkultur im Deutschen Reich während des Ersten Weltkriegs', in A. Firne and R. Hocker (eds.), *Von Schlachthymnen und Protestsongs. Zur Kulturgeschichte des Verhältnisses von Musik und Krieg*, Bielefeld 2006, 113–137, here 122 f. On Cologne, see Weber, K., *Vom Spielmann zum städtischen Kammermusiker. Zur Geschichte des Gürzenich-Orchesters*, vol. 1, Kassel 2009, 690 f.

at a rate below the average figure of around 35 percent for men between the ages of 15 and 60.¹³

During the war, musicians were expected to serve at the front or to provide musical entertainment for the troops behind the battle lines. The more prominent musicians from German-speaking countries who volunteered or were conscripted include composers Hanns Eisler, Paul Hindemith and Arnold Schönberg, violinist Fritz Kreisler and the aforementioned conductor Fritz Busch.¹⁴ Kreisler and Busch, who arrived at the front immediately after the outbreak of war, had quite specific wartime experiences. As a reserve officer, the violin virtuoso commanded a platoon of Austrian troops (*Landstürmer*) on the frontlines in Galicia before a Cossack horse kicked him out of action. Regardless of his injury, Kreisler waxed lyrical about his frontline experience upon returning home:

Never again will I know such days, which were marked by enthusiasm, a capacity to endure hardship and by mankind in his primitive state, and that is why I am happy and grateful to have had this experience. If someone had told me six months ago that I would be making a trip through Galicia other than in a sleeping carriage, that I would eat anything but the finest cuisine, that I would sleep in marshland without perishing, I would have thought them a fool. And now it's been and gone; I am still alive; I have received the grandest, most indelible of impressions, I have got to know the most unsophisticated, most simple-minded people as heroes full of quiet magnanimity and I have gained an admiration for our people that I could never have dreamt of.¹⁵

13 See Amandus Prietzel, 'Kriegswirkung und Kriegshilfe. Die Ergebnisse unserer Kriegsstatistik', *DMZ* no. 20, 15 May 1915, S. 165 f.; number of permanent members of the above-mentioned orchestras in *Statistik, 1914*; average rate based on Grebler, L. and W. Winkler, *The Cost of the World War to Germany and to Austria-Hungary*, New Haven 1940, 76.

14 See Huybrechts, *Musiciens des tranchées*, 198–205. Eisler was conscripted in 1916, served in the Austrian army and was injured on several occasions. See Blake, D., 'The Early Music', in Blake, D., *Hanns Eisler: A Miscellany*, Luxemburg 1995, 11–64, here 12. Virtually nothing is known about Schönberg's period of military service. See Stuckenschmidt, H. H., *Schönberg. Leben, Umwelt, Werk*, Zurich 1974, 219–221. Hindemith was not conscripted until August 1917; he quickly managed to switch to a military band. See Skelton, G., *Paul Hindemith: The Man behind the Music*, London 1975, 47 f.

15 'Noten am Rande', *NZfM* 81.1914 no. 40/41, 1 October 1914, 517. These statements are congruent in content with passages from Kreisler's recollections of the field, which, however, were not published until the following year in English. See Kreisler, F., *Four Weeks in the Trenches: The War Story of a Violinist*, Cedar Lake, MI 2010 (1915), 13 f., 39 f. and 48 f.; see

In contrast to Kreisler, Busch looked back at his experience of war a good thirty years later and with a rather more sober attitude. Nevertheless, he made no secret of the fact that as a young and politically naive musician he had initially joined the army with great conviction. Busch dispensed with mystifying descriptions of his experiences at the front – he had participated in the First Battle of Ypres, which saw extremely heavy losses, and witnessed the Second Battle of Ypres as well as the beginning of gas warfare – and he presented himself essentially as a poorly trained, inept infantryman. At the same time, he proudly reported that within a few months he had made a remarkable ascent to the rank of officer, commanding a company of sixty men. As his lieutenant colonel assured him, he owed this less to his military skills than to his ‘experience in handling men in mass’.¹⁶

Busch apparently benefited from his professional experience as a conductor while in the field.¹⁷ And Kreisler too described an occasion on which he was supposedly able to make use of his musical skills in trench warfare: he listened to the changing noises of flying shells until he was able to precisely describe their trajectories and determine their midpoint. The artillery officer in charge was so impressed by Kreisler’s listening experiment that shortly afterwards he had him accompany a reconnaissance troop, equipped with map and pen, in order to identify the inflection points of Russian shells. According to Kreisler, with this knowledge hidden Russian artillery batteries could have been destroyed. Whether this was really the case is of less interest here than Kreisler’s general reference to the acoustic dimension of war. The correct interpretation of such combat soundscapes was of central strategic importance wherever combat was dominated by artillery. Hearing thus advanced to the status of survival technique, something also highlighted by musically less gifted but more famous writers such as Ernst Jünger and Erich Maria Remarque.¹⁸

also the German translation: Kreisler, F., *Trotz des Tosens der Kanone. Frontbericht eines Virtuosen*, edited by C. Hellberg and O. Rathkolb, Vienna 2015. On the context, see Biancolli, A., *Fritz Kreisler: Love’s Sorrow, Love’s Joy*, Portland 1998, 97–102.

16 See Busch, *Pages*, 110 and 116; see also Popp, S., *Berufung und Verzicht. Fritz Busch und Richard Wagner*, Cologne 2013, 33.

17 When the war broke out, he was a musical director in Aachen, already his third time in a leading position.

18 See Kreisler, *Weeks*, 18 f. On the acoustic dimension of the war, see also Jean, Y., ‘“Silenced Power”: Warfare Technology and the Changing Role of Sounds in Twentieth-Century Europe’, *ZF/SCH* no. 8, 2011, 1–17, esp. 5–8; on Jünger and Remarque, see Paul, G., ‘Trommelfeuer aufs Trommelfell. Der Erste Weltkrieg als akustischer Ausnahmezustand’, in Paul, G. and R. Schock (eds.), *Sound des Jahrhunderts. Geräusche, Töne, Stimmen 1889 bis heute*, Bonn 2013, 80–87; Rempe, M., ‘Stimmungsheber. Berufsmusiker an der Front

Leadership and listening were probably the only profession-specific skills through which musicians could stand out as soldiers. Kreisler, meanwhile, also highlighted professional characteristics that decisively impaired his life as a soldier. One day, particularly brutal and deadly battles had left him, the officer, profoundly distressed. When his side had beaten a retreat, it was a brigadier general's calm yet determined manner that gave him renewed confidence. Kreisler admired this man of action and accounted for his own failure with reference to the specific demands of his profession: 'It was, perhaps, the first time in my life that I regretted that my artistic education had over-sharpened and overstrung my nervous system, when I saw how manfully and bravely that man bore what seemed to me almost unbearable.'¹⁹

Busch, meanwhile, put his 'inflammation of the nerves', which ultimately left him unfit for active service after more than a year under medical observation, down less to battlefield atrocities than to 'being under canvas for weeks in the damp soil of Flanders'.²⁰ So while Kreisler drew on the cliché of the highly strung, delicate and attentively listening artist, Busch evidently wanted to avoid making this impression as he looked back. In any case, given the war neuroses afflicting all the warring parties and all ranks, Kreisler's artistic coquetry seems downright absurd and reveals far more about his self-image as a musician than about musicians' specific (un)fitness for front-line duty.²¹

Music itself played no role at all for Kreisler, while Busch only had the opportunity to make music once, when his commanding general invited him to attend a dinner because of his piano-playing skills.²² This may be partly due to the fact that both spent only a comparatively short time in the trenches. As the war of position on the Western Front dragged on, music was made in the trenches themselves, a phenomenon that has so far been well documented for French positions thanks to the more favourable source situation. In view of the lack of instruments, musicians in uniform quickly switched to building them themselves, both appliances that allowed them to keep their hand in

im Ersten Weltkrieg', *Lied und populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture* no. 63, 2018, 235–251, here 235 f.

19 Kreisler, *Weeks*, 34.

20 Busch, *Pages*, 116. Busch was increasingly released from the garrison duty he had to complete henceforth to perform in concerts. Since fever was not generally grounds for an assessment as unfit, Busch apparently received special treatment thanks to his musical abilities.

21 On war neuroses, see the overview in Winter, J., 'Shell-shock and the Cultural History of the Great War', *Journal of Contemporary History* no. 35, 2000, 7–11.

22 See Busch, *Pages*, 112.

through finger training, as well as instruments on which music could be played properly. It was mainly string instruments that were made, among which that of cellist Maurice Maréchal stands out: a wooden ammunition box captured from the German army served as its corpus.²³

It is safe to assume that German musician-soldiers in the trenches became similarly inventive. Another tactic was to wangle instruments, as in October 1914 on the front line near Berméricourt: 'Our artillery unit, located next to our village, fetched a piano from Loivre. They hid it in a camouflaged pit in the field next to their cannons. They've spent many a happy hour thanks to that piano', noted musician and sergeant Karl Wunstorf in his diary.²⁴ Where no piano was to be found, soldiers often made do with an accordion, which soon got a new name: the 'trench piano'. At Hohner, the empire's leading manufacturer of accordions and harmonicas, demand soared after the outbreak of war to such a degree that it offset almost all export losses.²⁵

The lack of instruments seems to have been particularly extreme in the reserve formations, which marched into battle without bands. Against this background, the League for Voluntary Patriotic Service, a charitable organization run largely by women, initiated a collection of musical instruments intended to benefit these units (figure 4).²⁶ In newspaper advertisements, the League chiefly requested wood and brass instruments, but smaller ones such as harmonicas and concertinas were also very welcome. Amid the rigours of war, 'cheering music is of the utmost importance', stated an appeal for donations.²⁷ This is exemplified by a seventeen-man detachment that wrote to the League during the Christmas period of 1915. They had, they stated, been waiting in vain for six months for instruments that would help make their 'free

23 See Schmidt, J., 'All Quiet on the Western Front? The Creation and Perception of Self-Made Instruments in the Trenches of the First World War', *Journal of Musicological Research* no. 33, 2014, 145–162, esp. 150–153; this instrument is now in the *Musée de la musique* in Paris.

24 Karl Wunstorf, 'Kriegstagebuch 1914/15', in DTAe Reg.nr. 1772, 19. On music in the trenches, see also Heidler, M., "'Mit Preußens Gloria und Hurra in die Katastrophe". Anmerkungen zur Militärmusik zwischen Reichsgründung und Weimarer Republik', in S. Mecking and Y. Wasserloos (eds.), *Musik – Macht – Staat. Kulturelle, soziale und politische Wandlungsprozesse in der Moderne*, Göttingen 2012, 127–144, here 137 f.

25 See Berghoff, H., *Zwischen Kleinstadt und Weltmarkt: Hohner und die Harmonika 1857–1961. Unternehmensgeschichte als Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, Paderborn 1997, 197 f.

26 See 'Direktorium des Bundes für freiwilligen Vaterlandsdienst an Polizeipräsidenten von Berlin, 17.8.1915', in BArch-MA RM 3/5104, fol. 93; see also 'Vermischte Nachrichten', *Musikpädagogische Blätter* no. 5, 1 March 1916, 74.

27 Bund für freiwilligen Vaterlandsdienst, 'Aufruf', undated (1915), in GStA PK I. HA Rep. 191/3267.

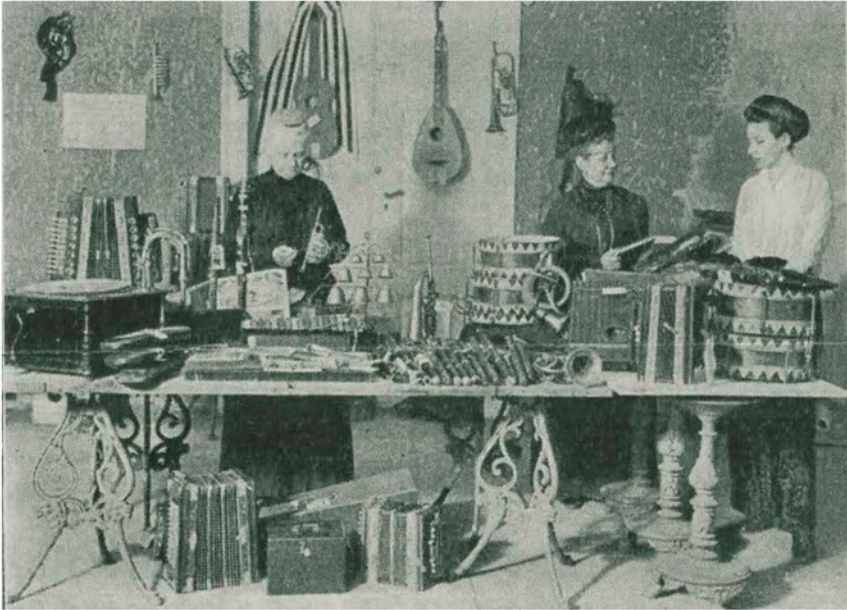


FIGURE 4 Collecting point set up by the League for Voluntary Patriotic Service (*Bund für freiwilligen Vaterlandsdienst*), 1916 ('Auszug aus Feldpostbriefen an das Direktorium des Bundes für freiwilligen Vaterlandsdienst', undated [1916], in GStA PK I. HA Rep. 191/3267)

time last longer through music'; a mandolin and guitar would, therefore, be a source of great delight.²⁸

This collecting practice reinforces the impression of a high demand for music, although its purpose broadened somewhat. As the war continued, inquiries no longer came only from the theatres of war, but also from field hospitals and garrisons. In the eyes of the League, this made it clear 'how urgently music is needed to maintain the good mood where such is present and to lift the sometimes very gloomy mood'.²⁹ The willingness to donate was quite impressive. By the end of 1916, the League had forwarded 2,500 collected instruments to the army, which had been donated by municipalities, associations, manufacturers and private individuals; one

28 'Auszug aus Feldpostbriefen an das Direktorium des Bundes für freiwilligen Vaterlandsdienst', undated (1916), in *ibid.*

29 'Direktorium des Bundes für freiwilligen Vaterlandsdienst an Polizeipräsidenten von Berlin, 23.3.1916', in *ibid.*

donor even contributed sheet music and instruments for a complete military band.³⁰

In line with the thinking of the army command, musical performances at the front were not only a source of diverting entertainment but also served educational and propaganda purposes. As an element in the patriotic instruction for soldiers at the front introduced in mid-1917, a growing number of serious compositions were performed, such as Brahms' *Alto Rhapsody* and Liszt's symphonic poem *Les préludes*, including introductions to these works. According to a training officer, the soldiers, under tremendous strain, 'reject trivial and frivolous musical performances; instead of balladmongering, they want to listen to Brahms, Wolff, Strauss and other serious, good music'. Whether this was a case of the wish being father to the thought is an open question. More significant is the key importance the army command attached to music in the field. As they saw it, musical events – especially those in which regimental officers played in a quartet or sang in the men's choir – were the 'most informal and least suspicious opportunity' for training officers 'to sound out people's thoughts and feelings' and, if necessary, to successfully impart propaganda in a relaxed atmosphere.³¹

Hence, the role and function of music in war changed fundamentally in the First World War. The era in which military musicians used signal music to ensure strategic communication in battle was finally over. Apart from the imperturbable Scots bagpipers, making music as a battlefield stimulant was considered out of date because it was far too dangerous. Marching music, meanwhile, as a tool for maintaining discipline while crossing difficult terrain and overcoming long distances, played virtually no role in trench warfare.³² Amid this new monotony of war, moments of diversion became all the more important, which is why music served other – yet at the same time familiar – functions during the First World War: entertainment and edification, as it was often put. If we also consider that this war was the last in which soldiers could not pass the time listening to the radio and only rarely the phonograph, it

30 See Bund für freiwilligen Vaterlandsdienst, 'Tätigkeitsbericht, Dez. 1917', in *ibid.*

31 Graven, [H.], *Praktische Erfahrungen im vaterländischen Unterricht*, Berlin 1918, 9 f.; for details on training, see Lipp, A., *Meinungslenkung im Krieg. Kriegserfahrungen deutscher Soldaten und ihre Deutung 1914–1918*, Göttingen 2003, 82–89.

32 See Grant, M. J., 'Situating the Music of the Great War: Historical and Analytical Perspectives', in S. Hanheide et al. (eds.), *Musik bezieht Stellung. Funktionalisierungen der Musik im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Göttingen 2013, 13–30; on music in the field, see also Huybrechts, *Musiciens des tranchées*, 229–239.

becomes clear why the demand for music, musical instruments and musicians in the front area was so high.³³

Hence, in contrast to Kreisler or Busch, the vast majority of conscripted musicians were employed in their traditional field of activity. Along with their colleagues in the performing arts, this set them apart from almost all other civilian conscripts. In contrast to actors or singers hired on an ad hoc basis for troop entertainment, however, musicians often belonged from the outset to the armed forces' musical units, in which they found themselves among permanently employed military musicians.³⁴ What both military and civilian musicians had in common was that they were among the more privileged combatants: musicians' field of activity tended not to lie directly at the front, but in the villages and camps behind it, where the supply, provisioning and, if possible, entertainment of the troops were organized.

This privileged position finds expression in the memoirs of staff bandmaster Max Kühne, who was assigned to the General Command of the Marine Corps in September 1914 as a member of a 35-man band and stationed in Bruges. Kühne relates how his ensemble had to provide a broad musical programme, from concerts at the headquarters and daily open-air performances at the market, through appearances in field hospitals, to funeral ceremonies and church services. They also performed in theatres, where they were regularly responsible for the musical interludes. According to Kühne, the musicians settled in comfortably in Bruges. They enjoyed a strong reputation in the city and three of them met their future wives there. Kühne himself was quickly on the best of terms with the city leaders and even found time for excursions into the surrounding area. Going by his recollections, Kühne seems to have witnessed little of the war.³⁵

Kühne's portrayals highlight the flourishing theatrical life at the front, where up to 700 venues were created during the war, with those in the occupied metropolises of Lille, Brussels and Bucharest standing out in terms of quality.³⁶ In the Belgian capital, the General Government even had a full-fledged symphony orchestra set up outside the regular military musical units; as a poster reveals, this performed entire concert cycles (figure 5). In Lille, too, a vibrant musical and theatrical life unfolded at the so-called *Deutsches*

33 See Salewski, M., 'Lärm, Monotonie und Dynamik in den Weltkriegen des 20. Jahrhunderts', *Historische Mitteilungen* no. 22, 2009, 188–204, here 194–203.

34 On actors at the front, see Baumeister, *Kriegstheater*, 216–218.

35 See Max Kühne, 'Erinnerungsbericht', undated, in BArch-MA MSG 206/3.

36 For the essentials, see Baumeister, *Kriegstheater*, 211–227; even court and municipal theatres gave guest performances in these cities.

General-Gouvernement in Belgien
Deutsches
Symphonie-Orchester Brüssel
 Leitung: Fritz Volbach

2. CYCLUS
Fünf grosse Symphonie-Konzerte
 Im grossen Saale des Konservatoriums (Regenstraat 30), Brüssel

4. KONZERT
 Freitag, den 1. Dezember 1916
 pünktlich abends 8¹/₄ Uhr

Solist:
 Herr **KONRAD ANSORGE**, Berlin (Klavier)

Vortragsfolge:

1. „Les Piéludes“, Symphonische Dichtung	Fr. Liszt
2. Klavierkonzert A dur	Fr. Liszt
3. Drei Stücke aus „Fausts Verdammnis“	H. Berlioz
a. Tanz der Sylphen	
b. Irrescher-Tanz	
c. Maslucy-Marsch	
4. Klavierstücke	
a. Impromptu Fis dur	Fr. Chopin
b. Soiree de Vienne	Fr. Liszt
c. Tarantella	Fr. Liszt
5. Symphonie No. VII, A dur	L. v. Beethoven

Eintrittskarten:

Parkett, Parkettlogen u. I. Rang	M 2.00	
II. Rang, Saal-Kloppitze	„ 1.00	
III. Rang	„ 0.50	

Kartenverkauf von Freitag 10. November ab in der Buchhandlung Böttcher & Böttcher, Berlin, Rue Vindobona 49, und in den Hauptstädten der Mittelmächte: 9 Linsen für Köln, von 10-3 und Parkettlogen von 1-10 Uhr. Im Koncertsaal Eröffnung der Abendkasse um halbsechs um 1.00 Uhr.

5. Konzert: Freitag, 15. Dezember 1916
 Solistin: MARIA MAIER, Berlin-Brüssel, (Sopran)
 Programm: v. Teichmann / F. Schöberl

FIGURE 5 Concert poster in Brussels, 1916 (TWS KTH ID 389)

Theater, where a permanent orchestra, sometimes up to a hundred strong, combined several regimental bands. Opera and operetta, symphony concert and chamber music, even dance music – there was almost nothing this institution did not offer the soldiers who were brought into town from the front especially for such events. Numerous operatic guest performances by various court and municipal theatres as well as appearances by leading conductors such as Wilhelm Furtwängler and Fritz Reiner, pianist Georg Schumann and cellist Willy Hess were not uncommon.³⁷

37 See 'Programmzettel Sinfonie-Konzert im Deutschen Theater Lille, 18.1.1916', in TWS KTH ID 1262; 'Programmzettel Kammermusik-Abend im Deutschen Theater Lille, 14.1.1916', in *ibid.* ID 1261; 'Programmzettel Der Waffenschmied im Deutschen Theater Lille, 14.3.1916',

Of course, not all military musicians were comfortably stationed in a city. Military musician Karl Wunstorf, ordered directly to the front as an oboist in the 74th Music Corps (*Musikkorps 74*), had quite different experiences. In his diary, he refers repeatedly to hunger, disturbing impressions of the war, and everyday life in the most adverse conditions. In addition, as typical of military musicians, he was detailed as a stretcher-bearer, which put his life in danger time and again. In Wunstorf's case, especially in the first few weeks of the war, music took a back seat, and music evenings were only occasionally held for entertainment purposes.³⁸

The longer trench warfare lasted, however, the more music was made behind the lines and in the rear area. Ad hoc field theatres such as the one in the small town of Berclau, 25 kilometres south-west of Lille, which provided room for up to 380 spectators in a converted school (figure 6), were set up to enhance troop welfare, though the term was not yet in use. The look of concentration on the faces of the musicians in the orchestra pit stands somewhat in contrast to the programme on offer, which was centred on *Volksschwänke* (a popular type of verse-based, frequently comedic theatre with roots in the Middle Ages), such as *Das Sonntagsräuschchen* by Wilhelm Floto or Ludwig Thoma's *Erster Klasse*.³⁹ In addition to the field theatre, away from the front the simple open-air concert on Sunday afternoons was an integral part of everyday life during the war (figure 7).

The high demand for musical troop support put military musicians in a better position during the war than ordinary soldiers, as demonstrated by the recollections of those conscripted to bolster military bands. Malige, for example, who was deployed in the 105th Royal Saxon Infantry Regiment (*Königlich-Sächsischer Infanterieregiment 105*) in Alsace, greatly appreciated the fact that he had escaped the front line thanks to his profession.⁴⁰

Civilian musicians had a hard time as newcomers in standing military bands, and sometimes found themselves in a quite unfamiliar world. While Malige was regularly told off for his lack of military discipline, for his part he found it hard to forge relationships with his new colleagues:

in *ibid.* ID 1302; 'Programmzettel Beethoven-Konzert im Deutschen Theater Lille, 6.6.1916', in *ibid.* ID 1325; 'Programmzettel Konzert- Lieder- und Tanz-Abend, 27.4.1916', in *ibid.* ID 1513; on the context, see Pörzgen, H., *Theater als Waffengattung. Das deutsche Fronttheater im Weltkrieg 1914 bis 1920*, Frankfurt am Main 1935, 13 f. and 40–44.

38 See Wunstorf, 'Kriegstagebuch 1914/15', in DTAE Reg.nr. 1772, 5, 15 and 21.

39 See 'Programmzettel Sonntagsräuschchen', undated, in TWS KTH ID 398; 'Programmzettel Erster Klasse', undated, in *ibid.* 410; see also Pörzgen, *Waffengattung*, 65.

40 See Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 26b. Hindemith made similar comments; see Skelton, *Hindemith*, 48.



FIGURE 6 Field theatre in Berclau, 1916 (TWS KTH ID 40097)

The older ones generally had little interest in music. At no point did I hear conversations about music or musicians, and they performed their musical duties without enthusiasm. When they weren't playing cards – and in fact they did so all day long – they were usually reading in an attempt to prepare for their future careers as postal workers or tax officials.⁴¹

According to Malige, musical evenings, especially for officers, consisted primarily of operetta music and always followed the same script: the officers 'initially acted with studied gentility and a strict military bearing, until Captain Gaudlitz entered the room crying out "Music! Or I'll shit on the floor!" Henceforth, "King Alcohol" dominated proceedings'.⁴²

⁴¹ Ibid., 25a.

⁴² Ibid., 26.



FIGURE 7 Open-air concert by the 102nd Royal Saxon Infantry Regiment, 1916 (Barch-MA, MSG 206/17)

In addition, military musicians' deployment times were diametrically opposed to those of the combat troops. While the military bands had little or even nothing to do during periods of heavy fighting, they were all the more in demand when there were pauses in the firing. Conscripted musician Heinrich Bock relates in his memoirs that his ambitious bandmaster held constant rehearsals in addition to the daily musical duties because he was 'obsessed with good music. [...] We only had peace when Frenchy sent us his regards more often'.⁴³ In general, not just for Bock but for many civilian musicians, the everyday reality of war was no doubt a life 'of a kind none of us had previously known'.⁴⁴ Regardless of this, musicians at the front benefited to a considerable extent from their profession because their operational area was comparatively safe. In Malige's military band, part of the 105th Royal Saxon Infantry Regiment, not a single musician was killed in his just over three years of service between late 1915 and the armistice in November 1918 – a clear indication that

43 Bock, 'Erinnerungen', in DTAE Reg.nr. 1656.2, 21; similar remarks can be found in Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 26b.

44 Bock, 'Erinnerungen', 19.

a musical career, which was often so unprofitable in times of peace, helped ensure one's survival during the war.⁴⁵

Limited and Unlimited Solidarity

Musicians knew how to capitalize on their professional activity at both front and home front. Initially, however, this could not have been predicted. In keeping with developments in general, the outbreak of war in August 1914 immediately exacerbated the parlous state of the musical labour market in Germany, first because it was unclear whether, and if so to what extent, theatres and symphony orchestras would try to have a normal season after the summer break. Some of these institutions had enshrined contractually their right to fire all employees in the event of war, for example in Düsseldorf, where the Alt-Düsseldorf Variety Theatre (*Variété Alt-Düsseldorf*) dismissed its musicians without notice.⁴⁶ Second, the demand for ensemble musicians collapsed due to the official ban on dances in effect for the entire war period.⁴⁷ Third, some of the institutions and orchestras that resumed operations in September implemented salary cuts, while the war triggered a general rise in prices.⁴⁸ Fourth and finally, many musicians lost additional income opportunities, such as private tuition, as students could no longer afford lessons or were conscripted. The editor of the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*, Hans Ferdinand Schaub, even came to the naïve conclusion that in view of the threat to their livelihoods, every musician could consider himself lucky if he was called to the front immediately.⁴⁹

Reactions to this brief collapse of musical life were not long in coming. A form of charitable solidarity immediately sprang up among musicians, and it was at least partially practiced beyond social and music-aesthetic boundaries. The Musicians' Union quickly set up a War Relief Fund intended to provide support for the families of conscripted musicians. Among the early donors were unknown musicians, some of whom could spare just a few marks, luminaries of popular music such as Paul Lincke, and composers of so-called

45 Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 26a.

46 See Hermann Pietzsch, 'Aus Düsseldorf', *DMZ* no. 38, 19 September 1914, 717.

47 See Chickering, R., *The Great War and Urban Life in Germany: Freiburg, 1914–1918*, Cambridge 2007, 382 f.; Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, 245 f.

48 See DOB, 'Die derzeitige Lage der Orchester', *DMZ* no. 38, 19 September 1914, 716 f.

49 See Hans F. Schaub, 'Der Musiker und der Krieg', *DMZ* no. 34, 22 August 1914, 683 f.; on the context, see also Hebestreit, 'Musikkultur', 121–124.

serious music such as Richard Strauss and Max Bruch, who contributed up to 100 marks. Even the president of the General German Music Association, Max von Schillings, who was generally unreceptive to the union, donated 50 marks. In addition, entire institutions, from the Conductors' Association (*Kapellmeistervereinigung*) in Hamburg to some better-off court orchestras, responded to the appeal. Last but not least, German musicians abroad, from Stockholm to Boston to Porto Alegre, showed solidarity with their colleagues back home. Fritz Kreisler's donation of 1,000 marks, raised by a charity concert in the United States, was particularly generous.⁵⁰

In addition to this cross-border fundraising campaign, there were also local initiatives. Munich led the way with the establishment of a Relief Centre for musicians. This saw an unprecedented collaboration between a number of musical greats in the Bavarian metropolis – the founding appeal was signed by Strauss,⁵¹ local music critics Paul Ehlers and Paul Marsop, various presidents of the local tonal artists' associations, the Munich Musicians' Alliance (*Münchener Musikerverbindung*) and the Munich Ensemble Musicians' League (*Münchener Ensemblesmusikerbund*). The aim of the Relief Centre was not only to help alleviate the suffering of recruited musicians' families, but also to extend a helping hand to colleagues in need. The general public was called on to donate, but also encouraged not to give up or to resume (private) music lessons. The centre even sought to serve as an employment agency, far from any musical role, for those who 'require capable and reliable temporary workers for lighter physical or office work of all kinds' as the appeal stated.⁵²

The president of the Ensemble Musicians' League, conductor Theo Freitag, was entrusted with the administration of the Relief Centre. He was also responsible for organizing charity concerts for musicians in need. Strauss, Bruno Walter and Siegmund von Hausegger, for example, made themselves available for popular concerts in eateries and drinking venues in order to bolster the Relief Centre's coffers.⁵³ Walter, who was director of the Munich Court Opera at the time, had evidently come up with the idea of holding such 'beer

50 See Präsidium, 'Für die Kriegsunterstützungskasse', *DMZ* no. 36, 5 September 1914, 699; Präsidium, 'Für die Kriegsunterstützungskasse', *ibid.* no. 37, 12 September 1914, 708; Gustav Cords, 'Die Hilfstätigkeit innerhalb des Allgem. Deutschen Musiker-Verbandes', *ibid.* no. 46, 14 November 1914, 780; Präsidium, 'Die Opferwilligkeit der deutschen Kollegen im Ausland', *ibid.* no. 23, 5 June 1915, 195.

51 Although Strauss was conductor at the Court Opera in Berlin at the time, as a native of Munich he had always maintained ties with his hometown.

52 'Hilfsstellen für Berufsmusiker', *NZfM* no. 33/34, 20 August 1914, 472.

53 See Gustav Cords, 'Die Hilfstätigkeit innerhalb des Allgem. Deutschen Musiker-Verbandes', *DMZ* no. 46, 14 November 1914, 780.

concerts' and, in view of the seriousness of the situation, refused to tolerate the reservations, widespread within the profession, about events of this kind.⁵⁴ Helping alleviate musicians' plight seems to have been a labour of love for him. In May 1915, when it was temporarily impossible to hold charity concerts, he donated 300 marks and humbly asked Freitag to keep quiet about it.⁵⁵ Freitag himself conducted some of these popular concerts, in the *Löwenbräukeller* and the Hotel Wagner's concert hall, for example, with 'marching music and national music' on the programme. Such concerts often concluded with patriotic songs.⁵⁶

Many other cities in the empire soon followed Munich's example in one way or another, including Dresden, Hanover, Leipzig and Berlin. In contrast to the inclusive Relief Centre in the Bavarian metropolis, however, the initiatives in the imperial capital were more exclusivist socially and in terms of music culture. The so-called Artists' Kitchen (*Künstlerküche*), which the German Association of Performing Artists (*Verband der Konzertierenden Künstler Deutschlands*) had set up in October 1914 and was run by a Women's Relief Committee (*Damenhilfskomitee*), its members drawn from Berlin's high society, mainly fed those 'prevented by social or class considerations from visiting the public soup kitchens'.⁵⁷ These meals were allegedly 'suited to the needs of artistically sensitive people', and the right ambience was soon found in the premises of a Masonic lodge in Berlin. Up to 600 people received a hot meal there every day.⁵⁸ The more broadly conceived Berlin Benevolent Society for Musicians and Performing Artists (*Berliner Hilfsvereinigung für Musiker und Vortragskünstler*), which had been formed by August and to which all the significant local and national music associations belonged, also limited

54 DOB, 'Wie können wir helfen, wie können wir uns helfen?', *DMZ* no. 37, 12 September 1914, 707 f.

55 See 'Bruno Walter an Theo Freitag, 15.5.1915', in BSB Ana 649 NL Freitag.

56 'Kleines Rezensionshft', undated, in *ibid.* National music meant Beethoven's Symphony No. 3 and Weber's *Jubilee Overture*; singing mainly occurred after 'reports of success' from the front.

57 Bruno Schrader, 'Kreuz und Quer – Berlin', *NZfM* no. 44, 29 October 1914, 523; see Gustav Cords, 'Die Hilfstätigkeit innerhalb des Allgem. Deutschen Musiker-Verbandes', *DMZ* no. 46, 14 November 1914, 780.

58 See Scharwenka, X., *Sounds from My Life: Reminiscences of a Musician*. Translated by William E. Petig, Toronto 2007, 138; Xaver Scharwenka was president of this association at the time and his wife was a member of the aforementioned Relief Committee. The Artists' Kitchen enjoyed such tremendous popularity that it remained open beyond the end of the war in view of widespread hunger in 1918–19.

its support to those musicians whose performances entailed a 'higher artistic interest'.⁵⁹

It is difficult to say whether relief campaigns were aimed more often at a comparatively small group of elite artists, as in Berlin, or without distinction at all musicians, as in Munich. What is clear is that the war did not bring musicians, music teachers and composers closer together.⁶⁰ If we also consider the fact that financially well-placed donors tended to give their money to high art, initiatives focussed on this field are at least likely to have been more successful. The Berlin Benevolent Society, for example, could not complain about a lack of donations. In fact, it raised more funds than it spent, so that by mid-1917 over 18,000 marks had accumulated – a clear indication that fewer musicians were in need of help in the field of art music than the many donors had assumed.⁶¹

Good Prospects

Indeed, contrary to initial fears, ample evidence shows that the situation on the labour market improved rapidly. Before being called up in the summer of 1915, violinist Alfred Malige spent the first year of the war doing various jobs throughout the empire; he clearly took moving from one post to another in his stride. It would appear that he was also able to achieve his goal of finding a spot in a larger orchestra without much trouble: he obtained a position at the Theatre of the West (*Theater des Westens*) in Berlin.⁶² The jobs section in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*, which for a time barely filled two pages, had doubled in size by March 1915. As early as the end of 1914, moreover, there were complaints that newly formed replacement regiments were having to go to war without military musicians due to a lack of suitable personnel. At the beginning of the 1915–16 season, reports circulated that orchestras were helping each other out due to a lack of staff or had to delay the start of the season, as in the case of the Munich Concert Association Orchestra.⁶³ This was a reversal of peacetime realities. The demand for musicians had quickly outstripped supply.

59 See 'Osterrieth an Königliche Polizei, 28.7.1915', in GStA PK I. HA Rep. 191/3306; 'Statut der Hilfsvereinigung für Musiker und Vortragskünstler', undated (1914) in *ibid.*

60 See chapter 7.

61 See 'Aufstellung von Januar 1917 bis April 1917', undated, in GStA PK I. HA Rep. 191/3306.

62 Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 20a.

63 See 'Kreuz und Quer', *NZfM* no. 52, 31 December 1914, 588; 'Kreuz und Quer', in *ibid.* no. 31/32, 5 August 1915; 'Kreuz und Quer', *ibid.* no. 40, 30 September 1915, 312.

The causes of this development were manifold. First, musicians' complaints about competition from civil servants, which they had been making for years to no effect, suddenly found a receptive audience. After the Musicians' Union had yet again made Imperial Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg aware of this problem, the Imperial Office of the Interior forbade its officials to make music for the duration of the war in exchange 'for remuneration or compensation of any kind'. Furthermore, it was announced that an identical ban would be imposed on the other top-level imperial authorities and on Prussian government officials in general.⁶⁴ At the municipal level, Munich again set the trend. At the beginning of September 1914, the city authorities acceded to a request from the Relief Centre and forbade municipal officials to perform music in public until further notice.

This sudden change of heart on the part of the governmental and municipal authorities cannot be explained solely in light of the agitation that typified the first few weeks of the war or civilian musicians' predicament on the job market, which initially looked so dire. Also significant is the fact that the political sphere and wider society alike expected a quick victory and thus viewed these regulations as temporary.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the military leadership supported the ban, which ultimately brought ranks-breaking local administrations such as the Berlin municipal authorities into line. Another key aspect of civilian musicians' 'fortunes of war' was that the ban remained in place throughout the war years, although their situation improved noticeably over time.⁶⁶

Second, the posting of numerous military bands to the front had an even greater effect on the musical labour market. In peacetime, almost 600 such bands had supplied entire cities with music of all kinds. Regardless of the Musicians' Union's advances in this field since 1900, military and civilian musicians had continued to compete for employment and public favour. A key figure neatly captures this: in the 1913–1914 season, operas in more than forty

64 See 'Der Reichskanzler für die Musiker', *NZfM* no. 42/43, 15 October 1914, 514; Amanus Prietzel, 'Verbot des entgeltlichen Musizierens der Reichs- und preußischen Staatsbeamten', *DMZ* no. 40, 3 October 1914, 732.

65 See Ullrich, *Großmacht*, 419–421.

66 See 'Beamtenkonkurrenz in Kriegszeiten', *DMZ* no. 39, 26 September 1914, 725 f.; Die Schutzkommission des Vereins Berliner Musiker, 'Sozialer Fortschritt auf höhere Weisung', *ibid.* no. 49, 5 December 1914, 805; see also 'Magistrat Berlin an Oberkommando in den Marken, 17.2.1916', in BArch-MA RM 3/5104, fol. 145 f.; Berlin was home to a particularly large number of civil servant musicians. See Waltz, *Orchestermusiker*, 74; on the context, see Ullrich, *Großmacht*, 419–421.

German cities relied on the active assistance of the military musicians stationed there.⁶⁷

In other words, civilian musicians' toughest competitor had gone off to the front, seemingly from one moment to the next. It is no surprise that this development was hardly ever explicitly mentioned in the music-cultural discourse of the first months of the war – though the relevant journalists knew only too well how the 'fortunes of war' had benefitted civilian musicians who had stayed at home. From time to time, substitution processes, which occurred in a range of ways, were soberly documented, as in Düsseldorf: at the Zoological Garden, a newly formed orchestra that had consciously been put together without civil servants took the place of the regular band of the 39th Lower Rhine Fusilier Regiment (*Niederrheinisches Füsilier-Regiment Nr. 39*).⁶⁸ Yet periodic analyses of musicians' situation made no mention of this phenomenon. 'Happily, the musical job market has evidently improved recently, at least somewhat', to quote the carefully formulated words of Amandus Prietzel, vice president of the Musicians' Union, less than four months after the start of the war. Rather than identifying the calling up of military musicians as the main reason for this shift, he highlighted the ban on civil servants' music-making.⁶⁹

In fact, sensing new trouble from military bands and their commercial playing on the home front, Prietzel went on the attack. In light of the failure to secure a rapid military victory and a certain normalization of musical life, Prietzel was convinced, the Prussian army was establishing substitute bands as part of the reserve units. Though the War Ministry made it clear that newly established military bands were not allowed to make commercial music, the issue remained contentious as this ban had evidently been flouted on numerous occasions.⁷⁰ Regardless of this, the war as a whole somewhat diminished the antagonism between civilian and military musicians. For example, the chairman of the German Orchestra Association, Albert Diedrich, was now fairly willing to cooperate and viewed military music as an important partner in musical life, one it would be necessary to work more closely with in

67 See Schramm, M., 'Die Aufgaben der Militärmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Viel mehr als nur Massensuggestion', *Historische Mitteilungen* no. 22, 2009, 145–159, here 155.

68 See Hermann Pietzsch, 'Aus Düsseldorf', *DMZ* no. 38, 19 September 1914, 717.

69 Amandus Prietzel, 'Der Gewerbebetrieb der Militärmusiker während des Krieges', *DMZ* no. 46, 14 November 1914, 781.

70 See *ibid.* Concerts by replacement bands took place, for example, in the beer cellars of Munich. See Paracelsus, 'Die Konkurrenz der Ersatzkapellen', *DMZ* no. 7, 13 February 1915, 51; 'Kriegsministerium an sämtliche Armee-Oberkommandos, 14.8.1915', in BArch-MA, RM 3/5104, fol. 84.

future. This more conciliatory attitude is a good reflection of civilian musicians' improved situation in the middle of the war.⁷¹

Third, in contrast, the – quite inconsistent – treatment of musicians from abroad was of virtually no significance to musicians' job prospects. The Prussian government took tough action immediately after the outbreak of war: students at the Berlin Royal Academy of Music from so-called enemy nations were interned at the place-of-arms in Döberitz. Prominent teachers were not spared either. French violin professor Henri Marteau evaded detention only by voluntarily reporting himself to the authorities as a prisoner of war while staying at his summer residence in Lichtenberg, Upper Franconia. In contrast, Polish violinist Bronisław Huberman and Scots pianist Frederic Lamond were interned. Like many other musicians from abroad, they were incarcerated in what is known as the Ruhleben concentration camp near Berlin.⁷² The Musicians' Union reacted just as quickly and, with reference to the allegedly poor treatment of German civilians in Russia, Belgium and France, expelled all members from hostile countries; the General German Music Association did the same.⁷³ Immediately after the outbreak of war, numerous, though not all, works by composers from hostile foreign countries had been banned, but now the focus shifted to individuals.⁷⁴

Yet there was no move to impose a blanket employment ban on non-German musicians: there were in fact complaints about ongoing competition from foreigners during the entire war period and beyond.⁷⁵ Permanently employed non-German orchestral musicians, for example, barely more than one hundred individuals in any case, were largely left alone.⁷⁶ A similar picture emerges when it comes to foreign musicians specializing in popular music. As long as they had been in Germany for a lengthy period and had

71 See Albert Diedrich, 'Die Militärkonkurrenzfrage', *DMZ* no. 35, 26 August 1916, 286.

72 See 'Kreuz und Quer', *NZfM* no. 35/36, 3 September 1914, 482 f.; 'Kreuz und Quer', *NZfM* no. 51, 17 December 1914, 580. A prisoners' orchestra was in fact formed in this camp. See Huybrechts, *Musiciens des tranchées*, 241 f.; Huberman and Lamond were released in December 1914.

73 See Das Präsidium, 'Bekanntmachung', *DMZ* no. 33, 15 August 1914, 675; Hanheide, S., 'Dem Ernste der Zeit anpassen'. Zur Politisierung des deutschen Musiklebens am Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges', in Hanheide, S., et al. (eds.), *Musik bezieht Stellung. Funktionalisierungen der Musik im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Göttingen 2013, 265–276, here 272.

74 See Hebestreit, O., 'Musiktheater', in *Enzyklopädie Erster Weltkrieg*, edited by G. Hirschfeld et al., Paderborn et al. 2009, 995–997.

75 See for example 'Zentralverband der Zivilmusiker Deutschlands an Oberkommando in den Marken, 5.11.1914', in LAB A Pr. Br. Rep. 030–05/3748, fol. 3; Gustav Cords, 'Konkurrenz feindlicher Ausländer', *DMZ* no. 3, 15 January 1916, 18.

76 See *Protokoll der 22. Delegierten-Versammlung*, 154.

not inspired the authorities' distrust in any way, the Berlin police, for example, could take no action whatsoever against them. Still, the high command in the Marches issued a general performance ban on concert soloists dedicated to so-called classical music from enemy states. New appointments were also prevented in various ways.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it seems that on the whole, practicing non-German musicians in Germany received somewhat better treatment during the war than their German colleagues in the United Kingdom or United States, precisely because, in contrast to those countries, German employers largely refrained from dismissals.⁷⁸ The approach to foreign musicians, then, had hardly any effect on the German labour market, in part because German returnees from abroad were easily able to fill the gaps that had arisen.

The fact that the labour market remained overwhelmingly male-dominated also played a decisive role in its wartime easing. The music profession thus differed profoundly from others, in particular from industries essential to the war, in which women were in the majority in some cases towards the end of the conflict.⁷⁹ On occasion, orchestras hastily put together immediately after the outbreak of war, such as the Berlin Free Orchestra Association of Concert Artists (*Berliner Freie Orchestervereinigung konzertierender Künstler*), admitted female musicians to their ranks. This, however, was met with criticism, based once again on the visual dimension – the 'allure of the concert soloist' was just as disturbing as clothing such as a 'bright red, low-necked gown'.⁸⁰ Such cases were also the absolute exceptions. Had there been a wider intake of women into symphony orchestras and other ensembles, it would certainly have sparked a debate in the relevant periodicals. There is no trace of this. On the contrary, the ladies' bands, until then virtually the only setting in which

77 In Berlin, the authorities imposed a ban to this effect, while the German Orchestra Association issued a relevant resolution in May 1916. See 'Polizei-Präsident an Verein Berliner Musiker, 11.2.1915', in LAB A Pr. Br. Rep. 030–05/3748, fol. 21; 'Oberkommando in den Marken an Polizeipräsident, 9.5.1917', in *ibid.*, fol. 116a; DOB, 'Neuengagements von Ausländern bei angestellten Orchestern', *DMZ* no. 27, 1 July 1916, 222 f.

78 In the United Kingdom, the departure of German musicians, partly through internment and deportation, was the most striking consequence of the war for musical life. See Ehrlich, *Profession*, 187 f. In the United States, almost 10,000 Germans were incarcerated during the war. See Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*, 182–186.

79 See Kocka, J., *Facing Total War: German Society, 1914–1918*. Translated by Barbara Weinberger. Leamington Spa 1984, 17 f.

80 See Bruno Schrader, 'Konzertleben Berlin', *NZfM* no. 44, 29 October 1914, 521 and chapter 4.

women could work as musicians, lost their appeal considerably and on a long-term basis during the war. They had practically died out by the mid-1920s.⁸¹

It seems only to have been on concert podiums that female soloists, especially violinists and pianists, were given the opportunity to show off their skills more often due to the outbreak of war. One example of many is violinist Ibolyka Gyarfas, born in 1901, a child prodigy from Hungary who made around sixty solo appearances in the empire in the 1916–17 season. For a concert conducted by Furtwängler in Mannheim in November 1917, in which she played Karl Goldmark's violin concerto, she received the substantial fee of 500 reichsmarks.⁸²

Why women musicians did not manage to use the war situation for their own advancement is not easy to determine in the absence of sound sources. However, there are some indications that the will to do so was not particularly strong among women or men. For one thing, at the time there was no strong lobby of performing female musicians that might have coordinated the advance of women in this field. Women musicians had come together for the first time shortly before the turn of the century in 1897, in the Association of Women Music Teachers (*Verband der Musiklehrerinnen*), which formed a section of the German Association of Women Teachers (*Deutscher Lehrerinnenverband*); in 1915, it had a membership of over 2,200 women musicians.

The general assembly of the Association of Women Music Teachers, held the same year, was devoted to the problem of job placement for women teachers during the war and the need, which had been pressing for decades, for a national examination for the profession of female music teacher. Calls for a general opening of orchestras and other ensembles to women, however, were not to be heard.⁸³ Furthermore, the Musicians' Union, and in particular the bands organized in the German Orchestra Association, had no intention of

81 See Keil, 'Damenkapellen', 105. Between 1913 and 1918, the number of women's bands fell from 299 to 157, far more than those of men (375 to 303). The reason for this development was probably that women were urgently needed in the war industries, which also paid them more.

82 See 'Biography Ibolyka Gyarfas', undated, in AUdK 104 NL Ibolyka Gyarfas, Box 2; 'Konzertengagements-Vertrag Liederkranz Mannheim, 31.7.1917', in *ibid.*, Box 104/4. After the war, Gyarfas's career quickly took a turn for the worse, although it is difficult to assess whether the loss of her status as a child prodigy, her gender or entirely different factors were decisive in this regard.

83 See 'Kreuz und Quer', *NZfM* no. 22, 3 June 1915, 199. An initiative to found a ladies' band union, also around 1900, failed; see Kaufmann, *Trommlerin*, 175–177.

squandering the advantages the war had given them by suddenly throwing open their doors to women.⁸⁴

Essential to the War Effort: Orchestral Musicians

The musicians who gained the most from these developments were permanently employed orchestral musicians and those who sought to join their ranks. Because the war led to intense labour turnover, diminishing the supply of musicians in the empire, these privileged positions were easier to obtain. The labour shortage also made itself felt in the remarkable social and economic valorization of orchestral musicians in general during the war years.

The mood in the German Orchestra Association, an organ of the Musicians' Union responsible for all permanent ensembles, that is, for theatre and variety orchestras as well as for court and municipal orchestras, was correspondingly positive. At the general assembly in Weimar in the summer of 1916, its founding president Albert Diedrich was able to report mostly good news about the association's activities in the preceding war years, including improved employment contracts for orchestra members, for example in Mönchengladbach and Danzig; successful salary negotiations with various municipal and private authorities; the implementation of non-terminability clauses at the orchestras in Kiel and Saarbrücken; the introduction of a general orchestral statute, which, Diedrich stated, had been brought one step closer by the fact that the Court Orchestra in Darmstadt had been allowed to establish an orchestral board, the first court ensemble to enjoy this privilege; and last but not least, the support the association had provided for the aforementioned establishment of a military symphony orchestra in occupied Brussels.⁸⁵

In addition, some private orchestras, which were only partially subsidized until the outbreak of war, came entirely under municipal administration, including those in Barmen, Krefeld, Bielefeld and Dortmund. As late as March 1917, overall orchestral musicians were still satisfied with the extent of cost-of-living allowances, wage increases and residential allowances; Diedrich went so far as to describe the situation of 'most court and municipal orchestras or orchestras under municipal guardianship' as 'very pleasing'.⁸⁶ A look at the War Relief Fund set up by the Musicians' Union shows that this description of

84 Gustav Cords, 'Die Gehaltsbewegung im Kriege', *DMZ* no. 14, 7 April 1917, 113–115, here 113 f.

85 See Albert Diedrich, 'Deutscher Orchester-Bund. Bericht des Vorsitzenden zur Generalversammlung am 30. Mai 1916 in Weimar', *DMZ* no. 23, 3 June 1916, 189 f.

86 *Nachtrag*, 3.

the situation was more than just window-dressing on the part of the union's leadership: almost two-thirds of donations to this fund, which amounted to no less than 70,000 marks by May 1916, came from permanently employed orchestral musicians.⁸⁷

The wartime lot of orchestral musicians is all the more astonishing as the comparable white-collar employees (*Angestellte*) and lower civil servants (*niedere Beamte*) were much worse off during the war. Both businesses and the government assigned the so-called new middle class (*neuer Mittelstand*) a merely subordinate war-economic and strategic importance. In line with this, civil servants only received cost-of-living allowances in the course of 1917 and even then, only in cases of hardship, while the vast majority of companies refused to recognize the white-collar employee umbrella organizations formed during the war and declined to engage in collective bargaining with them. In view of the high rates of inflation, the result was the 'proletarianisation' of these occupational groups. They clearly became poorer in absolute terms in the course of the war, while the income gap between them and blue-collar workers narrowed noticeably.⁸⁸

It is true that orchestral musicians were a long way from achieving the lavish wage increases racked up by workers in the war industries. The fact that they nonetheless fared better in wartime than the new middle class was due, first, to the solid preparatory work done by the Musicians' Union before 1914, especially in the orchestral field.⁸⁹ Second, as we have seen, musicians benefitted from the war because of the sudden, acute shortage of musicians. The rigid gender order in German musical life meant that this was not offset by the employment of women as in other professional fields.

Third, musicians ultimately saw themselves as important to the war effort and sold themselves as such. In their own eyes, they had a clearly defined socio-political mission to fulfil on the home front. It was above all musicians, according to Union President Cords, who had to 'demonstrate to the world that Germany is out in front in the field of culture'. Moreover, he averred, it was musicians who were primarily called upon to 'provide moments of edification and spiritual refreshment' when it came to bolstering the German people's will to persevere. The war had finally demonstrated that 'the people are in dire need of our art'. Hence, for him this was

87 See Albert Diedrich, 'Deutscher Orchester-Bund. Bericht des Vorsitzenden zur Generalversammlung am 30. Mai 1916 in Weimar', *DMZ* no. 23, 3 June 1916, 189 f.; Rendantur, 'Für die Kriegsunterstützungskasse', *ibid.*

88 See Kocka, *Total War*, 84–90.

89 For more detail, see chapter 5.

not a pleasant, more or less luxurious addition to human life that one can do without depending on one's mood and will, but rather a precondition for the inner life of civilized man, without which existence is worthless to him.⁹⁰

Of course, Cords was speaking in the interest of his own group here, and he was by no means alone in this. The director of the Darmstadt Court Theatre (*Darmstädter Hoftheater*), Paul Eger, had also observed during his wartime guest performance in Brussels, as well as at his home institution, how the war had brought art to the people. While it was true, he explained, that the latter should not be 'assailed with the heaviest artillery of literature and music', there was no doubt that the common people were exhibiting a 'steadily growing receptivity even to serious fare'.⁹¹

This alleged importance of music to the war was a notion embraced by government agencies because it was based on attributes such as earnestness and inwardness, which had been considered typically German since the nineteenth century. These characteristics simultaneously conveyed the specific mood of a country at war – this at least was the notion propagated by military leaders.⁹² This patriotic instrumentalization of music, initially fostered in part by the hasty production of explicit war music in all possible genres, met with less and less public approval over the course of the war. Meanwhile, a craving for pleasure was increasingly apparent in German entertainment venues. Yet these shifts did nothing to change the fact that the government and municipalities considered orchestral musicians and their serious music essential to the war.⁹³ All in all, then, until 1917 the war was not a bad time for musicians who stayed at home. 'If one didn't know there was a war on', an article in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* stated with respect to the lives of musicians, 'one simply wouldn't believe it, because everything in the country is proceeding as usual, as if the profoundest peace prevailed'.⁹⁴

90 Gustav Cords, 'Die Gehaltsbewegung im Kriege', *DMZ* no. 14, 7 April 1917, 113–115.

91 Paul Eger, 'Unsere Theaterkunst und der Krieg', *Illustrierte Zeitung* no. 3845, undated (1917), 339–341, in TWS KTH ID 1819.

92 On these topoi of 'German' music, see Watkins, H., *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought: From E. T. A. Hoffmann to Arnold Schoenberg*, Cambridge 2011; Applegate and Potter, *Identity*.

93 On public musical trends, see Baumeister, *Kriegstheater*, 129–146; Thrun, 'Krieg', 35 f. On the government's attitude, see also Stark, G. D., 'All Quiet on the Home Front: Popular Entertainments, Censorship, and Civilian Morale in Germany, 1914–1918', in F. Coetzee and M. Shevin-Coetzee (eds.), *Authority, Identity and the Social History of the Great War*, Providence, RI 1995, 57–80, here 62 f.

94 Amandus Prietzel, 'Angebot und Nachfrage', *DMZ* no. 11, 13 March 1915, 82.

Relative War Profits

Of course, musicians too suffered from the general economic hardships as the war dragged on, such as the increase in the cost of living and food prices, later on coal and food shortages, initially salary cuts and then, towards the end of the war, completely inadequate salary increases, which could by no means compensate for inflation. In short: musicians became impoverished like almost every other professional group in the empire. Accordingly, in November 1917, for the first time the Musicians' Union publicly demanded a wage increase of 50 percent over the peacetime figure. However, this call was primarily geared towards seasonal orchestras, the vast majority of which were privately owned companies. Even at this late point in time, the complaints remained moderate overall and targeted only certain forms of employment. As much as the war impacted on all areas of life, its effects were not so sweeping as to eliminate subtle differences in the development of different professions. Compared with white-collar employees and lower civil servants, musicians were definitely 'profiteers' in a war in which the vast majority of people were losers.⁹⁵ The profits, however, were not accidental. The Musicians' Union used the war strategically to improve the social situation of the profession as a whole and, above all, that of orchestral musicians.

In addition, during the war the music profession gained social prestige and garnered greater recognition as an artistic activity from governmental and municipal institutions. Much like theatre, musical culture in Germany underwent socio-political valorization during the war. Its enhanced status endured well into the second half of the twentieth century, initially finding expression after the war in a significant increase in government and municipal subsidies for music venues and orchestras.⁹⁶ The experience of front-line trench warfare, in which musical performances of all kinds quickly acquired unprecedented significance, also contributed significantly to this gradual change of heart.

95 See Gustav Cords, 'Die Teuerung und wir', *DMZ* no. 46, 17 November 1917. On economic hardship in the working world in general, see Chickering, R., *Imperial Germany and the Great War 1914–1918*, Cambridge 2014, 128–134.

96 See Baumeister, *Kriegstheater*, 293 f. On the increase in subsidies, see Martersteig, M., 'Theater und Orchester', in *Handwörterbuch der Kommunalwissenschaften*, edited by J. Brix, Jena 1924, 175–185.

Squabbling Professions: Musicians, Composers and Music Teachers

In a widely acclaimed 1903 lecture entitled ‘Profession or State?’, musicologist Hermann Kretzschmar contended that, unlike other professional groups such as teachers, lawyers or doctors, musicians had failed to create a professional organization. Kretzschmar explained this development in a simple way with reference to a trait allegedly typical of the musician: ‘In general, his collegial strength is only expressed in the smallest doses, within a particular orchestra or similar locally restricted association.’ This characteristic, he asserted, had not only made the profession rather powerless, but had also triggered ‘resignation and indifference’ vis-à-vis the deficiencies of contemporary musical life, be it in the context of school singing, private lessons, education or concerts. ‘The corporative spirit has given way to an egotism that does not shy away even from immoral methods’, Kretzschmar stated soberly, urgently advising musicians to finally ‘extract themselves from anarchy and haphazardness and in some way bring government and order to their realm’. He explicitly referred to the Musicians’ Conference held by the General German Music Association, which had been abandoned without much ado, and he expressed the hope that its revitalization would quickly remedy the worst grievances: ‘profession *and* state’ was his prescription for the future organization of musical life.¹

Performing musicians were not the only group within musical life who had, by the turn of the century, more or less submitted to their fate without resistance. Other musical occupations too, above all composing and music teaching, had done little to professionalize and thus sharpen their identity. Kretzschmar was absolutely right in his diagnosis of the time: around 1900, the musical profession was more or less vegetating. But it is also true that this was to change abruptly, and in two ways. First, at the beginning of the twentieth century, projects of professionalization began among composers and music teachers that had consequences for performing musicians. Second, Kretzschmar’s analysis was in fact followed by an initiative aimed at establishing a unified professional organization.

1 Kretzschmar, H., ‘Stand oder Staat?’, in Kretzschmar, H., *Musikalische Zeitfragen. Zehn Vorträge*, Leipzig 1903, 128–135, here 129 f.; on the Musicians’ Conference, see chapter 2.

This chapter traces both developments, which cannot truly be separated from one another, between 1900 and 1930. Discussions of a so-called Chamber of Musicians (*Musikerkammer*) serve as a framework in which we can trace the increasing segmentation of musical life down to the subtlest dialectics.² This dismemberment was due to diverging professional interests, aesthetic views and political attitudes among the various sub-groups. The further they diverged, however, the more emphatically the unity of the profession was evoked. While Kretzschmar's attempted explanation was not particularly profound, there was some truth to it: the low level of collegiality among musicians, which was based on these three factors and often on artistic vanity as well, not only hampered attempts to achieve an accommodation between these sub-groups. Time and again, it also proved a threat to the internal cohesion of performing musicians, composers and music teachers as distinct groupings.

Three key phases require illumination. In light of the wave of new music associations founded around 1900, I begin by discussing the first initiative for an overarching professional organization and the reasons for its failure. The second phase, between 1913 and 1926, produced internal conflicts among composers, musicians and music teachers, which I explore in succession. Finally, towards the end of the 1920s, a new attempt was made under changed circumstances to create an umbrella organization, which also failed, but partly for different reasons. Thirty years after Kretzschmar's plea, the balance sheet was neither 'profession' nor 'state'. The music profession stumbled towards National Socialism in a weakened and divided condition.

Perspectives on a Unified Chamber of Musicians

Kretzschmar had pointed it out: the idea of a unified music organization was as old as that of the General German Music Association, as conceived by Liszt, Brendel and Köhler. But the Music Association could never – and never wished to – be a general-purpose professional body. Long forgotten, thanks to Kretzschmar's intervention the idea of establishing such an organization gradually came to be discussed within the musical public sphere once again.³ At the

2 There is very little literature on this topic. A good overview is provided by Steinweis, *Art*, 7–31; from the exclusive perspective of the ADMV, see also Radecke, T., 'Von der Musikerkammer zur Reichsmusikkammer. Der ADMV und das historische Missverständnis des Peter Raabe', in A. Schröter (ed.), *Musik – Politik – Ästhetik. Detlef Altenburg zum 65. Geburtstag*, Sinzig 2012, 321–343.

3 See for example 'Delegiertentag der Deutschen Tonkünstlervereine zu Frankfurt a. M.', *DMZ* no. 38, 23 September 1911, 600; see also Radecke, 'Musikerkammer', 326 f.

music festival organized by the General German Music Association in Danzig in May 1912, the members present passed a resolution to invite the most important musical interest groups in the empire to a conference. This took place four months later in Berlin, bringing together twelve associations to exchange ideas and flesh out their vision and expectations of a future Chamber of Musicians.

A look at the list of participating bodies shows that most of them were just a few years old at the time of the conference – a clear reflection of the growing need for specialization and professionalization at the beginning of the twentieth century. Many a new group consciously wished to differentiate itself from older associations. For instance, composers adopted a confrontational stance towards the Music Association, their erstwhile home, by founding the Society of German Composers (*Genossenschaft Deutscher Tonsetzer* or GDT). Music directors, meanwhile, responded to the Musicians' Union's criticism of the apprenticeship system by creating a new organization of their own.⁴ Conductors and choirmasters too were keen to have their own association to articulate their special position within the musical division of labour, as were soloists. The proliferation of new music education associations demonstrates how difficult it was for teachers to organize themselves at the imperial level – a phenomenon probably due in part to the fact that education policy in unified Germany remained in the hands of the member states.

The actual debate on a future unified professional organization took place between just a few spokesmen. On one side sat court conductor Ferdinand Meister, chairman of the Association of German Conductors and Choirmasters, Max von Schillings, royal general music director at the Stuttgart Court Theatre and president of the General Music Association, and Friedrich Rösch, director of the Society of German Composers. Across from them sat the president of the Musicians' Union, Gustav Cords, with his vice president Amandus Prietzel, editor Hans F. Schaub and orchestral musician Albert Diedrich, chairman of the German Orchestra Association; representatives of the teachers' associations played only a subordinate role.

The de facto starting point for the Berlin meeting was the Musicians' Festival (*Tonkünstlerfest*) organized by the ADMV (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein* or General German Music Association) in Heidelberg in autumn 1911; this celebrated both its fiftieth anniversary and the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of honorary president Franz Liszt.⁵ The musicians gathered there not

4 See Eckhardt, *Zivil- und Militärmusiker*, 43–45.

5 See Arthur Neisser, 'Zu Ehren Liszts. Die Zentenarfeier in Heidelberg (22.–25. Oktober)', *NZfM* no. 44, 2 November 1911, 609–612.

TABLE 5 Musicians' organizations at the Berlin conference of 1912 by year of foundation

Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein (General German Music Association), 1859
Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikerverband (General German Musicians' Union), 1872
Verband der Deutschen Musiklehrerinnen (Association of German Women Music Teachers), 1897
Genossenschaft Deutscher Tonsetzer (Society of German Composers), 1898
Deutscher Musikdirektorenverband (Association of German Music Directors), 1899
Verband evangelischer Kirchenmusiker (Association of Protestant Church Musicians), not specified
Zentralverband Deutscher Tonkünstler und Tonkünstlervereine (Central Association of German Musicians and Musicians' Organizations), 1903
Deutscher Musikpädagogischer Verband (German Music Education Association), 1903
Deutscher Orchesterbund (German Orchestra Association), 1907
Direktorenverband deutscher Musikseminare und Konservatorien (Association of Directors of German Music Institutes and Conservatoires), 1908
Verband deutscher Orchester- und Chorleiter (Association of German Conductors and Choirmasters), 1909
Verband der konzertierenden Künstler Deutschlands (German Association of Performing Artists), 1912

Adapted from 'Stenographische Aufzeichnung über eine Konferenz von Delegierten musikalischer Verbände über die Gründung einer Musikerkammer, 27.9.1912', in *GSA* 70/299.

only honoured Liszt's music, but also recalled his socio-political concerns. In the concluding resolution, they agreed to undertake 'collective steps to elevate the entire profession of musicians and thus also the social and economic situation of conductors'.⁶

This return to Liszt occurred thanks to conductor Ferdinand Meister, who was also chairman of the Association of German Conductors and Choirmasters. Meister had launched this organization in the spring of 1909. Its goal,

⁶ 'Mitteilungen des Verbandes deutscher Orchester- und Chorleiter', *NZfM* no. 44, 2 November 1911, 618.

somewhat vaguely, was 'to safeguard the professional interests of the administrators and conductors of orchestral and choir associations, as well as to elevate the entire profession of musician'.⁷ The association was soon replete with musical figures well known to contemporaries. Von Schillings was made honorary chairman, while violin virtuoso and court conductor Richard Sahla from Bückeburg was among the other members of the executive committee.⁸ Although it did not publish its own periodical, the venerable *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* made itself available as its in-house organ. In a very short time, this body developed into a professional group representing the interests of conductors in Germany; Arthur Nikisch and Willem Mengelberg joined it, as did Siegmund von Hausegger and Richard Strauss.⁹

Not only the impressive names, but also the large intake of members – the association already had around 300 in the spring of 1912¹⁰ – show that Meister had rapidly established himself as a serious lobbyist in German musical life. He soon earned the respect of the Musicians' Union, with which he not only reached an agreement on a standard contract for conductors, but also founded an arbitration tribunal that enshrined parity of representation; it was tasked with resolving disputes between musical employees and employers.¹¹

The initially smooth cooperation between the two organizations was based to a large extent on the shared aesthetic views of those in charge. Almost all of them had impressive careers behind them. After studying under Hugo Riemann in Wiesbaden, Meister, born in 1871, initially gained first-hand experience of the hardships of orchestral music as a double bass player at that city's Court Theatre, before becoming court conductor in Arolsen; in 1909, he was also put in charge of a series of concerts in Nuremberg.¹² Cords, one year older, was every bit Meister's musical equal. These two rivals must in fact have known each other since their student days, because Cords too was a pupil of Riemann

7 Ferdinand Meister, 'Was wir wollen!', *NZfM* no. 9, 2 March 1911, 138.

8 See 'Kreuz und Quer', *NZfM* no. 48, 3 March 1910, 688.

9 See 'Mitteilungen des Verbandes deutscher Orchester- und Chorleiter', *NZfM* no. 41, 12 October 1911, 572; 'Mitteilungen des Verbandes deutscher Orchester- und Chorleiter', in *ibid.* no. 44, 2 November 1911, 618. The association's strong reputation endured into the 1920s. See Okrassa, N., *Peter Raabe. Dirigent, Musikschriststeller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer (1872–1945)*, Cologne 2004, 39.

10 See Carl Mennicke, 'Ferdinand Meister', *NZfM* no. 19, 9 May 1912, 265–267.

11 See 'Mitteilungen des Verbandes deutscher Orchester- und Chorleiter', *NZfM* no. 14, 6 April 1911, 219; Ferdinand Meister, 'Musiker-Schiedsgericht', *NZfM* no. 37/38, 14 September 1911, 522.

12 See Carl Mennicke, 'Ferdinand Meister', *NZfM* no. 19, 9 May 1912, 265–267.

and obtained a post as violinist at the Wiesbaden Court Orchestra in 1894.¹³ Cords' colleague Hans F. Schaub was a composer and music teacher; among other things, he had studied in Berlin under Engelbert Humperdinck and taught at the Benda Conservatoire in Berlin in parallel to his work as an editor. The violinist and chairman of the Orchestra Association, Albert Diedrich, had been a member of the Darmstadt Court Orchestra since 1887. Only Vice President Amandus Prietzel, as a rank-and-file musician working at Berlin revue theatres, fails to fit neatly into this picture.¹⁴

Due to their similar career paths and professional experience, there was a fundamental aesthetic consensus among these musical officials: art music, or more precisely the works of German composers, must be regarded as the pinnacle of all musical development. This can be seen, for example, in the programme of the German Music Festival (*Deutsches Musikfest*) in Berlin, which the Musicians' Union organized in June 1913 on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Kaiser Wilhelm II's reign, and which attracted 1,500 musicians from all over the empire. All the concerts were dominated by 'German masters': from Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven through Weber, Mendelssohn and Schumann to Wagner, Strauss and, not entirely selflessly, a symphony in A minor by Cords.¹⁵

The fact that the representatives of the Music Association fit seamlessly into this aesthetic consensus requires no further explanation. There was little prospect of conflict at the Berlin gathering in this regard. Things were very different with respect to professional interests. These constituted a first core element in the story of the conference, because among the participants they were sometimes diametrically opposed. This was particularly noticeable when it came to the subject of copyright law.

In Germany, copyright was opened up to commercial exploitation relatively late. This had partly to do with the fact that German composers clung to an antiquated and idealized conception of art until the late nineteenth century. In other places, such as France, collecting institutions had long monitored copyright and collected fees for performances, while German composers contented themselves with a law of 1870. This stated that works were subject

13 See Gustav Cords, 'Lebenslauf', undated (1945) in UBUDK NL Gustav Cords, Box 6; in addition to his orchestral work, Cords also composed and conducted.

14 See 'Schaub, Hans Ferdinand', in *Die deutschsprachige Presse. Ein biographisch-bibliographisches Handbuch*, edited by B. Jahn, vol. 1: A–L, Munich 2005, 920 f.; 'Großherzoglicher Musikdirektor Albert Diedrich', *DMZ* no. 30, 27 July 1918, 214; Herbst, 'Prietzel'.

15 See 'Deutsches Musikfest zu Berlin. Sonderausgabe der DMZ', June 1913, in UBUDK NL Cords, Box 6, here 8.

to performance restrictions until thirty years after the death of the author only if this was indicated in the printed material. Very few composers could wrest such a concession from their publisher, so performances often brought renown, but mostly generated little money.¹⁶

Even Richard Strauss, a key figure in German musical life around 1900 as a leading composer, only became aware of the lucrative potential of copyright thanks to Hans Sommer, a retired mathematics professor who also composed music. Once his unerring business sense had been awakened, Strauss took on music publishers all the more vehemently and fought for composer-friendly legislation. The Society of German Composers was founded in September 1898 under the active and uncompromising leadership of lawyer Friedrich Rösch. It cemented a certain professional identity and was at the same time a result of conflict with the General German Music Association and the music publishers within it, who had previously set the tone in matters of copyright. Strauss and Rösch soon prevailed over the publishers and, with the election of Strauss as president in 1901, also took control of the Music Association. At around the same time, the duo achieved a fundamental victory with respect to the upcoming amendment to copyright law. The new version of 1902 granted authors an unrestricted right of performance for the first time. This was the prerequisite for the Institute for Musical Performance Rights (*Anstalt für musikalische Aufführungsrechte* or AfMA), which was established a year later as the first collecting organization in Germany run by composers. With a slightly different name that dropped the Latin-derived *Komponisten* for the Germanic *Tonsetzer*, the Society of German Composers (GDT) took over its administration.¹⁷

The composers' success was due, first, to the fact that they had come together largely independently of aesthetic aspects and ultimately in the manner of a trade union. In a memorandum that Rösch inserted into the debate on the copyright law amendment in 1899, he went so far as to compare composers' struggle for their rights with the issue of workers' rights and their desire for co-determination.¹⁸ Second, composers had succeeded in closing ranks and insisting that publishers accept performance restrictions until the new law came into force.¹⁹ Third and finally, they pursued their interests without

16 See Dümling, A., *Musik hat ihren Wert. 100 Jahre musikalische Verwertungsgesellschaft in Deutschland*, Regensburg 2003, 28–30.

17 See *ibid.*, 42–64; Walter, *Strauss*, 288–296. The name was changed thanks to Engelbert Humperdinck's initiative, rooted in Germanomania.

18 See *ibid.*, 60.

19 See Walter, *Strauss*, 293.

regard for other sub-groups of the profession – which rapidly turned their own colleagues against them.

From the outset, performing musicians in particular were against any ‘performance tax’, as they called these royalties. In their experience, organizers often passed such fees on to them. They immediately felt the sometimes considerable price increases for sheet music in their wallets. And they had to stand by and watch as composers charged higher fees than they had previously announced. In the early years, many orchestras, including well-known ones such as the Leipzig *Gewandhaus* Orchestra, boycotted the Berlin-based collecting society and performed no works by composers who joined it. The first few years of the new royalty regulations saw a veritable wave of lawsuits pitting innkeepers and music entrepreneurs on the one hand against the Society of German Composers on the other. As late as 1910, the Musicians’ Union too explicitly rejected the system: the Reichstag, it demanded, should revise copyright law and return to the *status quo ante*, according to which the right to perform was already covered by the purchase of sheet music.²⁰ Unsurprisingly, then, the clashing interests with regard to copyright cast long shadows over the Berlin gathering.

A second important element in the story of this conference was political in nature. It concerned the question of how a future professional organization should be structured and who should be responsible for leading it. In the run-up to the Danzig Musicians’ Festival in the summer of 1912, at which Meister was supposed to launch this initiative in a keynote speech, differing views already became noticeable on the latter point. He had expressed to his confidante von Schillings his dissatisfaction with the colleagues in the Musicians’ Union while also airing his ideas about the leadership issue: in addition to he and von Schillings, Rösch of the Society of German Composers and Johannes Wolf, president of the International Music Society (*Internationale Musikgesellschaft*), were to form the executive committee of a future musicians’ chamber. Further, according to Meister’s vision, these four chairmen must have the status of sworn experts accredited by the Prussian government.²¹

Of course, he did not share this idea with the Danzig auditorium. Instead, he focused his speech on the remit of the Chamber of Musicians. For instance, he called for the latter to include a court of honour and arbitration tribunal for the entire profession, to issue certificates of qualification for the various

20 See ‘Zur Abwehr der Aufführungssteuer’, *DMZ* no. 43, 22 October 1898, 571 f.; Fritz Stempel, ‘In Sachen Urheberrecht’, *ibid.* no. 10, 5 March 1910, 136; Dümling, *Musik*, 84–91.

21 On Meister’s ideas, see ‘Meister an Schillings, 26.4.1912’, in *GSA* 70/298; ‘Meister an Schillings, 8.6.1912’, in *ibid.*

musical professions and to take charge of earnings-related issues and the maintenance of schools. In short, 'the entire social field of art' should be regulated by the new institution. However, Meister underlined two caveats. He formulated a kind of aesthetic general clause that must take precedence over any social concern: 'Promote common interests with all our might, but never solve social issues at the expense of our art.' And he indicated that decision-making powers in this regard must be the preserve of the leadership. No consideration could be given to the 'various associations' differences of opinion or petty jealousies'.²²

Of course, the question of the distribution of power in the future chamber also had a political dimension in a more general sense. Meister expressed to von Schillings his horror that the Society for Social Reform had been the 'breeding ground' for the policies put forward by the Musicians' Union and assailed the fact that the society's views had significantly influenced the union's conception of a Chamber of Musicians.²³

Meister was absolutely correct in his assessment. If it was up to editor Schaub, a future Chamber of Musicians would represent the interests of all musicians vis-à-vis the government in a similar way as the Society for Social Reform acted as intermediary between government and workers. Furthermore, the most important organizations would come together in the chamber under the leadership of the ADMV; a representative of the Ministry of Education and Culture would be consulted in an advisory capacity. This corresponded at least in part to the organizational structure of the Society for Social Reform, which consisted predominantly of corporations.²⁴ The chamber, Schaub believed, should be responsible for the 'elevation of the artistic and social situation' of all music professions and should also make decisions about the associated examination system. In addition, it should be tasked with advising municipalities on music policy issues and promoting the cultivation of music at universities and schools. Last but not least, the chamber should act as a disciplinary authority and as an arbitration tribunal dedicated to settling disputes between different groups of musicians.²⁵

In terms of the envisaged body's tasks, then, Schaub's and Meister's ideas were similar down to the last detail. The differences lay in its relationship with the government and thus with respect to the question of who should hold

22 'Meister an Rösch, 19.6.1912, Anhang', in GSA 70/298.

23 'Meister an Schillings, 3.9.1912', in GSA 70/119.

24 In 1910, for example, there were just 1,475 individual members compared to more than 250 corporations with around 1.6 million members. See Ratz, *Sozialreform*, 250.

25 Hans F. Schaub, 'Eine Musikerammer', *DMZ* no. 21, 25 May 1912, 355 f.

authority and decision-making powers. Meister's hierarchical, crypto-statist blueprint stood in contrast to Schaub's plan, which imagined a blend of economic interest group and professional self-governing body that would seek to reconcile the interests of all members.²⁶ In short, the political differences at large in the run-up to the Berlin meeting were only too obvious and, together with diverging professional interests, made any accommodation a distant prospect.

During the Berlin conference, the tensions between the various factions were in fact all too obvious, partly because some of the participants were quite capable of making provocative statements out of little more than vanity. Von Schillings, who was supposed to reconcile differing views as chair of the conference, seemed particularly belligerent. According to him, the core problem was how to draw a clear line between art and craft and develop meaningful criteria to this end:

There are people who are quite capable of composing a waltz; but if you give them the simplest contrapuntal work they are utterly incapable of accomplishing anything. And yet they are among the favourites of German audiences (amusement). And I stand before you here today as someone who was too lacking in talent to complete a conservatoire education. Was I to blame? I do not know. Afterwards, I did manage to achieve something quite decent. So to define this is extremely difficult, and I am convinced that among the gentlemen who are suspected of being non-musicians or whom we are supposed not to tolerate as such, there are in fact a fair number who are quite entitled to use the honorary title of 'musician', even if they have nothing to back this up. This is where the beautiful words of Hans Sachs come into play: 'If he possesses true art, and demonstrates this well, what does it matter who taught him?'²⁷

Such a smug plea was bound to be as provocative to music teachers as it was to performing musicians. Ultimately, it also revealed how little time von Schillings had for the idea of a unified professional organization in general.

26 On the statist character of Meister's concept, see also Radecke, 'Musikerkammer', 327 f. The call for the state can be traced via Kretzschmar to association founder Franz Brendel. See Brendel, *Musikwesens*.

27 'Stenographische Aufzeichnung über die Konferenz von Delegierten musikalischer Verbände zur gemeinsamen Besprechung der Frage betreffend Gründung einer Musikerkammer, 27.9.1912', in GSA 70/298, here 59.

Friedrich Rösch came to von Schillings' defence, raising the rhetorical question of whether the future chamber wished to represent common interests or rather pursue interests through a collective approach. 'After all', he asserted, 'a person who engages in music out of a purely commercial, business interest' has 'almost no interest in common with someone who does so out of an elevated artistic interest'.²⁸ Thus, he contended, the envisaged chamber should address only those issues common to all musicians.

As absurd as Rösch's attempt to illustrate his argument was (even if one accepted his typology, the GDT still administered the royalties of both these types), he was correct in observing that the common ground between composing, performing and teaching musicians was constantly shrinking. Rösch himself provided evidence of this when he announced that composers would only join a chamber on the condition that performing musicians dropped their resistance to the new copyright law.²⁹

At the end of the debate, von Schillings drew an apt, albeit rather disillusioning, interim conclusion: 'Our musical life has [...] become so complicated and multifaceted that the individual branches hardly know that they belong to the same tribe. This evening, it has once again become clear that we know far too little about each other.'³⁰ This was not to change any time soon. Just under two years later, at the Essen Musicians' Festival (*Tonkünstlerfest*) held by the Music Association in July 1914, it was stated tersely that work on the chamber had come to a standstill because its financing was causing difficulties. After the outbreak of the First World War a few weeks later, the Music Association pulled itself together once again and had all the main musical bodies send in their statutes so it could work out a lowest common denominator among them. In terms of content, however, the memorandum that emerged from this contained little that was new. Conversely, the Music Association now articulated its centralizing claim to leadership all the more clearly.³¹ Not surprisingly, then, the memorandum attracted no support within the professional field. As the war dragged on, the idea of a Musicians' Chamber petered out and was only discussed more vigorously again in the mid-1920s, under completely different political conditions and with a significantly changed constellation of actors.³²

28 Ibid., 31.

29 Ibid., 73 f.

30 See *ibid.*, 73 f. and 90; quotation on 93.

31 ADMV, 'Zur Frage der Musikerammer', undated (1915), in GSA 70/237, 1–7, quotations on 6 f.

32 See also Radecke, 'Musikerammer', 330 f.

Turf Wars

How strong the centrifugal forces were in the music profession is also shown by the fact that even the outbreak of the First World War did little to counter them. From the perspective of society as a whole, the war did have integrating effects that were also noticeable in the world of work. For example, in the course of the war white-collar employees of various professions showed more and more unity and formed federations and supra-occupational committees.³³ In the music profession, meanwhile, the war-related events by no means promoted an overarching sense of community. In fact, composers incited a ‘war’ among their own kind.

What had happened? In 1910, the Reichstag passed another reform of copyright law. From then on, composers could exploit so-called mechanical rights, that is, collect fees for the recording of their works on sound storage media. However, as with performance rights, music publishers wanted a piece of the pie: they took the view that such recordings were a special form of the reproduction of their material. It proved impossible for the Society of German Composers to reach an agreement with publishers in the run-up to the amendment, so the latter proceeded alone and in 1909, together with representatives of the French record industry, created the Institute for Mechanical-Musical Performance Rights (*Anstalt für mechanisch-musikalische Aufführungsrechte* or AMMRE). When the GDT followed suit and in turn set up a body of this kind, under threat of sanction it obligated members who had transferred their mechanical rights to the AMMRE to have these rights administered by the society as well.³⁴

It was due not least to Director Rösch, whom even well-disposed fellow-travellers described as running the society autocratically, that the conflict escalated to encompass performance rights as well. In the spring of 1913, 42 publishers and 10 composers turned their backs on the GDT and went

33 See Kocka, *Total War*, 93–95.

34 For details on the early stages of the highly complex history of the collecting institutions, see Dümmling, *Musik*, 96–106. On the role of the Austrian institute in this period, see Nathaus, K., ‘Popular Music in Germany, 1900–1930: A Case of Americanisation? Uncovering a European Trajectory of Music Production into the Twentieth Century’, *European Review of History: Revue européenne d’histoire* no. 20, 2013, 755–776, here 763–766. On the cultural history of these organizations in international comparison, see Dommann, M., *Authors and Apparatus: A Media History of Copyright*. Translated by Sarah Pybus. Ithaca, NY 2019, esp. 69–84; the Reichstag amendment represented an adaptation to the new version of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works of November 1908.

their own way. Towards the end of 1915, they launched the Society for the Exploitation of Musical Performance Rights (*Genossenschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Aufführungsrechte*). From then on, two pairs of collecting societies competed in Germany for performance and mechanical rights: the new society and AMMRE formed a block in opposition to the two GDT institutions.³⁵

At the time and in the literature, this clash was interpreted chiefly as a conflict of interests between composers and publishers. But it concurrently fostered a schism between composers of serious and popular music. Among the ten renegade composers were such luminaries as Walter Kollo, Victor Hollaender and Max Winterfeld alias Jean Gilbert. They used the conflict over mechanical rights as an opportunity to express their dissatisfaction with the distribution formula and the AfMA's administrative practice. Its points system differentiated between serious and popular music, with works classified as the latter receiving fewer points and thus earning significantly lower royalties. In addition, flat-rate fees charged mainly in entertainment establishments also favoured art music. Finally, the GDT collected no money at all from small-scale organizers of musical events because of the high administrative costs.³⁶

Against this background, the aforementioned composers and their publishers wanted to achieve more favourable conditions with respect to mechanical rights by joining AMMRE. After a compromise solution within the GDT had become highly improbable because it involved basing mechanical rights on the existing distribution formula, they used the conflict to attain independence with respect to performance rights as well.³⁷

The split did not go smoothly, and the basic conflict persisted during the Weimar years.³⁸ While Rösch and Strauss primarily took aim at publishers, immediately after the schism there were also calls from the 'serious' camp to boycott works by composers who were not members of the AfMA. In keeping

35 See Dümmling, *Musik*, 98–102.

36 See 'Die Anstalt für mechanisch-musikalische Rechte und die Genossenschaft Deutscher Tonsetzer. Ein Wort zur Aufklärung!', edited by AMMRE, Leipzig 1912, in BArch R 3001/6360, here 14; Jäger, G., 'Der Musikalienverlag', in Jäger, G. (ed.), *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Das Kaiserreich 1871–1918*, Part 2, Frankfurt am Main 2003, 7–61, here 52–55. In 1908, for example, Wagner's heirs received 11,000 marks, almost one hundred times the amount obtained by Franz Lehár. See Nathaus, 'Americanisation', 765.

37 See *Geschäftsbericht des Vorstandes des Deutschen Musikalienverlegervereins 1912*, Leipzig 1913, 9–15; Jäger, 'Der Musikalienverlag', 55–57; Schulze, E., *Geschätzte und geschützte Noten. Zur Geschichte der Verwertungsgesellschaften*, Weinheim 1995, 94–96.

38 On subsequent developments, see Dümmling, *Musik*, 116–178.

with Rösch's logic, the new society's approach was condemned as profiteering, while the GDT was presented as serving the public economic interest. Seldom were conciliatory voices heard such as that of conductor Felix Weingartner, who had explicitly called, in vain, for 'peace' between the two institutions. In any case, in the course of the debate he dispelled the myth of art music as remote from business: 'No composer will seek to deny that he wants to earn money through his performance rights', stated Weingartner laconically with reference to the Society of German Composers.³⁹

Apart from the public and the composers themselves (who, at the height of the conflict, were sometimes judged not on their work but on their collecting institution), it was performing musicians who suffered from this development. Cords found the presence of two societies 'unbearable' because those musicians who organized concerts on their own were burdened with additional administrative work. He could not resist mildly rebuking the quarrelling composers given that, faced with an external enemy, everyone else was going to great lengths to 'put aside all personal feelings'.⁴⁰ That such moderation was far from easy for Cords himself, however, was to become apparent only a few years later within his own organization, which was revamped when the Weimar Republic came into being.

The events of November 1918 initially raised great expectations within the Musicians' Union. Just three days after the armistice, a Central Council of Musicians (*Musikerzentralrat*) was formed in Berlin on 14 November, and President Cords promptly found himself in the Workers and Soldiers Council (*Arbeiter- und Soldatenrat*) as a delegate. He seemed to be quite pleased with this new, admittedly provisional, council system. In expressing his thoughts on the 'reorganization of things', in any case, he not only adapted his language effortlessly to the new circumstances, jubilantly prophesying that theatre operators would now get their comeuppance and that 'at long last, so many things will be done away with in these places that have stood in the way of our workers'. He also expressed confidence that improvements in wages, employee participation and support for up-and-coming musicians could be rapidly achieved. The prerequisite for this, he averred, was that from now on

39 Felix Weingartner, 'Nochmals ein Ruf zum Frieden', *DMZ* no. 38, 16 September 1916, 309 f.; he himself ultimately remained loyal to the GDT. See Felix Weingartner, 'Mein erneuter Anschluss an die Genossenschaft deutscher Tonsetzer', *ibid.* no. 4, 27 January 1917, 27; see also Richard Treitel, 'Ein Ruf zum Frieden', *ibid.* no. 31, 29 July 1916, 254 f.; Dümmling, *Musik*, 109–114.

40 Gustav Cords, 'Nachschrift der Schriftleitung', *DMZ* no. 4, 27 January 1917, 27; see also H. Lorenz, 'Der Tantiemenwirrwarr', *Der Artist* no. 1648, 10 September 1916.

all performing musicians must come together under one roof, namely his: 'It is the organizations that now hold sway', Cords stated with utter conviction, 'and those who understand the signs of the times must do everything in their power to make their professional organization strong and powerful'.⁴¹

Cords' sudden yet ephemeral transformation into an armchair revolutionary was by no means an exception. In fact, the realignment of the Musicians' Union was, first, an expression of an enthusiasm for democracy that initially spread within cultural life, its more radical excesses soon branded 'musical Bolshevism' by its opponents. Second, the union's shift corresponded with a general 'move to the left' among white-collar employees, which was already observable as the world war dragged on and experienced another significant boost in the wake of the November Revolution. The musicians' leftward shift found its institutional expression in the fact that the union now clearly defined itself as a workers' organization in the tradition of the free trade unions and joined the Alliance of Free White-Collar Workers' Unions (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft freier Angestelltenverbände*) at the end of November 1918.⁴²

In addition, the Central Union of Civilian Musicians in Germany (*Zentralverband der Zivilmusiker Deutschlands*), which up until then had been the Musicians' Union's competitor and was viewed with contempt by the latter due to its openly social democratic stance, had become highly popular and increased its membership from less than 1,000 on the eve of the Kiel Mutiny to almost 9,000 musicians within a few months. In line with Cords' idea of a strong unitary organization, merger negotiations began as early as December, culminating in the re-foundation of the German Musicians' Union (DEMUV), now stripped of the appellation 'general', on 1 July 1919. With a total of up to 45,000 members at the beginning of the 1920s, this established by far the largest professional organization that German musical life had ever seen.⁴³

This trade unionist reorientation and the merger simultaneously severed all dialogue with the General German Music Association. Paul Marsop regretted this development and apportioned some of the blame to the Music Association. The music critic was sure that if greater efforts had been made to establish a chamber of musicians,

this would have provided strong backing for the moderate elements in the German Musicians' Union, who had been under tremendous pres-

41 Gustav Cords, 'Die Neuordnung der Dinge', *DMZ* no. 46, 16 November 1918, 339 f. All quotations on 340.

42 See John, E., *Musikbolschewismus. Die Politisierung der Musik in Deutschland, 1918–1938*, Stuttgart 1994, 89–94; Kocka, *Total War*, 91–98.

43 See Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 201–220.

sure from political ultra-radicals for two decades. These moderates could then have more effectively countered the *sinister/ominous* idea of merging their union with the association of 'ensemble musicians' often seen peddling their filthy musical junk in cinemas and coffee houses.⁴⁴

Of course, there was more to the new union than the stereotype of moderate musicians performing serious music on one side and radical purveyors of popular music on the other. First, for example, through the establishment of a so-called Art Committee the new leaders left no room for doubt that the Musicians' Union regarded art music as the most precious musical genre and, as always, wanted to focus its attention chiefly on its representatives.⁴⁵ Second, the lines of conflict within the association did not map neatly onto different aesthetic views, but were based essentially on political differences.

Breakaway movements formed on both right and left. Cords was in the spotlight once again, and he turned his back on the unified free trade union organization after just one year. Shortly afterwards, he founded the National Musicians' League (*Nationaler Musikerbund*) together with Paul Wierprecht, grandson of the military music reformer. The socialist experiments having failed in his eyes, Cords now went all out to play the nationalist card; he intended the new body to aid the 'return of a sense of ethnic [*völkisch*] belonging' and to substitute 'social reconciliation' for the 'class struggle' and 'partisan squabbling' that had prevailed hitherto. Cords did not prescribe a specific aesthetic orientation for the new league. What mattered to him, apart from the rejection of industrial action, was party-political neutrality.⁴⁶ The fact that Cords had joined the German People's Party (*Deutsche Volkspartei*) in the meantime, however, made this neutrality seem rather implausible. Many musicians apparently shared this view; at least, the new league was unable to attract many members.⁴⁷

Cords was also to play a role in the next attempt to set up a business-friendly body in competition with the Musicians' Union. In May 1923, the

44 Paul Marsop, 'Hat der Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein noch eine Zukunft?', *Neue Musik-Zeitung* no. 41, 1920, 81.

45 See Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 225 f. Among other things, this committee was supposed to steer the musical tastes of the public in a high-cultural direction by means of a concert programme policy.

46 Der Vorstand, 'Unsere Richtlinien', *Der deutsche Fachmusiker* no. 1, 8 January 1921, 1.

47 Gustav Cords, 'Der Nationale Musikerbund und seine Gegner', in *ibid.*; 'Leider noch einmal Nationaler Musiker-Bund und Herr Cords', *DMZ* no. 1, 1 January 1921, 2; on his party affiliation, see Cords, 'Lebenslauf', undated, in UBUDK NL Cords, Box 6.

Imperial Association of German Orchestras and Orchestra Musicians (*Reichsverband deutscher Orchester und Orchestermusiker* or RDO) was established under the leadership of Weimar-based oboist Leo Bechler. Unlike the National Musicians' League, the new association only accepted musicians from publicly subsidized orchestras. This step was justified with reference to the alleged fact that they had been reduced from artists to wage labourers because the Musicians' Union had affiliated itself with the trade unions. In terms of policy, the RDO attached great importance to the attainment of civil servant status for its members; aesthetically, it was strictly traditionalist. For example, it was 'emphatically opposed to the performance of certain hypermodern musical products' because 'the public at large would be miseducated by these inartistic concoctions [...].'⁴⁸

In terms of membership, the Musicians' Union had little to fear from its new competitor. In 1925, of the almost 4,400 musicians in public-sector orchestras, 3,500 had joined the Musicians' Union, compared to just over 250 in the Imperial Association. The extremely low degree of member migration was partly due to the aggressive counter-mobilization undertaken by the Musicians' Union. For example, its members made sure they were in the majority at a promotional and educational event arranged by the Imperial Association in Westphalia; the gathering ended with a resolution stating that the latter was useless and should be disbanded.⁴⁹

Despite its organizational weakness, the Imperial Association often inspired surprisingly acerbic complaints. Rudolf Oberheide, for example, a member of the Cologne Municipal Orchestra, described the RDO as a 'product of petty bourgeois small-mindedness' and asserted scathingly that 'in its bourgeois ignorance, [it] would like to surround orchestral musicians with their own Great Wall of China'; 'with truly parvenu-like arrogance', he contended, 'it considers only its members to be the chosen ones'.⁵⁰ An article penned in reply was scarcely more amicable: 'His brain seems to have clouded over', was its assessment of Oberheide, who was also accused of 'denying his own national traditions [*Volkstum*]' because he had welcomed the fall of the

48 Reinhold Scharnke, 'Vertreterversammlung des RDO', *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung* no. 404, 5 June 1925, 172 f.; cf. Bruno Püschel, 'Was sie wollen', *DMZ* no. 9, 1 March 1924, 75 f.

49 'Ein unerwarteter "Erfolg" des RDO', *DMZ* no. 41, 11 October 1924, 482 f. Figures in 'Die Organisationszugehörigkeit der Orchestermusiker in den Gruppen Ia und Ib', *ibid.* no. 3, 17 January 1925, 58.

50 Rudolf Oberheide, 'Kleinbürger oder Weltbürger', *DMZ* no. 20, 16 May 1925, 482 f.

empire.⁵¹ Hence, there was a gap between views of more than just professional issues. Politically, too, the two organizations were arch-enemies. The German national thrust of the RDO was unmistakable, and one of its spiritual leaders was even accused of being a right-wing radical.⁵²

At the other end of the political spectrum, in the course of the 1920s some argued that the Musicians' Union's policy was far too moderate. Internal opposition, led by violinist Alfred Malige, took hold, for example, in the local Leipzig branch. As concertmaster at the Krystallpalast entertainment venue, Malige first came into contact with supporters of the Communist Party of Germany (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* or KPD) and joined the party himself in 1923. He then built up a so-called Revolutionary Trade Unionist Opposition (*Revolutionäre Gewerkschaftsopposition*), which took over the leadership of the Leipzig local branch. Conflicts with the Berlin headquarters were not long in coming, partly because the branch had forged links with like-minded socialist musicians in Berlin, Hamburg and Cologne. According to Malige himself, he and his radical comrades-in-arms managed to negotiate better tariffs for various groups of musicians at the local level; there was, however, no institutional breakaway.⁵³

These internal turf wars damaged the union's reputation. Its socialist wing attracted so much attention – far beyond the musical public sphere – that in 1925 the Musicians' Union landed on the political list maintained by the Reichswehr Ministry (*Reichswehrministerium*), triggering vociferous protests from many of its members. There was good reason for their outrage: unlike some other music organizations, the overwhelming majority of members were unreservedly committed to the republic.⁵⁴

Regardless of these turf wars, the Musicians' Union claimed to represent all musicians as a unified trade unionist organization encompassing white-collar employees, civil servants, freelance musicians and educators. At the beginning of the 1920s, union leaders stepped up their efforts to target the latter

51 H. M., 'Ein "Kosmopolit" in der Deutschen Musiker-Zeitung', *Mitteilungsblatt des RDO*, unnumbered, 1926, xlv.

52 See 'Es kracht im RDO', *DMZ* no. 10, 6 March 1926, 223; the RDO later willingly dedicated itself to Nazi *Gleichschaltung*. For details, see chapter 9.

53 Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 35–37. The Revolutionary Trade Unionist Opposition had initially formed in 1928 as a communist current within the free trade unions before becoming independent. See Müller, W., *Lohnkampf, Massenstreik, Sowjetmacht. Ziele und Grenzen der 'Revolutionären Gewerkschafts-Opposition' (RGO) in Deutschland 1928 bis 1933*, Cologne 1988, 45 f.

54 See 'DMV und Reichswehrministerium', *DMZ* no. 50, 12 December 1925, 1207. This loyalty to the republic was also expressed in the fact that many members had joined the *Reichsbanner Schwarz Rot Gold* as well. See Malige, *Musikantenleben*.

subgroup, which had previously been poorly represented, not least because its degree of organization was negligible.⁵⁵ At the same time, however, the bespoke music teachers' associations also became more active. Spearheaded by the Central Association of German Musicians (*Central-Verband deutscher Tonkünstler*), some of them merged in 1922 to form the business-friendly Imperial Association of German Musicians and Music Teachers (*Reichsverband deutscher Tonkünstler und Musiklehrer*). Women music teachers joined as well, striking a blow against the gender segregation still strictly observed in the German Empire. There was, however, no prospect of a unified body representing music educators, partly because of the recent competition from the Musicians' Union. Furthermore, there was still a widespread tendency towards a petty, sectionalist associational mindset. The president of the new Imperial Association, Arnold Ebel, admitted this self-critically when he upbraided 'German music educators' for their 'tremendous and unforgivable indolence'.⁵⁶

The fact that music teachers found it particularly difficult to form a united front was not only due to their indifference and the ongoing educational federalism. It was also bound up with the fact that every branch of the music profession was determined to have its say on educational issues – after all, everyone could teach a little. It was precisely this widespread view that educators had sought to combat for decades. With the Prussian decree on private music education of May 1925, they finally achieved an important partial victory in this regard. But the new regulation divided the music profession like few other cultural policies in the Weimar Republic.

The decree meant that music teachers had to seek official permission to give private lessons and obtain a national qualification to teach in educational establishments. It also laid down precise guidelines for the compulsory test.⁵⁷ While the majority of educators and the Musicians' Union welcomed the detailed decree in principle,⁵⁸ there was a storm of criticism from the

55 See *Der Deutsche Musiker-Verband als die Organisation der Musiklehrer*, edited by Deutscher Musiker-Verband, Berlin 1922.

56 'Vorwort' in *Privatunterricht in der Musik. Der Erlass des preussischen Ministers für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung vom 2. Mai 1925*, edited by A. Ebel, Berlin, undated (1925). The German Music Education Association (*Deutscher Musikpädagogischer Verband*), the German Conservatoires' Association (*Deutscher Konservatorienverband*) and the Association of Directors of German Music Institutes and Conservatoires (*Direktorenverband deutscher Musikseminare und Konservatorien*) remained independent. See *ibid.*, 5.

57 See Roske, 'Umrisse', 184–186.

58 See for example 'Unsere Wünsche für den Erlass vom 2. Mai 1925', *DMZ* no. 28, 11 July 1925, 697; 'Vorwort' in *Privatunterricht*.

self-appointed pacesetters of German musical life. Belligerent as ever, Rösch seized the initiative and went on the offensive with an open letter to the minister. The decree, he contended, had caused great disappointment in artistic circles because the ‘most valuable associations’ had largely been excluded from its formulation.⁵⁹ Rösch thus placed the blame squarely on Leo Kesten-berg, music advisor and chief architect of the decree.⁶⁰ In the name of the Music Association, Rösch then wrote a pamphlet assailing this edict, which was backed by the associations of conservatoires, concert artists and conductors. Its uncompromising message was that the new regulation ‘must be opposed as resolutely as possible’. The government, the pamphlet claimed, was exceeding its competences, the section on bands was ‘completely misguided’, and rather than being put to an end, incompetents ‘bungling their way through’ a piece of music had received special protection.⁶¹ Ebel too was caught in the crossfire of criticism, which he did not take lying down, retaliating with pointed remarks about the signs of decay afflicting the venerable ADMV: ‘Even the conduct of a “quality-only association” [...] seems downright grotesque when, as an insider, one comprehends the smallness and powerlessness of a once remarkable association.’⁶²

A Search for Lost Unity: The *Musikergemeinschaft*

Whether musicians, composers or music teachers, in the first third of the twentieth century, all three professions were repeatedly confronted by internal political, professional and aesthetic disputes. Sometimes, as in the case of the

59 ‘Rösch an Preußischen Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, 26.6.1925’, in GSA 70/151.

60 ‘Rösch an Meister, 22.4.1925’, in GSA 70/301; Rösch kept quiet about the fact that thirteen different organizations, including the Music Association, had been involved in the preliminary work, as well as the fact that he himself had been invited as representative of the GDT, but had not turned up. See *Privatunterricht in der Musik. Der Erlass des preussischen Ministers für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung vom 2. Mai 1925*, edited by A. Ebel, Berlin undated (1925), 7; ‘Rösch an Kestenberg, 7.7.1924’, in GSA 70/301; on the relevant meeting itself, see ‘Zur staatlichen Regelung des Privatunterrichts in Preussen’, *Musikpädagogische Blätter* no. 1, Oct./Nov. 1924, 4 f.

61 *Gegen den preußischen Ministerialerlaß über den Privatunterricht in der Musik. Eine kritische Darstellung*, edited by Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Verbände: ADMV, Deutscher Konservatorien-Verband, GDT, Verband der konzertierenden Künstler Deutschlands, Verband deutscher Orchester- und Chorleiter, Berlin, undated (1925), 3 f., 10 and 14.

62 ‘Vorwort’ in *Privatunterricht*.

decree on private education, these extended beyond inner circles to encompass the profession as a whole. Against this background, the discussions on a united professional organization that gained traction again after 1925 could hardly have been predicted. A closer look, however, shows that the resurgence of this debate was a response to the fact that the various sub-groups were so internally divided or at odds with one another. In contrast to the situation before the First World War, when the goal was to immediately establish a central authority to take charge of music policy, the focus of the new initiative was initially on overcoming internal and inter-professional conflicts.

The transition to the Weimar Republic had injected no new impetus into the project of creating a unitary professional organization. In the absence of the Musicians' Union as driving force, the debates bumbled on aimlessly. On the government side, music advisor Kestenbergs suggested establishing a Musicians' Chamber as part of the Academy of Arts (*Akademie der Künste*). This approach did in fact inspire a degree of enthusiasm. However, plans for a general artists' chamber did not get beyond the initial stages. It was not until 1928 that composer Gerhard von Keußler succeeded in re-awakening a broad interest in the idea of a chamber within the music profession. Von Keußler's initiative, pursued once again in coordination with the Music Association, thus represented the first serious – and also the last – attempt to unite the profession under the Weimar Republic.⁶³

While von Keußler's method of getting representatives of various associations to sit down at the same table was strongly reminiscent of the approach taken around 1912, he also tried to draw lessons from the past.⁶⁴ It is no coincidence that he called his project a *Musikergemeinschaft* rather than a musicians' chamber. Von Keußler was no doubt influenced in part by the general boom undergone by the term *Gemeinschaft* (which can mean association but implies 'community') in the 1920s, which was bound up with expectations of national

63 See Kestenbergs, L. (ed.), *Musikerziehung und Musikpflege*, Leipzig 1921, 128–131; see also Okrassa, *Peter Raabe*, 190–196.

64 The participants were the RDO, GDT, ADMV, Protestant Church Musicians (*Evangelische Kirchenmusiker*), League of German Music Educators (*Bund deutscher Musikpädagogen*), Imperial Association of German Musicians and Music Teachers (*Reichsverband deutscher Tonkünstler und Musiklehrer*), Association of German Conductors and Choirmasters (*Verband deutscher Orchester- und Chorleiter*), Association of German Music Critics (*Verband deutscher Musikkritiker*) and Association of German Music Directors (*Deutscher Musikdirektorenverband*).

renewal.⁶⁵ In a concrete sense, however, he also chose this term to emphasize the characteristic that he believed musicians sorely lacked: mutual solidarity. Resolving conflicts was also the predominant focus of the second meeting. Of the eight presentations, no less than five dealt with disputes within the profession, four of them within the composing, performing, teaching and writing fraternities, and one between these branches.⁶⁶ Even if the meeting ultimately went differently than planned, it was impressive testimony to the concerns felt about the communicative shortcomings within the music profession; ‘understanding and forms of communication between the individual music organizations’ was, for example, declared a field of activity in its own right.⁶⁷

The idea of professional solidarity was also vigorously promoted externally. In May 1929, for example, later president of the Reich Chamber of Music (*Reichsmusikkammer*), Peter Raabe, who was actively involved in the initiative, appealed for unity beyond all aesthetic and artistic-qualitative perspectives at the Musicians’ Convention (*Tonkünstlerversammlung*) organized by the Music Association in Duisburg:

How entirely different the situation of a musicians’ representative would be if his opponent was aware that this speaker was backed, not by a few interested parties, but by the entire German musical fraternity, from the most famous virtuoso to the least noticed triangle player in a pub band, from the richest composer of popular songs to the poorest writer of double fugues.⁶⁸

Here Raabe struck a strikingly new and integrative note. For a moment, even the artists of the Music Association seemed firmly grounded: ‘Gone are the

65 On this boom, see Nolte, P., *Die Ordnung der deutschen Gesellschaft. Selbstentwurf und Selbstbeschreibung im 20. Jahrhundert*, Munich 2000, 166–171. He rightly emphasizes the political openness of the concept of community, from which the narrow notion of a *Volksgemeinschaft* or National Community was later derived. On the use of the concept in musical life, see also Attfield, N., *Challenging the Modern: Conservative Revolution in German Music, 1918–33*, Oxford 2017, esp. 78–82.

66 ‘Verhandlungsbericht über die Gründerversammlung einer Deutschen Musikergemeinschaft, 26.6.1927’, in *GSA* 70/151.

67 Ernst Kunwald, ‘Verständigung und Verkehrsformen der einzelnen Musikorganisationen untereinander, 1928’, in *GSA* 53/1133.

68 ADMV, ‘Zur Frage einer Musikergemeinschaft’, undated (1929), in *GSA* 70/151, 2.

days when the musician merely went around with his head in the clouds', he exclaimed to the auditorium.⁶⁹

However, such statements failed to go beyond soap-box oratory. All efforts to settle internal conflicts through the communicative channels of a prospective 'musical community' were in vain. At the third and final meeting called to discuss von Keußler's initiative, the goal was to establish just such a community, but some associations, including the composers from the GDT, were absent without giving any reasons; others, including the RDO, had already signalled in advance that they had no wish to participate. And those who did turn up, like the League of German Music Educators (*Bund deutscher Musikpädagogen*), made a number of complaints about the proposed institutional design. Once again, opinions differed as to who should be included in the profession, which common interests should be championed, and what role should be assigned to the government.⁷⁰

In contrast to the first such attempt at the beginning of the century, the Musicians' Union chose consciously not to sit down at the negotiating table. Its members had long since abandoned the idea of a unitary professional organization and had internalized the class structure of the music profession.⁷¹ The fact that the other sub-groups were unable to reach agreement even without the Musicians' Union merely shows that, for both professional and political reasons, the segmentation of the occupation had advanced inexorably. Unlike the first initiative, however, the second did not come to grief due to war and revolution. In the wake of civil war and system change, unification was enforced within the framework of Nazi *Gleichschaltung* or forcible coordination.⁷²

Vanity Fair

To sum up, the above account of the increasing segmentation of the musical profession shows, first, that aesthetic differences were less important in this

69 See *ibid.*, 1. Similar sentiments were expressed by Heinz Pringsheim, 'Wer ist Musiker?', 1928, in GSA 53/1133.

70 See 'Protokoll der dritten Sitzung, 3.4.1930', in GSA 70/151; Arnold Ebel, 'Musikerkammer', *Der schaffende Musiker* no. 19, Nov. 1930, 8; Okrassa, *Peter Raabe*, 194 f.

71 See 'Musikergemeinschaft und Musikerkammer', *DMZ* no. 45, 8 November 1930, 858 f.

72 In view of this failure and the fact that none of these persons was directly involved in the founding of the RMK (see chapter 9), teleological interpretations are implausible. See Radecke, 'Musikerkammer'.

process than other factors. They functioned most clearly as a source of discord among composers, and the orchestral musicians in the Imperial Association also justified going their own way with reference to the aesthetics of music. However, the various breakaways were either of short duration or failed to make an impact at the structural level: the RDO remained too small for this, while the ongoing conflicts between the collecting agencies in the 1920s were less about serious and popular music and more about the power and influence of two rival societies.⁷³

Second, we have seen that musicians were unquestionably political, banded together according to their political views and also promoted them in a professional context. ‘The musician’s relationship to politics is so indifferent that it can be dismissed in a few words’, musicologist Alfred Einstein once wrote, referring to the great composers. According to him, ‘convictions are nothing; personality and ability are everything.’⁷⁴ Such views were widespread in the discipline. In part, they reflect the low level of scholarly interest in the political orientations of the music profession. In any case, musicians’ attitude towards politics was by no means indifferent. In general, it is fair to say that with the advent of the republic, if not before, performing musicians tended towards the left of the political spectrum regardless of aesthetic aspects. While orchestral musicians dedicated to art music with right-wing views were in the minority, music teachers and composers of such music inclined towards the conservative camp. Crucially, though, musicians devoted to popular music were more indifferent to any form of professional organization and were thus probably more apolitical than their colleagues in the field of ‘serious’ music as well.

Third, the professionalization of the individual sub-professions and thus more antagonistic interests dividing performing musicians, composers and music teachers were the main force driving professional segmentation. ‘The apparent professional organization of musicians is [...] in truth not so much professional as social class organization’, was Paul Bekker’s gloomy assessment in the middle of the First World War, as he implicitly assailed the particularist interests pursued by the specialist professional bodies.⁷⁵ Bekker was to be proved right. The renewed push at the end of the 1920s to regain the unity that had been lost was in vain. Class society in its musical variant and the corresponding division of labour confounded any hope of a unified profession of the kind envisaged by Kretzschmar and so many others before and after

73 See Dümmling, *Musik*, 128–153.

74 Einstein, A., ‘Komponist, Staat und Wirklichkeit’, in Einstein, A., *Von Schütz bis Hindemith. Essays über Musik und Musiker*, Zurich 1957, 191–201, here 199.

75 Bekker, *Musikleben*, 132.

him. Musical life in Germany was instead characterized by internally divided professional sub-groups that also quarrelled with each other.

Finally, a fourth factor made itself felt again and again: excessive individual vanities, which were expressed in the slandering of unloved competitors and colleagues who thought differently. Conductor Kurt von Wolfurt put it in a similar if somewhat more diplomatic way at the margins of the debates on a musical community: 'Musicians, and artists in general, are [...] in many cases inclined to be idiosyncratic, solitary and averse to all practical questions. They often keep to themselves and seek no connection with colleagues.'⁷⁶

Von Wolfurt was thus singing from the same hymn sheet as Kretzschmar a good twenty-five years before him, and, to jump a bit ahead in time, musicians were to remain a 'squabbling profession' well after the emergence of the Federal Republic of Germany. If further proof were required that this professional field was populated not just in its upper echelons but across the board by musicians of all kinds who viewed themselves chiefly as artists, one could certainly allude to these structural conflicts. At the same time, it would be misleading to attach too much weight to the unconditional pursuit of individual aesthetic forms of expression, a trope that also plays a major role in the concept of creative work today.⁷⁷ In any case, regardless of the internal disputes, performing musicians in the Weimar Republic managed to continue their collective lobbying, which, together with artistic and social experiments of one kind or another, undoubtedly had a positive effect on their lives.

76 Kurt von Wolfurt, 'Darstellung der äusseren und inneren Notwendigkeit für die Gründung einer Pflichtgemeinschaft aller in Deutschland ansässigen Musiker. Referat des Arbeitsausschusses zur Gründung der Musiker-Gemeinschaft', 1928, in GSA 53/1133.

77 This is especially pronounced in one of the early manifestos of creative work: see Florida, R., *The Rise of the Creative Class*, New York 2002.

An Era of Experiments: New Media, Fashions and Musicians in the Cultural and Welfare State

‘Everything was wonderful’, stated Peter Kreuder in retrospect. ‘The inflation was over, we had the rentenmark, Herr Hitler was confined in the fortress and the Nazi Party had been dissolved. What did we have to fear? Gentlemen, you may dance! Charleston, ladies, kick those legs as high as you can!’ The pianist and composer presented his readers with an upbeat picture of the mid-1920s. During this period, Kreuder took particular delight in his parodic opera *Lohengrün*: ‘It was a parody that must have made Wagner turn in his grave like a “Wienerwald” chicken on a grill.’¹

Admittedly, Kreuder’s memories are hardly a reliable source.² However, as a reflection of the cliché of the Golden Twenties, with which the cultural life of the Weimar Republic is typically associated, they are ideal, because wild dancing to unfamiliar, exotic sounds was just as much a part of this stereotype as artistic experiments of every kind. Even Wagner’s musical dramas were not immune to reworking as parodies or as hits for salon orchestras, and there were virtually no limits to extravagant musical creativity in general.³ The various avant-gardes that are usually mentioned in connection with Weimar culture also belong in this context, such as the atonal composers around Arnold Schönberg, who never warmed to the term expressionism. Also significant here was the range of musical forms in the New Objectivity phase: neo-classical (Paul Hindemith and Ferruccio Busoni), technician, as in the case of jazz and *Maschinenmusik* (‘machine music’, associated with the likes of Darius Milhaud and Arthur Honegger) and modernistic, as in the so-called *Zeitoper* (‘opera of the times’, created by the likes of Ernst Krenek and Kurt Weill).⁴

Change of scene. In 1925, during the period Kreuder described so glowingly, the German Musicians’ Union published a pamphlet with the title ‘Why not

1 Kreuder, P., *Nur Puppen haben keine Tränen. Erinnerungen*, Munich 2003 (1971), 123.

2 See Dümling, A., ‘Die Weintraubs Syncopators. Zum 25. Todestag von Stefan Weintraub am 10. September 2006’, *Jazzzeitung* no. 9, 2006, 22 f.

3 See announcement ‘Lohengrün für Salonorchester’, *DMZ* no. 51, 17 December 1921, 803.

4 For a classic account, see Hermand, J. and F. Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik*, Munich 1978, 299–329; also Ross, A., *The Rest Is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century*, London 2009, 194–219.

a Musician?’ and sought to disseminate it throughout Germany. It was by no means a rhetorical question. One could only ‘urgently advise against choosing the music profession’, it asserted, because the prospects of a ‘secure middle-class life’ were very limited. ‘Only in the event that undoubted talent and insurmountable inclination show that the young person is destined for the profession, [...] should one give him one’s blessing.’⁵ From the union’s perspective, the 1920s seemed less golden than depicted in Kreuder’s writings and in many other autobiographical texts on Weimar cultural life.

Economic and social historians have pointed to similar findings in recent years. According to Karl Christian Führer, broad sections of society fared too poorly in an economic sense to go to theatre or cinema on a regular basis. Enjoyment of such cultural forms, Führer contends, was largely a luxury, while the levelling power of mass culture remained fairly limited.⁶ In aesthetic terms, cultural historian John Williams seconds this perspective, claiming that ‘the mundane and not particularly innovative far outweighed the spectacular and aesthetically challenging.’⁷

Against this background, the present chapter reveals that musicians’ lives cannot be assigned exclusively to either of these narratives on 1920s Weimar culture: they were characterized by both. For instrumentalists, everything that glittered culturally in this decade was certainly not gold. At the same time, they had better things to do than spend all their time lamenting economic crises and waiting for the republic to fall. Its story cannot be thought solely in terms of its conclusion. The years between the November Revolution and the Great Depression, my focus here, were very open in the sense that the republic furnished new opportunities for people to express and occupy themselves, to develop ideas and start projects – for better or worse. Hence, the crisis-struck nature of the era must be understood first and foremost as a ‘productive mode’, one through which musicians sought strategies to get by in the republic.⁸

5 ‘Warum nicht Musiker’, edited by DEMUV, Berlin, undated (1925), in BArch RY 22/293.

6 Führer, K. C., ‘High Brow and Low Brow Culture’, in A. McElligott (ed.), *Weimar Germany*, Oxford 2009, 260–281; Ross, C., *Media and the Making of Modern Germany: Mass Communications, Society, and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich*, Oxford 2008, 384 f; for an account that diverges from this perspective, see Morat, ‘Einleitung’, 21 f.

7 Williams, J. A., ‘Foreword’, in Williams, J. A. (ed.), *Weimar Culture Revisited*, New York 2011, ix–xxiv, here xi.

8 Föllmer, M. et al., ‘Einleitung: Die Kultur der Krise in der Weimarer Republik’, in Föllmer, M. et al. (eds.), *Die ‘Krise’ der Weimarer Republik. Zur Kritik eines Deutungsmusters*, Frankfurt am Main 2005, 9–41, here 14; see also Graf, R., *Die Zukunft der Weimarer Republik. Krisen und Zukunftsaneignungen in Deutschland 1918–1933*, Munich 2008. For an in-depth treatment, see Fritzsche, P., ‘Did Weimar Fail?’, *JMH* no. 68, 1996, 629–656.

Democracy represented the great ‘experiment’ beneath which, and sometimes independent of which, countless smaller-scale attempts were made to use the changed media, political and social environment in productive ways – especially in musical life.⁹ And it is in the willingness to experiment that the true core of the cliché of the Golden Twenties lies. According to the main argument of this chapter, both experimental levels affected not only a thin layer of the musical avant-garde, but also large parts of the music profession. This ‘utopian surplus’¹⁰ found expression not only in the mass dissemination and use of radio, film and gramophone records, but also in the expansion of the cultural state and, in some cases, the welfare state as well.

In addition, this surplus manifested itself in the emergence of new musical fashions and in the development of a new professional self-image. Some of these phenomena fostered the separation of serious and popular music and, moreover, ushered in a phase of the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous within the world of musical entertainment; other dynamics, meanwhile, clearly counteracted the alienation between art and playful diversion. Overall, in any case, these developments shaped the lives of many musicians, albeit sometimes only for a short time: as it tends to go with experiments, some remained episodic, while others had long-term effects on the occupational field. In all its contradictions, then, the 1920s led the music profession irreversibly into the modern age.¹¹

War and Peace: Continuities

The transition to the republic led to changes in the composition of the music profession that had already become apparent during the war: military music clearly declined in importance, women continued to find few opportunities open to them, and competitors from abroad were increasingly perceived as the most pressing problem. Structurally, therefore, musical life during the war

For a recent study, see also Becker, S., *Experiment Weimar. Eine Kulturgeschichte Deutschlands, 1918–1933*, Darmstadt 2017, 9–35. This cultural-historical synthesis, however, fails to pay enough attention to music.

9 Peukert, D. J., *Die Weimarer Republik. Krisenjahre der Klassischen Moderne*, Frankfurt am Main 1987, 16; on musical life, see also Ziemer, *Moderne*, 238 f.

10 Knoch, H., ‘Die Aura des Empfangs. Modernität und Medialität im Rundfunkdiskurs der Weimarer Republik’, in Knoch, H. and D. Morat (eds.), *Kommunikation als Beobachtung. Medienwandel und Gesellschaftsbilder 1880–1960*, Munich 2003, 133–158, here 136.

11 See also Becker, *Experiment*, esp. 33 f. and 48–51.

prefigured developments that would have a significant impact in the 1920s and that affected both practice and discourse.

Military music was one of the big losers of the First World War. As part of the requirements of the Versailles Treaty to reduce the size of the German army, almost 600 military bands and around 18,000 musicians before the war diminished to around 110 military bands with a total of just under 3,000 men.¹² In addition, the Reichswehr Ministry significantly restricted commercial playing by military musicians, who were only to be permitted to perform if the interests of civilian musicians were unaffected.¹³

These new regulations by no means caused the phenomenon of military music to vanish into thin air: there were plenty of musicians who maintained their military self-image even after leaving the army. By 1919, they had founded the Imperial League of Former Military Musicians (*Reichsbund ehemaliger Militärmusiker*). Eleven years later, this body still had 7,000 members, and in the shape of the *Schwalbennest* ('The Swallow's Nest') a bespoke magazine was published alongside the still existing *Deutsche Militär-Musiker-Zeitung* ('German Military Musicians' Newspaper'). The league quickly came in for criticism. In the initial euphoria of the republic, the Musicians' Union had campaigned in vain for adequate state funding for the downsized military bands on the model of the former court orchestras, but the old antagonisms soon flared up again.¹⁴ Due in significant part to the clandestine resurgence of the Reichswehr, the scale of military music increased once more. By 1930, 150 bands were in existence. Hence, there is likely to have been a total of around 4,500 active military musicians towards the end of the republic.¹⁵

12 See Schatz, W., 'Die Zünfte der Spielleute und die Organisation der Orchester-Musiker in Deutschland', Dissertation Universität Greifswald 1921, 26 f.

13 See 'Bestimmungen für die außerdienstliche öffentliche Musiktätigkeit der Militärmusiker', *Heeres-Verordnungsblatt* no. 3, 1922, 300–302. Decisions were entrusted to local committees featuring equal representation, each consisting of two representatives of the respective profession.

14 See Amandus Prietzel, 'Die Militärmusiker im neuen Deutschland', *DMZ* no. 3, 18 January 1919, 16. On the criticism, see 'Die 10 Gebote für ehemalige Militärmusiker', *ibid.* no. 40, 2 October 1926, 947 f.; membership figures for the Imperial League in Kestenberg, L. (ed.), *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musikorganisation 1931*, Berlin 1932, 73 f. This was partly due to the fact that the arbitration procedures of the joint committees often concluded with decisions favouring the military musicians. See 'Änderung der Bestimmungen für die außerdienstliche öffentliche Musiktätigkeit der Militärmusiker vom 8. Juli 1921', *DMZ* no. 38, 19 September 1925, 947.

15 Figures in *Reichswehrmusik – wozu sie benötigt wird. Die wirtschaftliche Schädigung der Zivilberufsmusiker durch die Militärkapellen*, edited by Deutscher Musiker-Verband, Berlin, undated (1930). Slightly lower figures of around 140 bands appear in Kandler,

Despite these countervailing tendencies, the overall decline in military musicians was prodigious. This is clearly indicated by the increasingly minor role they played in the discourse on unfair competition. Certainly, to a degree, this was simply a matter of a new label, because henceforth the debate revolved more than in the German Empire around civil servants; as a rule, they had previously worked as military musicians and were now earning extra cash in their free time. Yet by targeting music-making civil servants, the union was cultivating an old enemy construct more assiduously than was perhaps necessary: this group too was only allowed to perform to a limited extent. Once again, then, a wartime trend was perpetuated from the municipalities to the national level, although the exact regulations varied depending on the employer.¹⁶

A second, longer-term continuity concerned the gender distribution within the professional field. The First World War had been no stepping stone for women in Germany to gain broader access to the profession of performing musician, and the transition to democracy did surprisingly little to change this. Spillover effects from the progress women had made in the political arena, by gaining the right to vote, for example, remained very limited in the musical labour market. 'Strangely enough, as yet women [...] have advanced towards instrumental music, that is, in an orchestral sense, only to a very limited extent', though they had otherwise managed to become doctors, lawyers and even parliamentary deputies, noted one musician with surprise at the end of the 1920s.¹⁷

This finding is essentially correct. At the beginning of 1921, just 1,250 or less than 3 percent of the more than 46,000 members of the Musicians' Union

'Geschichte', 515 f.; 3,500 military musicians are mentioned by Panoff, *Militärmusik*, 163. On rearmament, see Bergien, R., *Die bellizistische Republik. Wehrkonsens und 'Wehrhaftmachung' in Deutschland 1918–1933*, Munich 2012, 17 f.

16 See *Musikerkalender*, edited by Deutscher Musikerverband, Berlin 1928, 146–161. At the end of 1927, commercial playing by Prussian civil servants was subject to permission from their superior, which he was only allowed to grant in exceptional cases. Reich civil servants were allowed to perform up to three times a month, but only on occasions that were not 'beneath the dignity of the civil servant'. Berlin municipal officials, on the other hand, were generally forbidden to play music; for a dissenting account, see Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, 192–195.

17 See Hans Arendt, 'Frauen und Instrumentalmusik', *DMZ* no. 2, 12 January 1929, 23 f. For a general account of the discourse on women's employment, see Eitz, T. and I. Engelhardt, *Diskursgeschichte der Weimarer Republik*, vol. 1, Hildesheim 2015, 445–448; on their lifeworld, see Frevert, 'Klavier', 93–106.

were female, and this proportion remained stable in the following years.¹⁸ Of course, the actual number of working female musicians was much higher and increased over time, from just under 13,400 in June 1925 to more than 15,800 in June 1933. The increase was unevenly distributed: while the proportion of self-employed individuals – the vast majority of them female music teachers – rose from around 9,100 to just under 10,000, the number of salaried employees increased from 4,300 to just under 6,000. The figures indicate that women were slowly groping their way forwards into this male domain, in which somewhat less than 90,000 employed musicians were registered around 1933.¹⁹

Breaking the figures down further reveals how tough this process was. For instance, in the same year there were just 33 women holding civil servant positions in one of the top orchestras, a share of 2 percent. Still, when it comes to white-collar employees, women made up around 8 percent of the orchestral workforce, a higher figure than in the field of coffee house music at around 5 percent. Hence, regardless of all the changes in the detail, women instrumentalists were still a rarity on the stages of the Weimar Republic. There is not a single woman among the composers who presented themselves to the German musical public sphere during this period.²⁰ This was paralleled by a sustained silence on this topic in the musical press. The first verifiable statement by a woman in the union newspaper appeared, tellingly, in the form of a fictional letter from one musician's spouse to another, which addressed the specific duties associated with the role of wife.²¹

It was not until the cusp of 1928–29 that a brief but intense exchange of views occurred, with Margarete Spangenberg becoming the first female musician to have her say in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*. The starting point was a provocation of the first order. Cologne-based orchestral musician Rudolf Oberheide declared war on female musicians, concluding that 'the most serious artistic, social, health, moral, family and organizational concerns must be raised [...] against a greater influx of femininity into the music profession'.

18 See Deutscher Musiker-Verband, *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des Zweiten Verbandstages*, Berlin 1924, 59.

19 See table C in the appendix.

20 See Friedrich Zander, 'Die Berufe der Musikausübenden in der deutschen Reichsstatistik', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 25, 19 June 1937, 1–4. On the lack of composers, see Brüstle, C., 'Das 20. und 21. Jahrhundert', in M. Unseld and A. Kreuziger-Herr (eds.), *Lexikon Musik und Gender*, Kassel 2010, 98–108, here 101 f.

21 See 'Was eine Musikerfrau zur Organisationsfrage zu sagen weiß', *DMZ* no. 51, 19 December 1925, 1230 f.

Oberheide frankly admitted that this problem did not actually exist due to the small number of people involved.²²

Spangenberg's reply was as unambiguous as it was revealing. On the one hand, she vehemently contradicted Oberheide and criticized his talk of the 'natural destiny of women', which had caused her 'mild nausea'. On the other hand, a music teacher herself, she agreed with Oberheide that women should avoid the music profession – though she underlined that it must be their decision and aspects of her reasoning were completely different. She warned of the great 'difficulties and adversities' women were exposed to in this field and advised them to keep their eyes open when choosing a career.²³ For Spangenberg and many other women musicians, then, unattractive conditions and working hours as well as a particularly misogynistic environment were key reasons to continue avoiding the stage and, as ever, to concentrate on teaching. Such conscious, carefully considered renunciation did not, of course, change the outcome. The discrepancy in the gender order that began with the transition to the republic, namely that between freshly won political and formal equality and ongoing socio-economic inequality, was clearly visible in the musical labour market.²⁴

Ongoing complaints about competition from foreigners constituted a third continuity with musical life during the war. Musicians from other countries thus inherited the mantle of military musicians in the discourse of the musical public sphere – the main difference being that far fewer foreigners performed or settled in the empire than one would expect given the intensity, scope and persistence of the debate. Due to defeat in war and the Treaty of Versailles, nationalism was booming within the music profession as elsewhere. The tone thus grew more strident: protests against 'nigger bands' (*Nigger-Kapellen*) and 'goulash Paganinis' were now the order of the day, balalaika orchestras were denigrated as '*Afterkunst* [shoddy art] in disguise', and the vocabulary of epidemiology and natural disasters was often deployed, with references to an 'epidemic', 'plague' and 'flood'. The blame for this new competitive situation was placed on those employers who preferred musicians from abroad because

22 Rudolf Oberheide, 'Die Frau und der Musikerberuf', *DMZ* no. 48, 1 December 1928, 1058 f.

23 Margarete Spangenberg, 'Frauen im Musikerberuf', *DMZ* no. 11, 16 March 1929, 223 f.

24 See Gehmacher, J. and M. Mesner, 'Dis/Kontinuitäten. Geschlechterordnungen und Periodisierungen im langen 20. Jahrhundert', *L'Homme z.F.G* no. 25, 2014, 87–101; Gerhard, U., *Frauenbewegung und Feminismus. Eine Geschichte seit 1789*, Munich 2009, 86–90.

they were supposedly cheaper and did not complain about employment conditions.²⁵

This kind of xenophobia became a widespread phenomenon among musicians, or at least their organized representatives – and not just in the world of popular music. Although it was primarily in the latter field that the competitive situation manifested itself, representatives of art music were vociferous contributors to this nationalist lament. Of all people, composer Eugen d'Albert, son of a French-German man and a British woman, raved about orchestral musicians from abroad who were allegedly surging into the empire 'in droves' and causing great damage to the 'unified German orchestral body' as well as to the 'German spirit', supposedly of such importance to the making of music.²⁶ This problem was considered so grave that in the course of 1924 a working group consisting of various musicians' associations was formed. This resulted in an alliance of military musicians, musical directors, music teachers, bandmasters and performing musicians of all stripes, one that was unique in the history of German musical life and whose goal was to fight foreign competition.²⁷

How many musicians from abroad were living in Germany in the 1920s is far from clear. In 1925, the Musicians' Union boldly claimed that up to 30 percent of musicians in cities were not German. In another statement, it claimed more specifically that 921 musicians from abroad were working in 44 cities in the empire: in Düsseldorf there were 48, in Magdeburg 18, but in Berlin so many that it was impossible to count them all. Nonetheless, at the end of 1924 the Berlin police chief assumed that around 300 to 400 foreign musicians were active in greater Berlin, playing in around 50 venues.²⁸

25 'Die Ausländerkonkurrenz im Spiegel der "Leipziger Neuesten Nachrichten"', *DMZ* no. 38, 22 September 1929, 83; 'Michel schläft', edited by Deutscher Musiker-Verband, Berlin 1929, in *BArch RY 22/291*; 'Die Ensemblemusiker und der Deutsche Musiker-Verband', Berlin 1925, in *ibid.* 22/294, here 11; Deutscher Musiker-Verband, *Protokoll*, 37; see also Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, 195–199.

26 Eugen d'Albert, 'Die Not der deutschen Musiker und die Ausländerkonkurrenz', *DMZ* no. 43, 23 October 1926, 1001. D'Albert had a British passport until 1918, before becoming a Swiss citizen; he had never had German citizenship. See Pangels, C., *Eugen d'Albert. Wunderpianist und Komponist. Eine Biographie*, Zurich 1981, 9 f. and 297 f.

27 See 'Polizeipräsident an Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, 23.12.1924', in *LAB A Pr. Br. Rep.* 030–05/3764, fol. 243.

28 See *ibid.*; 'Die Ensemblemusiker und der Deutsche Musiker-Verband', Berlin 1925, in *BArch RY 22/291*, here 10; 'Die Ausländer-Konkurrenz. Der Kampf der deutschen Ensemblemusiker um das Recht auf Arbeit', edited by Deutscher Musiker-Verband, Berlin 1926, in *ibid.* 22/294, here 20–22.

The informative value of such figures was, however, relatively low. First of all, it was impossible to tell whether these were temporary workers or musicians who had settled permanently. Second, these estimates gave no indication of what and whom they actually counted. Whether, for example, Austrian colleagues, who were present in large numbers in German musical life in the 1920s, were among the foreign competition, was a matter of great controversy in the profession.²⁹ Third, methodological problems also presented difficulties. The use of information from the state employment offices (*Landesarbeitsämter*) was inevitably imprecise, in large part because of the so-called 'hole in the west', as the occupied Rhineland was sometimes called, through which people could enter Reich territory relatively easily.³⁰ If, on the other hand, attempts were made to obtain reliable data through local checks, there was a constant danger of including Germans: because of the popularity of jazz, many musicians dedicated to popular music used English-sounding band names. Kreuder reports in his memoirs that he had to accept being promoted in Munich through the slogan 'First Time in Europe: Peter Kreuder and his Combo' in order to get a particular engagement. Hence, complaints about the alleged competition from foreigners were not directed solely against performing musicians but were at least as much a defensive aesthetic reaction to new, foreign musical styles that, like jazz, conquered the stages of the republic from outside.³¹

Efforts by musicians to make it more difficult for foreign colleagues to enter the country were largely unsuccessful because the relevant procedure had in any case been quite restrictive since the summer of 1924. Musicians from abroad who wished to work needed a visa, which they only received if they could present a police residence permit from the target community. This, in turn, was only to be granted if there was in fact a local shortage of musicians. This was the theory. In practice, meanwhile, a relatively lax application of the

29 This was demonstrated at a rally in Berlin in the autumn of 1926, when vice-president of the Musicians' Union Karl Schiementz sharply attacked the Austrian bandmaster and initiator of the event Karl Forschneritsch because of his nationality. See 'Einheitsfront der deutschen Musiker?', *Mitteilungsblatt des RDO*, unnumbered 1926, lxxxv; see also Nathaus, 'Americanisation'.

30 Even the Berlin police chief highlighted this seepage. See 'Berliner Polizeipräsident an Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, 23.12.1924', in LAB A Pr. Br. Rep. 030-05/3764, vol. 243.

31 See Kreuder, *Puppen*, 101. On defensive responses, see also section g) in this chapter.

law appeared to predominate in interactions between consular services and state employment offices.³²

The laissez-faire approach of the German authorities enraged organized musicians in part because they knew exactly how this problem was dealt with in other countries. In the United States, the United Kingdom and many other European states, musicians in the entertainment sector were protected against foreign competition, as a pamphlet published by the Musicians' Union underlined.³³ Knowledge of stricter arrangements in other countries reinforced the tendency among musicians to indulge in a pronounced professional nationalism. In view of the dominance of this discourse, many a freelance musician must have felt as abandoned by the Weimar cultural state as they had done before the war by the emperor and the imperial government with respect to the issue of military music. However, the government's focus was clearly on the high-cultural music world, in which extraordinary things were achieved under the republic, regardless of the economic crises.

Musical Empire: the Cultural State

'Berlin', enthused violinist Yehudi Menuhin, looking back, 'was the musical capital of the "civilized" world, its prestige founded on the music of the past and flourishing still in great orchestras and conductors, not to mention the most informed audiences to be found anywhere. Musically speaking, Germany was an empire'. It was then, in April 1929, that Menuhin had his breakthrough with a concert in the Philharmonic Hall conducted by Bruno Walter.³⁴ As futile as it is to discuss the validity of such superlatives, it is beyond doubt that with the transition to the republic the government intervened in musical life as never before to both foster and regulate, while one-sidedly pursuing a high-cultural agenda. In Prussia in particular, music policy under Leo Kestenberg, social democratic music advisor at the Ministry of Science, Art and National Education (*Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung*), turned into an experiment of a quite unique kind. Together with Paul Bekker, Kestenberg

32 See 'Die Ausländerkonkurrenz', *DMZ* no. 34, 21 August 1926, 803; Auswärtiges Amt, 'Rund-erlass "Ausländische Musiker in Deutschland"', *Reichsarbeitsblatt* no. 8, 10 March 1927, I 65; on the legal situation, see Oltmer, J., *Migration und Politik in der Weimarer Republik*, Göttingen 2005, 354–361.

33 See 'Die Ensemblesmusiker und der Deutsche Musiker-Verband', Berlin 1925, in BArch RY 22/291, here 12; from an international perspective, cf. Remppe, 'Globalisierung', 212–214.

34 Menuhin, Y., *Unfinished Journey*. London 2001, 96.

advocated democratizing high culture and renewing society through broad-based cultural education.³⁵

The enhanced public commitment to education as well as to opera theatres and concert orchestras was, however, also due to the engagement of organized musicians themselves. The Musicians' Union, for example, took the lead in creating a pool of suitable young men to form the next generation of orchestral musicians before governmental and municipal authorities followed suit. When it came to wood and brass players in particular, the traditional sources threatened to dry up, a situation unanimously lamented by various factions of the musical public sphere.³⁶ The educational trajectory still widespread in the empire, namely via apprentice and military bands and increasingly followed by studies at a conservatoire, lost its foundation after the transition to the republic. Because of the downsizing of military music, establishments whose business model was centred on apprentice musicians also declined or failed to revive in the first place after coming to a complete standstill in the First World War. This discourse of lack alone makes clear once again the overriding importance of military music in German musical life before 1914.³⁷

The Musicians' Union recognized this problem early on and set up an Orchestra School within the Berlin Academy of Music that started its work in the winter semester of 1921–22. In preliminary classes, for which the union initially paid itself, students between the ages of 14 and 16 were admitted for two years if they could provide evidence of a primary school education and 'good musical talent'; knowledge of an orchestral instrument was desirable, but not absolutely necessary. For those who proved their aptitude, the third year of study was in the academy's relevant instrument class. The three-year practical

35 See Kleiner, S., 'Neuer Mensch durch Neue Musik? Die Oper als Raum sozialer und politischer Bindungskunst in der Weimarer Republik', in S. O. Müller et al. (eds.), *Kommunikation im Musikleben. Harmonien und Dissonanzen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2015, 88–116, here 90 f. and 101; Heyworth, P., *Otto Klemperer. Dirigent der Republik 1885–1933*, Berlin 1988, 206 f.

36 See Pringsheim, H., 'Die Organisation der Deutschen Musiker', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Sängerbundes*, unnumbered, 1926, 163–177, here 174; Noack, *Kunst*, 7; Gustav Cords, 'Wie erziehen wir einen gesunden Nachwuchs für unsere Orchester', *Das Orchester* no. 8, 1 May 1924, 84–86; Leo Bechler, 'Musikernachwuchs', *DMMZ* no. 9, 31 May 1924, 67–69. Apart from Pringsheim, no article mentions the true reason for the lack of young musicians, probably because the well-known authors wanted to avoid emphasizing the role of military music. See also Schenk, *Hochschule*, 183.

37 The decree on private music lessons of 1925 made attempts at revival in Prussia even more difficult. See Kestenberg, L. (ed.), *Bewegte Zeiten. Musikalisch-musikantische Lebenserinnerungen*, Wolfenbüttel 1961, 48 f.; 'Dritte gemeinsame Tagung von Verbandsvorstand, Beirat und Bezirksleistern', *DMZ* no. 47, 28 November 1928, 1044 f.

course in the main and secondary instrument, as well as in piano playing, was flanked by music theory lessons and classes in German, English, history, mathematics and even natural history. Annual fees were set at 150 reichsmarks.³⁸

The concept of an orchestral school was not entirely new. As early as 1872, such an institution had been founded in Weimar under the aegis of the Grand Duchy, and it was highly successful.³⁹ In contrast to the Weimar institute in the German Empire, the Berlin model, which excelled particularly in wind instrument training, was now setting the tone. This new educational establishment provided an example that was noted and emulated both inside and outside Prussia, in some cases financed by the union as in Cologne, Mainz and Essen, in others run by local institutions alone, as in Dresden, where the orchestral school was an appendage to the National Orchestra or in Würzburg, where it functioned as a department of the publicly run conservatoire.⁴⁰ With these new schools, then, for the first time music education in Germany featured a segment below the fostering of top-level talent, one specifically geared towards the profession of orchestral musician. The call for greater public commitment to the education system had thus been at least partially heard.⁴¹

In general, when it came to municipal or national cultural policy, the advocates of a high-cultural musical life subsidized with public funds often prevailed. This specific political economy only really became established as a structural principle in the Weimar Republic.⁴² This was particularly evident in the fate of court theatres and orchestras: the latter became national orchestras (*Staatkapellen*) while court theatres became state theatres (*Landestheater*, the reference being to Germany's constituent states); only two of the 23 establishments or ensembles formerly administered by courts failed to survive the change of regime.⁴³ In general, the trend towards municipalization or nationalization of private or partially subsidized orchestras that began around 1900

38 See *Musikerkalender*, 130 f.; Schenk, *Hochschule*, 179–182.

39 This Orchestra School was the predecessor of the Academy. See Altenburg, 'Konservatorium', 294–296. In the West, Dortmund was the pioneer, a subsidized orchestra school having been established there in 1909. See Bernhard Friedhoff, 'Die Dortmunder Orchesterschule', *Das Orchester* no. 13, 1 July 1927, 191.

40 See 'Orchesterschulen', *DMZ* no. 7, 18 February 1928, 140; on Dresden and Würzburg, see Wolschke, *Stadtpeiferei*, 109 f.

41 See Schenk, *Hochschule*, 183.

42 See Führer, 'Culture', 260–269.

43 The two non-survivors were the Grand Ducal Court Orchestra (*großherzogliche Hofkapelle*) in Neustrelitz and the Bückeberg Royal Court Orchestra (*fürstliche Hofkapelle Bückeberg*). See Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 294; *Statistik über Gehalts- und Anstellungsverhältnisse der in behördlicher Verwaltung stehenden Deutschen Orchester*, edited by Deutscher Orchesterbund, Darmstadt 1911, 6 and 10.

accelerated, with the Musicians' Union continuing to be a driving force.⁴⁴ The message of the numbers is clear: in 1920, including the former court orchestras, 47 such ensembles were under public administration in Germany, while in 1929 there were more than twice as many, at 96 orchestras. Of these, 80 were funded by the government or municipalities, and orchestral musicians were given civil servant status in more than 20 of them. The remaining 16 were made up of concert and radio orchestras that had private employers but were generally also fully or generously subsidized.⁴⁵

The increased role of the public purse cannot, of course, be attributed solely to musicians' continued lobbying. Other explanations are required in view of hyperinflation, tight budgets and, last but not least, the so-called Erzberger financial and tax reforms of 1919–20. These reforms deeply encroached on the right of self-administration enjoyed by the constituent states and municipalities, eliminated their taxing authority, among other things, and thus robbed them of some of their ability to shape cultural policy.⁴⁶

The fact that the states and municipalities nonetheless stepped up their efforts to promote high culture had to do, first, with another legacy of musical life on the home front. The predominant discourse of the musical public sphere in that context about the supposedly unique depth, seriousness and inwardness of 'German' music continued unabated in the republic. At a moment of ignominious defeat, preserving and cultivating this cultural asset was considered a patriotic duty; accordingly, there was cross-party consensus that the court orchestras must be preserved and placed in public hands.⁴⁷ Second, municipal cultural policy became a matter of prestige. In the course of democratization, many municipalities, in line with Kestenbergs's thinking,

44 See Gustav Cords, 'Richtlinien für die Verstadtlichung von Orchestern', *DMZ* no. 32, 9 August 1919, 510–512; a positive assessment is given by Hermann Becker, 'Der Deutsche Musiker-Verband und die Orchestermusiker', *ibid.* no. 26, 29 June 1929, 555 f.

45 See Thielecke, *Lage der Berufsmusiker*, 304 f.; *Statistik, 1929*; number of orchestras featuring civil servants quoted in *Orchester-Statistik*, edited by Reichsverband deutscher Orchester und Orchestermusiker, Berlin 1926. This does not include the more than 100 orchestras that received partial subsidies in return for certain services (reference year 1928). See *Musikerkalender*, 114–118. See also Schulmeisterat, 'Weltkulturerbe', 256.

46 See Ullmann, H.-P., *Der deutsche Steuerstaat. Geschichte der öffentlichen Finanzen vom 18. Jahrhundert bis heute*, Munich 2005, 97–104; on the reforms, see also Kirchhof, P., 'Matthias Erzberger. Seine Bedeutung als Finanzreformer für unsere Gegenwart', in C. E. Palmer and T. Schnabel (eds.), *Matthias Erzberger 1875–1921. Patriot und Visionär*, Leipzig 2007, 79–118, here 87–104.

47 See Becker, T., *Inszenierte Moderne. Populäres Theater in Berlin und London, 1880–1930*, Munich 2014, 47–50. It would therefore be quite wrong to suggest that the inward dimension was marginalized in Weimar culture; but see in contrast Becker, *Experiment*, 45.

were eager to give a broader range of social groups access to high culture. At the same time, the municipalities were in cultural policy competition with one another. After the war, the takeover of orchestras by local authorities thus led to a chain reaction that very few major municipal administrations were able to resist.⁴⁸ Third, a counter-reaction to the advance of mass culture was often at play here: municipal politicians dedicated to cultural policy believed that they had to combat the expanding market in musical entertainment by fostering high-cultural institutions.⁴⁹

How the empire, states, municipalities and, last but not least, the musicians affected asserted their sometimes differing interests as the Weimar cultural state was being constructed can be clearly seen in the legislation on the entertainment tax (*Lustbarkeitssteuer*), which was levied on public cultural events. In the summer of 1921, the Reich minister of finance issued a detailed framework regulation from which the states and municipalities could only deviate within certain limits. This framework was guided by the imperative of generating substantial income without detriment to high-cultural events. Publicly subsidized performances and those recognized as charitable were thus exempted from the tax. A new version two years later stipulated that tax rates could be halved on those occasions 'in which artistry or popular education predominates' – 'unless food or drink are served for payment or people smoke during the event'.⁵⁰ Hence, these regulations not only favoured high-cultural events, but also helped dictate the associated social norms.

The municipalities made extensive use of their room for manoeuvre. As a result, the entertainment tax varied from one municipality to another and tended to be even higher than prescribed by the Reich; in some places, up to 30 percent of the ticket price was levied. Musicians, meanwhile, were far from enamoured with this tax. Collected in some cases as a poll tax, it hit ensemble and cinema musicians particularly hard. The ban on eating and smoking was also a thorn in their side because it further reduced the number of performance venues with reduced tax liability. In the eyes of musicians, the tax simply

48 See Höpel, T., 'Städtische Kulturpolitik in Deutschland und Frankreich 1918–1940', *HZ* vol. 284, 2007, 623–658, here 636–638. A good example is Frankfurt, where the concept of a 'New Frankfurt' included not only architectural projects but also a musico-political dimension, with the city seeking to establish itself as a centre for New Music; for the details, see Ziemer, *Moderne*, 261–266.

49 See *ibid.* On mass culture and the cross-party struggle against it, see Maase, *Grenzenloses*, 170–178.

50 See 'Bestimmungen über die Vergnügungssteuer', *Reichsgesetzblatt* part I, no. 55, 13 July 1923, 583–590, quotation on 586 (§ 8, Abs. 3); first version in *ibid.* no. 72, 15 July 1921, 856–864.

jeopardized jobs: 'The entertainment tax man should change course as quickly as possible before the tax vortex swallows us all', was the message ringing out to the legislature from the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*.⁵¹ The Musicians' Union did in fact manage to water down overly disadvantageous regulations. Fundamentally, however, virtually nothing changed in the legislation on the taxation of entertainment under the republic. The tax punished 'amusement' and financed high culture. Ultimately, then, the government ensured a redistribution within the professional group from bottom to top, while reinforcing the antagonism between the popular and serious music worlds.⁵²

However, the governmental and municipal authorities were not especially generous in the field of high culture either. Not only was there little money for this, but often a lack of will. Prussia is a good example. When the Musicians' Union was no longer able to financially maintain the orchestra school after the outbreak of the global economic crisis, the government only grudgingly declared its willingness to take over this training facility and continue to run it on a smaller scale; Kestenbergs's thirst for action was thus subject to certain limits.⁵³ Just a few years earlier, Prussian and Berlin-based politicians with a focus on cultural policy had already incurred the displeasure of orchestral musicians. When a general salary reform was pending and the members of the national orchestras in Berlin, Kassel and Wiesbaden found themselves below simple administrative officials in the new regulations, the Musicians' Union banned its members from working for these establishments. The real scandal, however, stemmed from the fact that the city of Berlin had tied the salary round for the Municipal Opera to the Prussian reform, as a result of which the members of its orchestra had to accept a pay cut.⁵⁴ Thanks to the government and its zealous culture policy innovators, the musical empire certainly found a new lease of life in the era of the republic. Yet these were no golden years for musicians, and the underlying socio-political experiment, as is well known, failed miserably.

51 See 'Die Lustbarkeitssteuer', *DMZ* no. 8, 20 February 1926, 177.

52 See Deutscher Musiker-Verband, *Protokoll*, 36; 'Lustbarkeitssteuer und Aufführungsbühnen', *DMZ* no. 43, 25 October 1930, 839; also Becker, *Moderne*, 320.

53 See Schenk, *Hochschule*, 183; Heyworth, *Klemperer*, 206.

54 See 'Die Besoldung der Staatskapelle Berlin', *Mitteilungsblatt des RDO* no. 23, 1 December 1928, lxxxix; 'Besoldungsskandal', *DMZ* no. 41, 13 October 1928, 904 f. Disadvantages flowed from the reform for other orchestras as well. See Alfred Erdmann, 'Die Mängel der neuen Besoldungsreform', *Mitteilungsblatt des RDO* no. 22, 15 November 1928, lxxxv–lxxxvii; Frankfurt too pursued an ungenerous cultural policy. See Ziemer, *Moderne*, 206–208.

Curse and Blessing: the Welfare State

Compared to the cultural state, the new modalities of the welfare state and the socio-economic crises affected the entire music profession. At first, the events of November 1918 had aroused great expectations among musicians. As explained earlier, the Musicians' Union clearly positioned itself as a trade union and thus hoped to increase its political influence, because – unlike in the German Empire – a social partnership with various employers in the musical and theatre landscape had been established through the Stinnes-Legien Agreement.⁵⁵

Initially, these hopes seemed to be borne out. The Musicians' Union negotiated a collective wage agreement with the Stage Association (*Bühnenverein*) for the first time in February 1920. The accord included a standard contract, which went a long way to meeting the musicians' demands, including a day off, adequate rest periods before and after a performance, a general limitation of rehearsals to a maximum of three hours and rights of codetermination for the orchestral board.⁵⁶ An agreement with the Spa Association (*Bäderverband*), also a genuine novelty, was concluded the same year. The health resorts were divided into three wage brackets plus a special bracket and wages were set at between 650 and 900 marks; in addition, a standard contract was drawn up.⁵⁷ Alongside these nationwide agreements, local collective bargaining also proved successful at first; in some places, however, as with the Hamburg coffee house musicians, it took a strike to show the way.⁵⁸

55 See Gustav Cords, 'Neuordnung der Dinge III', *DMZ* no. 48, 30 November 1918. On the context in which the agreement emerged, see Brunner, D., 'Autonomie – Konfrontation – Staat. Zum gewerkschaftlichen Staatsverständnis 1914 bis 1933', in M. Ruck (ed.), *Gegner – Instrument – Partner. Gewerkschaftliche Staatsverständnisse vom Industrialismus bis zum Informationszeitalter*, Baden-Baden 2017, 91–110, here 92–95.

56 See 'Tarifabschluss mit dem Bühnenverein', *DMZ* no. 6, 7 February 1920, 83; see also Schön-dienst, *Geschichte des Theaters 1846–1935*, 256–261; wages, however, were not set.

57 See 'Tarifabkommen mit dem Bäderverband', *DMZ* no. 10, 6 March 1920, 111.

58 On Hamburg, see Peter Hagemann, 'Nachklang zum Streik der Hamburger Ensemble-Musiker', *DMZ* no. 30, 26 July 1919, 468. Among other things, 'coffee house musicians' demanded that coffee house operators act as sole employers vis-à-vis the entire band. This was intended to eliminate the ambiguous position of the bandmaster as employer of musicians and employee vis-à-vis the coffee house. Further issues were the granting of a day off, the limitation of working hours to six hours or eight at weekends and the introduction of minimum wages, starting at 540 reichsmarks per month for four hours of playing a day. In Berlin, these demands were met after tough negotiations. See Hugo Schwiegl, 'Der Tarifvertrag der Kaffeehausmusiker', *DMZ* no. 35, 30 August 1919, 572 f.; Karl Schiementz, 'Das Ensemble', *ibid.* no. 32, 9 August 1919, 519 f.

While the moderate inflation around 1920 had still fundamentally favoured the conclusion of collective wage agreements and thus played into the hands of salaried musicians to some extent, it increasingly engendered tensions in the musical labour market. The demand for performances collapsed, while permanently employed musicians lost their jobs and found themselves in the freelance market. In addition to fleeing abroad or being hired as a ship musician, this sector developed an unprecedented appeal because of the short-term, often daily contracts.⁵⁹ One-day fees in the trillions and performances in exchange for payments in kind, such as grain, butter and potatoes, were far from unusual at the height of hyperinflation. It was precisely because of this flexible interplay between supply and demand that the unemployed as well as employees from other sectors took out their instruments in an attempt to earn quick money. In some places, this practice had even more far-reaching consequences. In the Ruhr area, for example, miners conquered the operetta theatres. Though they played for outdated fees, these still equated to 10 percent of their regular monthly wages. In the civil servants' stronghold of Karlsruhe, this group is said to have taken over musical life entirely, while the local musicians packed up their instruments and migrated to the factory.⁶⁰

The devaluation of money thus shook the core of the professional self-image, temporarily effacing the laboriously established, already fragile border between professionals and laypeople. This made itself felt institutionally. The union shrank from more than 45,000 members in the early 1920s to around 20,000 at the end of 1923. The fact that it survived hyperinflation was thanks to donations from colleagues and organizations in Europe and the United States, including the Cinderella Club (*Aschenbrödel-Verein*) in New York, a German association founded by emigrants in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶¹ Job losses, increasing competition from so-called dilettantes and the associated tendencies towards deprofessionalization, in addition to the dire quotidian consequences of inflation, led to widespread disillusionment, in sharp contrast to the great expectations that typified the first years of the republic.

59 See Deutscher Musiker-Verband, *Protokoll*, here 7 f. and 20 f. On the high seas, wages were paid in dollars, which led to such a stampede in the port cities that musicians are said to have promised ship captains their wives in order to obtain a position. See also Cashman, D., 'Brass Bands, Icebergs and Jazz: Music on Passenger Shipping 1880–1939', *Journal of Tourism History* no. 6, 2014, 1–15.

60 See 'Kulturvernichtende Schwarzarbeit', edited by Deutscher Musiker-Verband, Berlin 1923, in BArch RY 22/294, here 11. On fees in the trillions, see also Bock, 'Erinnerungen', in DTAE Reg. nr. 1656.2, 32; Zinner-Frühbeis, C., *Wir waren ja die Größten. Deutsche Jazz- und Unterhaltungsmusiker zwischen 1920 und 1950*, Frankfurt am Main 1991, 34.

61 See Deutscher Musiker-Verband, *Protokoll*, 11 f.; on the Cinderella Club, see Kraft, *Stage*, 11.

Anyone believing they could build on the early successes once, on the cusp of 1924, the currency had stabilized again, was in for a rude awakening. This was in part because the social partnership failed to live up to its name throughout the 1920s. In early 1924, the General German Trade Union Federation (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* or ADGB) terminated its participation in the Central Working Group (*Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft*) that had emerged from the Stinnes-Legien Agreement because the employers were unwilling to cooperate; instead it put its faith in the governmental arbitration process introduced shortly before.⁶² In fact, from then on, hardly any collective bargaining rounds centred on musicians succeeded without government intervention. Often, employer representatives rejected arbitration, though it was mostly a matter of defending social gains already achieved.

The second collective bargaining round with the Stage Association, begun in the summer of 1924, thus ended in a defensive battle. The employers wanted to revoke newly acquired rights such as the guaranteed day off during the week, four weeks of full wages in the event of illness and various participation rights enjoyed by the orchestral boards. They also wished to overturn the maximum rehearsal time of three hours and the rest period before performances, while calling into question payments for double performances. In the spring of 1925, the Musicians' Union reacted with a four-week general boycott that forbade union members from signing contracts with members of the Stage Association. The subsequent arbitration was rejected first by the Stage Association and then by the arbitrator itself, that is, the Reich Ministry of Labour (*Reichsarbeitsministerium*). No agreement was reached until the summer of 1928. This secured some employee-friendly regulations, such as the day off, whereas vague formulations had to be accepted in relation to other issues, such as rehearsal length, which could be interpreted to musicians' detriment.⁶³

62 See Brunner, 'Autonomie', 95–101.

63 See Verbandsvorstand, 'Unser Kampf mit dem Bühnenverein', *DMZ* no. 13, 28 March 1925, 317; 'Das Reichsarbeitsministerium gegen seinen Schlichter', *ibid.* no. 31, 1 August 1925, 761; 'Der neue Schlichterspruch im Bühnentarifstreit', *ibid.* no. 26, 30 June 1928, 561–565; 'Einiges über den Tarifvertrag', *ibid.* no. 39, 29 September 1928, 856 f.; see also Schöndienst, *Geschichte des Theaters 1846–1935*, 316–318. That the agreement was relatively small in scope and thus of fairly minor importance, because orchestra musicians in civil servant positions were excluded from the collective agreement, as Schöndienst believes, clashes with contemporary statistics. In 1929, they listed about 1,300 civil servants, but almost twice as many permanently employed musicians. See 'Was lehrt uns die Orchesterstatistik?', *DMZ* no. 25, 22 June 1929, 529.

A similar stalemate or regression was evident in disputes with the Spa Association,⁶⁴ in the failed attempt to achieve a nationwide framework agreement on employment conditions (*Manteltarifvertrag*) for cinema musicians,⁶⁵ and last but not least in the field of so-called ensemble music. In Hamburg, music entrepreneurs wanted to abolish the new social rights that coffee house musicians had gained under the republic; the same went for Hanover, where the collective wage agreement was terminated in 1928 and employed musicians were presented with a one-line follow-up offer that would require them to play seven hours a day for a daily wage of twelve marks.⁶⁶

Overall, musicians, like other workers, were made keenly aware of the fragile and imperilled nature of the experiment in social partnership. The expansion of social rights and benefits, which could be financed through inflation in the crisis-ridden early days, was called into question after the economic stabilization of 1924: it became too expensive for employers to guarantee these rights and they had been reluctant to enter into the partnership in the first place. In their self-perception, musicians believed themselves particularly disadvantaged 'legislative pariahs'. It was not without reason that they criticized the government, to which they had repeatedly appealed as arbitrating authority,

64 Collective agreements for spa bands that mostly took musicians' concerns into account had been in place again since 1924. For the 1929 season, however, the spa administrations demanded a significant extension of working hours from 35 to more than 40 hours with simultaneous wage cuts, which ultimately led to worse working conditions. See 'Der gescheiterte Bädertarifvertrag', *DMZ* no. 9, 1 March 1924, 73; 'Einigung mit dem Bäderverband', *ibid.* no. 14, 5 April 1924, 133; 'Zum Bädertarifstreit', *ibid.* no. 6, 9 February 1930, 106; 'Amtlicher Schlichterspruch im Bädertarifstreit', *ibid.* no. 12, 22 March 1930, 229–231.

65 After years of effort, an arbitration award was rejected by cinema operators in October 1928, though in some cases its content fell far short of the working conditions of musicians at major cinemas. The union was critical of the award, but given that many cinemas in Germany were still able to employ musicians with no wage regulations at all, it backed it. See 'Reichskinetarifvertrag', *DMZ* no. 12, 24 March 1928, 267; 'Schlichterspruch über einen Reichstarifvertrag für Kinomusiker', *ibid.* no. 36, 8 September 1928, 777–779; 'Der Schiedsspruch abgelehnt', *ibid.* no. 41, 13 October 1928, 906. Successes in this area, such as a progressive one-year agreement with UFA with respect to its establishments in the summer of 1926, a local tariff for Berlin in November 1929 and the establishment of a Reich-wide tariff community with the *Reichsverband deutscher Lichtspieltheaterbesitzer* (Reich Association of German Cinema Owners), came at a time when silent film music had long been in decline. See 'Tarifvertrag zwischen der Universum Film-Aktiengesellschaft und dem Deutschen Musiker-Verband, 3. Juni 1926', in *BArch RY 22/293*; Karl Schmeißer, 'Berliner Kinovertrag', *DMZ* no. 46, 16 November 1929, 979; 'Tarifgemeinschaft im Kinogewerbe abgeschlossen!', *ibid.* no. 14, 5 April 1930, 270.

66 See 'Achtung! Hamburg gesperrt!', *DMZ* no. 14, 5 April 1924, 133; 'Um was kämpfen die Ensemble-Musiker in Hannover?', *ibid.* no. 18, 5 May 1928, 398.

as hostile to workers – a charge that soon culminated in the phrase ‘Reich Employers’ Ministry’.⁶⁷

In contrast to the arduous conflicts over better working conditions or the maintenance of existing ones, however, we can also identify social policy developments that benefited the music profession as a whole. For example, it proved possible to change musicians’ status so they were no longer treated legally as blue-collar workers, regardless of the specific nature of their musical work. At the beginning of 1923, social insurance law decoupled their status from their employment relationship as well as from aesthetic considerations, so that in the end all musicians were considered white-collar employees without distinction. It is true that it took a while for the subtle semantic shift in the relevant law from ‘orchestral musicians’ to ‘musicians’ to penetrate the legal and administrative systems. But there was no doubt about its legal validity: the activity of musicians was an ‘intellectual pursuit that goes beyond the mechanical’, to quote renowned labour lawyer Hermann Dersch in an expert report for the Musicians’ Union.⁶⁸

With their unqualified recognition as white-collar employees, musicians were also granted access to the newly created unemployment insurance in autumn 1927 and were finally allowed to sign up for accident insurance a year later, partly thanks to the dogged insistence of the SPD. Not everyone was happy, though, about the integration of the entire professional group into the social security systems. While the union leadership celebrated this as a step forward and hoped that the establishment of white-collar status would lead to

67 ‘Unsere Tarifbewegung’, *DMZ* no. 18, 5 May 1928, 385 f.; ‘Reichsarbeitsgeberministerium’, *ibid.* no. 40, 3 October 1925, 989 f. In other sectors, however, trade unions were able to achieve certain successes at the time of the bourgeois bloc cabinets (*Bürgerblockkabinette*) of 1924–28, which points to the limits of the Weimar cultural state. See Ruck, M., ‘Einführung’, in Ruck, M. (ed.), *Gegner – Instrument – Partner. Gewerkschaftliche Staatsverständnisse vom Industrialismus bis zum Informationszeitalter*, Baden-Baden 2017, 9–18, here 13; Brunner, ‘Autonomie’.

68 Dersch, H., *Angestellten- oder Arbeiterkammer? Rechtsgutachten*, Berlin 1929, here 5. See ‘Die Angestelltenversicherung und die Musiker’, *DMZ* no. 7, 14 February 1925, 155 f. This expansion of status mainly affected the fast-moving cinema and ensemble music business, in which employers often treated musicians as blue-collar workers in order to spare themselves the compulsory social security contribution. In addition, around 1930, the view took hold within jurisprudence that these musicians were also to be treated as white-collar employees under civil law, the main effect of which was that the statutory notice period was extended from 14 days to 6 weeks. See Heinz Potthoff, ‘Musiker in Lichtspieltheatern sind Angestellte’, *DMZ* no. 50, 13 December 1930, 959 f.; ‘Musiker in einem Konzert-Café als höhere Angestellte nach § 133a der Gewerbeordnung’, *DMZ* no. 25, 18 June 1932, 298.

a further increase in prestige, younger musicians in particular often perceived the compulsory contributions as an additional and needless burden.⁶⁹

In addition to these social policy achievements, the music profession ultimately benefited from the fact that musical performances of all kinds were in high demand. This was reflected in the occupational census of June 1925: overall, the number of musicians rose from an estimated 70,000 before the war to 88,400, with more than 76 percent of them stating that they worked as full-time musicians. Viewed proportionally, only after 1945 were there so few part-time musical workers, and the evidence we have considered so far suggests that their proportion was also higher before 1914.⁷⁰ In addition, the Reich Labour Ministry announced in November 1927 that there were 1.3 applicants for every job in the music profession, whereas the ratio on the labour market as a whole was 3.3 to one. Admittedly, the Musicians' Union worked with completely different figures, referred to 40,000 and more part-time 'dilettantes' and observed a far less favourable relationship between supply and demand in many cities, led by Berlin with 7.8 musicians for every job offer.⁷¹ Yet it must be borne in mind that painting a gloomy picture was one of the organization's core tasks. In reality, the situation on the job market was fairly good, and this was due in substantial part to the experimentalism at large in musical life, which was particularly evident in the new media and offered musicians new fields of activity.

The Ephemeral Job Description of 'Silent Film Musician'

None of the new media were originally made for music – and yet they were nothing without it. In the case of film, the visual was initially very much to the fore. When he invented the phonograph, what Thomas Alva Edison had in mind was a substitute for the stenographer, talking books for the blind and

69 See 'Einbeziehung der Musiker in die Unfallversicherung', *DMZ* no. 51, 22 December 1928, 126. On the mixed response, see 'Die Musiker und die Sozialversicherung', *DMZ* no. 43, 23 October 1926, 1001 f.

70 See tables A, B, C and E in the appendix.

71 See 'Krisenfürsorge', *DMZ* no. 27, 7 July 1928, 582; Arthur Scheffler, 'Der freistehende Musiker', *ibid.* no. 40, 6 October 1928, 886. Official unemployment statistics were not established until 1928. Before then, the only sources were those mentioned here: the employment offices and the union. See Petzina, D., 'Arbeitslosigkeit in der Weimarer Republik', in W. Abelshäuser (ed.), *Die Weimarer Republik als Wohlfahrtsstaat. Zum Verhältnis von Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik in der Industriegesellschaft*, Stuttgart 1989, 239–259, here 239 f.

the teaching of rhetoric – before its musical applications occurred to him. And radio technology, too, was mostly intended to facilitate the simplified wireless transmission of messages rather than broadcast music.⁷² Nevertheless, as they became more widely used, all three media came to provide musicians with new employment opportunities – as cinema musicians accompanying silent films, musicians working at radio stations and studio musicians creating gramophone records.

Cinema had gained a foothold in Germany after 1900 and, with around 2,500 enduring establishments at the outbreak of the First World War, had developed into a considerable factor in the cultural life of the German Empire. Large cinema complexes appeared in the course of the 1920s, and there was a considerable further increase in the number of cinemas: by 1930, they had doubled to around 5,000, accommodating a total potential audience of 1.9 million. Cinema culture clearly represented an urban phenomenon: a quarter of all establishments and almost a third of all seats were to be found in the 45 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants in the same reference year. The undisputed top spot was occupied by Berlin, which was home to almost a tenth of all cinemas and where the film industry generated more than 20 per cent of its turnover. In places with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, on the other hand, a cinema was rarely to be found – but almost half the population lived in them in the Weimar Republic.⁷³

The new cinema complexes – by 1930 there were 179 of them, which could accommodate more than 1,000 people – and their owners were the main reason why cinema developed into one of the most important fields of work for musicians in the course of the 1920s. The musical line-up responsible for providing the backdrop to silent films corresponded with a cinema's size. In Germany, the spectrum ranged from individual pianists and organists through smaller ensembles to symphony orchestras with up to 60 or more members. In total, around 12,000 musicians were active in the cinema business during the heyday of silent films in the last third of the decade, that is, twice as many as were permanently employed in concert and theatre orchestras at the time.⁷⁴

72 See Chanan, *History*, 1–3.

73 See *Der Tonfilm. Eine Gefahr für den Musikerberuf und die Musikkultur*, edited by Deutscher Musiker-Verband, Berlin 1930, 1 f.; c.f. Führer, K. C., 'Auf dem Weg zur "Massenkultur"? Kino und Rundfunk in der Weimarer Republik', *HZ* vol. 262, 1996, 739–781, here 741–745.

74 See *ibid.*; Dettke, K. H., *Kinoorgeln und Kinomusik in Deutschland*, Stuttgart 1995, 36–38. However, the figure of 12,000 cinema musicians given by the Musicians' Union around 1930 seems rather high. The occupational census of June 1925 indicated only slightly more

2,000 of them worked in Berlin, and this was also where the most famous and largest cinema ensemble in the republic was to be found, namely the orchestra of the UFA-Palast am Zoo. Hungarian conductor Ernő Rapée, who was specially hired from the United States, had it increased in size from 35 to 72 musicians in 1925 and divided it into two formations, a symphony orchestra and a jazz band.⁷⁵

Cinema musicians often had a demanding task, partly because less well-known cinemas were keen to up their cultural game. One of them was the Schauburg in Munich, which opened its doors in October 1926 with a solemn ceremony. With a seating capacity of almost 1,000, cinema entrepreneur Otto Pietzsch employed an in-house orchestra of around twenty men, which was standard; Theo Freitag, an experienced bandmaster, was put in charge of it. Actor Franz Basil, a well-known Munich local hero and later teacher of Heinz Rühmann, gave the speech of welcome. The orchestra provided the music for the event with excerpts from Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* and Weber's Overture to *Euryanthe* before a showing of the feature film *In Treue stark*.⁷⁶ This scenario reveals how music conveyed a high-cultural aura, with which this cinema consciously sought to adorn itself in order to reel in a middle-class audience. Aesthetically sophisticated, high-quality music, the specific location of a cinema in a given town or city, the entrance fee and programme planning – all were means of highlighting social distinctions in the urban cinematic landscape.⁷⁷

Given these high-cultural ambitions, in practice many cinema musicians had to be just as technically skilled on their instruments as their experienced

than 4,000 salaried cinema musicians. See *Völk-, Berufs- und Betriebszählung vom 16. Juni 1925. Die berufliche und soziale Gliederung der Bevölkerung des Deutschen Reichs*, part 2: *Die Reichsbevölkerung nach Haupt- und Nebenberuf* (= *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, n. s., vol. 402), edited by Statistisches Reichsamt, Berlin 1927, 419. On developments in the United States, see Pauli, H., *Filmmusik. Stummfilm*, Stuttgart 1981, 130–133; Kraft, *Stage*, 33–58. Just under 6,000 musicians were employed in concert and theatre orchestras in 1927. See *Musikerkalender*, 103–108.

75 See Dettke, *Kinoorgeln*, 37.

76 See 'Einladung zur festlichen Eröffnung des Film-Theaters Schauburg, 26.10.1926', in BSB Ana 649 NL Freitag.

77 Supporting musical programmes were commonplace in the United States in the 1920s and also came into vogue in Germany at larger cinemas. In Munich, the *Phoebus-Palast* joined the Beethoven commemorations in 1927 by framing the screening of a Beethoven film with a performance of the *Triple Concerto* and the 5th Symphony as well as a speech by Heinrich Mann. See Bockstiegel, H., 'Schmidt-Boelcke dirigiert'. *Ein Musikerleben zwischen Kunst und Medienlandschaft*, Wolfratshausen 1994, 30 f. For a general account, see Pauli, *Filmmusik*, 173 f.; Führer, 'Kino', 761 f.

orchestral counterparts. Often, they drew on the same repertoire as the latter, and the line-up too resembled that of the symphony orchestra, at least where size allowed it. In addition, cinema musicians had to be excellent sight readers because there was hardly any time for rehearsals. In light of this kind of learning by doing, it may well have been an advantage, from a musical point of view, for audiences to avoid the premiere and wait for a few days before going to the cinema. Quickness of mind was essential, because the majority of film music consisted of so-called illustrations by the cinema bandmasters. The illustration entailed snippets of music and thus of scores from various serious and popular compositions, which could result in music stands piled high with bundles of sheet music and sometimes led to much chaos in the orchestra.⁷⁸ Violist Kurt Heinemann, who later ended up with the Berlin Philharmonic, did not have the best memories of this special form of musical work, with which he became familiar while employed at the cinema on Nollendorfplatz in Berlin:

Film music was terrible! It was made up of hundreds of individual compositions, always a little piece cut out, glued on, then [one had to] move on. A bit of Beethoven's symphony, then a bit of can-can, a song, hundreds of things; it was all glued together on sheets of music [...] it made me sweat blood; [it is] a staggering task when nobody tells you to continue from this or that point.⁷⁹

Heinemann was not the only member of the Berlin Philharmonic to experience silent film accompaniments in the course of his career. Some colleagues of his generation had played for a cinema for a time before joining a concert orchestra.⁸⁰ Even cello virtuoso Enrico Mainardi worked for six months as a solo cellist in one of the capital's countless cinema ensembles in the early 1920s.⁸¹ The same was true of conductors and composers who later made a name for themselves: Werner Egk conducted afternoon performances at the Phoebus-Palast in Munich for a time, and Jean Kurt Forest, who later enjoyed

78 See Dettke, *Kinoorgeln*, 40–48. On line-up issues, see also Pauli, *Filmmusik*, 130–132. Cinema bandmasters' suggestions for illustrations were published in relevant periodicals. See for example Bernard Homola, 'Musikausstellung zu dem Starfilm "Fräulein Fährnrich"', *Der Führer* no. 3, March 1929, 7–11.

79 'Vater erzählt aus seinem Leben', undated (1963), in ArchBPhil G Heinemann/3, 51.

80 These included, for example, timpanist Gerassimos Avgerinos, who began his musical career as a cinema violinist, and cellist Walter Gerke, who played in the orchestra of the UFA-Palast am Zoo until 1928. See *Variationen*, 12 and 41.

81 See Mainardi, E., *Bekenntnisse eines Künstlers*, Wiesbaden 1977, 9 f.

success as a composer in East Germany, was concertmaster under Paul Dessau in Berlin's Alhambra.⁸² In short, some outstanding musicians came into contact with cinema. This underlines once again its socio-economic and cultural importance during this period – as an institution that brought forth a musical world all its own, which left the categories of serious and popular music behind it.

Like Egk or Mainardi, however, in retrospect many musicians distanced themselves from this supposedly low-brow activity. The silent film musician also came in for criticism during his heyday. When it emerged that the Berlin Academy of Music was placing students with cinemas (and cafés), the custodians of art music were outraged because 'up-and-coming student musicians will go entirely to seed' and would 'certainly not receive much moral stimulation' in such settings.⁸³ This issue aroused such a stir that Rector Georg Schünemann had to publicly clarify that the student union and not the academy had been responsible for the relevant advertisements and that the associated text had now been corrected.⁸⁴

Though these friends of art music chiefly had aesthetics in mind, with regard to the working conditions of some cinema musicians they were often close to the truth. For example, the small Berlin *Königshaus* ('Royal House') cinema failed completely to live up to its name, employing a pianist for 50 marks a week to work more than 45 hours. This equated to just two thirds of the local tariff paired with 20 percent more working hours. It was virtually a matter of course that no overtime was paid and that no days off, leave or provision in the event of illness were granted.⁸⁵

The fate of this pianist was certainly an extreme case. As table 6 shows, the lack of uniformity in the job market for film music was similar to that of orchestras before 1900. The average wage in the mid-1920s was 250 to 300 reichsmarks per month. According to Michael Danzi, those working in top orchestras like the UFA-Palast am Zoo earned a little more, at around 400 reichsmarks. Such salaries hardly allowed their recipients to live it up. At the same time, the cinemas had no reason to fear comparison with municipal

82 See Egk, W., *Die Zeit wartet nicht. Künstlerisches, Zeitgeschichtliches, Privates aus meinem Leben*, Augsburg 1981, 154 f.; Jean-Kurt Forest, 'Lebenslauf, 12.7.1973', *AdK Jean-Kurt-Forest-Archiv* no. 12.

83 'Wohin steuern wir', *Das Orchester* no. 3/4, 20 February 1925, 22 f.; see also *Gegen den preußischen Ministerialerlaß*.

84 'Staatliche akademische Hochschule für Musik in Berlin an Schriftleitung der Zeitschrift *Das Orchester*, 20.4.1925', in *GSA* 70/301.

85 See Fritz Stempel, 'Auch ein Kinovertrag', *DMZ* no. 37, 11 September 1926, 874.

TABLE 6 Employment contract regulations for cinema musicians, 1925

Benefit	Minimum / cities	Variance / cities	Maximum / cities
Days off a month	0/24	1–3/78	4/15
Annual leave	0/55	3–21/70	Not specified
Notice period in days	14/57	–	30/27
Sick pay in days	0/15	2–42/42	not specified

Adapted from *Protokoll über die 3. Hauptberufskonferenz der Gruppen IIA und IIb 'Ensemble', 11./12.3.1925*, edited by Deutscher Musikerverband, Berlin 1925, 6.

orchestras, where the annual salary for simple *Tuttisten* was often less than 3,000 reichsmarks.⁸⁶

Yet the golden age of the silent film triggered far greater euphoria and hopes for the future among musicians than the criticisms of this field of activity and the often modest working conditions would suggest. This was due first to the new medium itself. Some saw the cinema as the multifunctional theatre of the future that would bring together every possible theatrical genre, whether operetta, ballet or pantomime. In contrast to the pre-war era, then, the cinema could 'to a certain degree, gradually attain the status of artistic entertainment', to quote a hopeful assessment in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung*.⁸⁷ Jean Kurt Forest, who was firmly convinced of film's appeal at the time, thought along similar lines: 'In fifty years there will be no more opera at all, there will only be cinema.'⁸⁸ Given this spirit of optimism, it is not surprising that composers

86 See Dettke, *Kinoorgeln*, 64; Danzi, M., *American Musician in Germany 1924–1939. Memoirs of the Jazz, Entertainment, and Movie World of Berlin during the Weimar Republic and the Nazi Era – and in the United States as Told to R. E. Lotz*, Schmitt 1986, 20. The starting salary in Aachen, Baden-Baden and at the Munich Philharmonic was still 2,800 reichsmarks at the end of the 1920s. See *Statistik, 1929*, 8, 17 and 246. Opinions differ about salaries in the cinema orchestras. See Dettke, *Kinoorgeln*, 63–65; Bockstiegel, *Schmidt-Boelcke*, 38; Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, 180.

87 Hans Teßmer, 'Kinomusik', *DMZ* no. 45, 9 November 1918, 334.

88 'Interview mit JKF', undated (1974), *AdK Jean-Kurt-Forest-Archiv* no. 461, here 123. Music critic Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt also predicted a great future for film music. See Hermand und Trommler, *Kultur*, 328.

such as Hanns Eisler and Paul Hindemith also began to grapple with film music.⁸⁹

Second, hopes for the future were expressed in efforts by cinema bandmasters to professionalize their work. The most urgent problem in this fast-moving business was of an aesthetic nature: getting appealing music, appropriate to specific scenes, ready for a given film in the shortest possible time. As early as 1919, the Italian Giuseppe Becce, a film music pioneer, published the first volume of his *Kinothek*; it contained specially written compositions and components of other works under the label of 'tragic drama'. But it was the *Allgemeines Handbuch der Filmmusik*, published eight years later by Becce and Hans Erdmann, that developed into the standard work, listing more than 3,000 excerpts from works by over 200 composers, arranged in a tiered system of expressive elements. To convey the element 'night, horror', for example, the collection contained nine different musical sequences. These were broken down more precisely into 'fearful night', 'eerily threatening' and 'distraught'. When selecting a work, the premise was that the film music should seem familiar without being known.⁹⁰

Another problem was caused by a lack of specialist training. In view of incessant complaints about poor-quality film music, there were calls for the establishment of separate cinema orchestra and film music schools. While the former failed to take off anywhere because the difference from musicians' other places of work was too insubstantial, a number of training opportunities for conductors did in fact emerge in Berlin and Munich in quick succession. At the Berlin Academy of Music, cinema bandmaster Fritz Wenneis set up a film music class in 1928; Hindemith taught 'theory and practice of film music' there, among other things. In the same year, a two-year training course was launched at the Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatoire (*Klindworth-Scharwenka-Konservatorium*), which managed to attract renowned teachers in the shape of Becce and Erdmann. The Stern Conservatoire soon followed suit with a six-month course in which all facets of film

89 See London, K., *Film Music*, London 1936, 228–231; Schaal-Gotthardt, S., "Immer neues ans Licht bringen". Paul Hindemith und die (neuen) Medien', in M. Saxer (ed.), *Spiel (mit) der Maschine: Musikalische Medienpraxis der Frühzeit von Phonographie, Selbstspielklavier, Film und Radio*, Bielefeld 2016, 297–316; Eisler's first film score was for the experimental film *Opus 3* by Walter Ruttmann, which was shown in Baden-Baden in 1927.

90 See Erdmann, H. and G. Becce, *Allgemeines Handbuch der Film-Musik*, Berlin 1927; Pauli, *Filmmusik*, 133–148. The handbook was thus devoid of excerpts from Wagner operas, a Beethoven symphony or a Mozart piano concerto. Instead, the list of hits was headed by opera composers from abroad: Jules Massenet, with over 300 excerpts, followed by Giuseppe Verdi (200) and Daniel François Esprit Auber (100).

music were examined.⁹¹ It seemed as if a new professional profile with specific requirements had become established in the shape of the cinema bandmaster.

But this educational episode was of short duration. Due to a chronic shortage of students, all such courses had to be discontinued in the summer of 1930. The lack of demand was due in part to the stock market crash in October 1929 and the subsequent global economic crisis. But the main factor was the introduction of the sound film in Germany the same year. The short-lived attempts to professionalize the musical accompaniment to silent film thus reflect a belief that was as persistent as it was erroneous, namely that this art form would endure alongside talkies. This view was articulated in the musical public sphere again and again around 1930,⁹² a clear case of counting chickens before they had hatched. The capital-intensive conversion to the sound film focused the cinema industry on a few large companies that showed no interest at all in a two-tier cinema business or the expensive upkeep of cinema musicians and bandmasters. The fact that a small portion of the funds that had been freed up was used to record music for the sound film was little consolation, because only very few cinema musicians found a job in this field. The great expectations of the new medium cultivated by musicians were followed by deep disappointment, and not only in Germany, as a caricature illustrates (figure 8). In 1930, 4,000 of the approximately 12,000 cinema musicians had already been dismissed within the borders of the Reich. A few years later – along with the republic – silent film cinema practically disappeared.⁹³

A Playground for Conductors and Composers: Radio

In contrast to cinema, radio was a true novelty in the Weimar Republic. The first broadcast was made in Berlin in October 1923 in Berlin. Unlike in the

91 See Dettke, *Kinoorgeln*, 62 f.; see also the autobiographical account in London, *Film*, 249–254; London was responsible for the course at the Stern Conservatoire.

92 See for example 'Tonfilm – Musikerkrise', *DMZ* no. 18, 4 May 1929, 382 f.; 'Eine sensationelle Erklärung in Sachen Tonfilm', *Der Führer* no. 2, Feb. 1930, 1; Schütz, H., 'Ende des Lichtspielhausensembles?', in G. M. von Coellen and A. von Gizycki-Arkadjew (eds.), *Das goldene Buch des Kapellmeisters. Ein fachpraktischer Führer durch das Gesamtgebiet der Unterhaltungsmusik*, Düsseldorf 1931, 46 f.; but c.f. Theo Freitag, 'Ein aussterbender Beruf', *Der Führer* no. 4, April 1930, 3 f.

93 See Kreimeier, K., *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918–1945*. Translated by Rita Kimber and Robert Kimber. Berkeley 1999, 178–185; Dettke, *Kinoorgeln*, 72–79; figures on dismissals in *Der Tonfilm*, 3. As early as 1931, 97 percent of the cinemas open daily had switched to sound film, and four years later there were no more silent cinemas at all.



FIGURE 8 Caricature of the sound film, 1930 (adapted from *Der Tonfilm*, 5)

United States, for example, where radio was operated privately from the very beginning, broadcasting in Germany was placed in the hands of the government and financed through fees. By the end of the republic, a little more than four million devices had been registered, and probably more than ten million people were listening to the radio. Similar to cinema, radio was initially an urban phenomenon, because the range of the broadcasting stations was fairly limited and tube radios, which could receive broadcasts even over great distances, were complicated to use and quite expensive in the early years.⁹⁴

The introduction of radio broadcasting generated new jobs and fields of activity for musicians. The Leipzig Symphony Orchestra, which was hired by the *Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk AG* (MIRAG) in October 1924 and was quickly employed almost to full capacity, is considered the oldest German radio orchestra and it was also the first of its kind in Europe. By 1929, nine of the ten broadcasting companies had established their own orchestras and a total of almost 450 musicians found employment in these ensembles. In the

94 See Führer, 'Kino', 766–771.

early stages of radio, orchestral musicians thus made up the largest proportion of permanent employees, at over 60 percent. Around 8,000 musicians also worked for the stations on a freelance basis. Many of the latter were taken on several times a year, so that the phenomenon of so-called permanent freelancers shaped the radio broadcasters' work from the beginning.⁹⁵

The high number of freelancers, however, belies the true relationship between self-produced content and that generated by short-term hires: in Leipzig, over 750 freelance musicians were deployed over the course of 1927, but their performances made up less than 7 percent of the MIRAG's entire musical programme.⁹⁶ Broadcaster Hans von Bredow's self-assured statement that radio had developed into the largest employer in the cultural sector over the course of the 1920s thus seems exaggerated when it comes to musicians. In any case, the permanent positions at some radio orchestras were fairly well paid. Salaries at the *Nordischer Rundfunk* in Hamburg were between 480 and 530 reichsmarks for *Tuttisten*; married men received a so-called wife's allowance of 12 reichsmarks, parents a child allowance of 20 reichsmarks. It would appear that there was no husband's allowance for women, suggesting that little had changed in prevailing expectations about the gender of orchestral musicians.⁹⁷

The fact that broadcasters began to set up their own ensembles and orchestras in the first place was due, first, to technical factors. The maximum recording time for one side of a record was just three and a half minutes, turning the transmission of entire symphonies into a cumbersome turntable acrobatics. The new medium, meanwhile, could broadcast live indefinitely. In addition, programme policy was key. Not all music was already available on record, and in the wake of the revolution in recording technology embodied by electric microphones (a revolution that had spread from the United States to Europe from 1925 onwards), acoustic records quickly became obsolete. In fact, the share of record-based programmes on German radio took up an average of barely more than 10 percent of broadcasting hours. Second, radio orchestras served as a means of advertising and as a link between broadcasters and radio

95 See Müller, J., 'Gute Musik für Alle. Das Sinfonieorchester des Mitteldeutschen Rundfunks', in *Die Orchester der ARD heute. Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 10: *Die ARD-Orchester in Leverkusen Spielzeit 93/94*, edited by Kulturabteilung Bayer, Leverkusen 1994, 3; Führer, K. C., *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Rundfunks in der Weimarer Republik*, Potsdam 1997, 167–177.

96 Figures quoted in Szendrei, A., *Rundfunk und Musikpflege*, Leipzig 1931, 194.

97 See 'Die Besoldung der Rundfunk-Orchester', *DMZ* no. 13, 30 March 1929, 270. This placed Hamburg in the upper middle range, while Munich was at the lower end at a meagre 254 reichsmarks; on Bredow, see Führer, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 169.

listeners – or a curious audience that was to be turned into such listeners. At MIRAG in Leipzig, no less than twenty free concerts were held in the winter of 1925–26 in order to generate a regular audience.⁹⁸

Utopian ideas, which were generally inherent in early radio discourse, were also evident among leading radio musicians from the very beginning.⁹⁹ The new medium triggered a genuine euphoria about the future among radio conductors such as Alfred Szendrei and Hermann Scherchen, who established orchestras in Leipzig and Königsberg. Each in his own way, they raved about the experimental atmosphere that typified all musical activity on the radio. Looking back on his first studio rehearsal, Scherchen remembered serious imbalances, such as

the violas and second violins who sit there getting terribly upset and becoming red in the face. Their veins protrude, but one hears not a sound of what they are doing in the *forte tutti*. Alternatively, in the *forte tutti* one can still hear the tuba [...] tumbling around like a drunk, and always very keenly the trumpet, the high flutes, the high first violins, but nothing else.

This is where he first realized, Scherchen went on, what he was looking for with his art: ‘the acoustic presence of music.’¹⁰⁰ Szendrei in Leipzig was so fascinated by these complex sound shifts that he wrote a dissertation (probably the first) on the cultivation of music in radio in his spare time. The Hungarian was absolutely convinced of the autonomy of this musical practice and believed that it made special demands of the radio conductor in particular: he had to ‘master an interpretation for radio that differed from that in the concert hall’, and make music, as it were, with a ‘double ear’, namely ‘one for the real, current sound pattern in the studio and another, metaphysically based

98 For a general account, see Haffner, H., *His Master's Voice. Die Geschichte der Schallplatte*, Berlin 2011; on the revolution, see Schmidt Hornig, S., *Chasing Sound: Technology, Culture and the Art of Studio Recording from Edison to the LP*, Baltimore, MD 2013, 32–41; on the share of broadcasting hours, see Führer, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 173; on Leipzig, see *Im türkisblauen Garten. Der Weg des Kapellmeisters A. S. von Leipzig in die Emigration, erzählt von ihm selbst*, edited by M. Pommer, Leipzig 2014, 92 f. As this kind of radio propaganda incurred the displeasure of other musicians, tickets were soon being sold again.

99 On this discourse, see Knoch, ‘Aura’.

100 Scherchen, H., *Aus meinem Leben. Rußland in jenen Jahren. Erinnerungen*, edited by E. Klemm, Leipzig 1984, 47 f. See also the unpublished study by Kreikle, M., ‘Der Dirigent Hermann Scherchen als Pionier der Musik im Rundfunk 1924–1932’, Dissertation Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität zu Frankfurt am Main 1994, and Ziemer, *Moderne*, 267 f.

remote ear for the listener's acoustic ideal'. This, he contended, required excellent musicians capable of combining the 'greatest possible tonal beauty' with particular intensity of expression. In addition, Szendrei asserted, as long as his double ear was not sufficiently trained, the radio conductor should secure the support of a so-called listening bandmaster (*Abhörkapellmeister*). This was a term for a kind of sound engineer who was present at rehearsals, positioned microphones and adjusted the transmission in a way that remained faithful to the score and interpretation. 'The true radio conductor', Szendrei concluded, 'is his own listener'. Similar to cinema bandmasters, radio conductors too sought to use the peculiarities of the new medium to sharpen their professional profile.¹⁰¹

Composers too engaged extensively with the possibilities of radio. Visionaries such as Kurt Weill imagined nothing less than a new 'radio art':

A special technique of singing and playing for radio purposes will develop; sooner or later, one will begin to invent special instrumentation and new orchestral combinations tailored to the acoustic requirements of the studio, and it is impossible to predict what new types of instruments and ensembles may yet arise on this foundation.¹⁰²

The aim of such radio art, he averred, was not the most faithful possible reproduction of the original sound, but 'an absolute, soulful work of art floating above the earth [...]: to provide beauty and make people good through beauty and indifferent to the pettiness of life'.¹⁰³

Composition-writing for radio did in fact turn into a brisk business, and apart from Weill himself, the tone was set by the same figures who were also open-minded about film, in the shape of Hindemith, Dessau and Eisler. Of course, the radio broadcasters themselves were also busy experimenting with the new possibilities. In addition, they commissioned compositions, and the music festival in Baden-Baden explicitly dedicated part of its programme in 1929 to so-called original music for radio.¹⁰⁴

101 See Szendrei, A., *Dirigierkunde*, Leipzig 1932, 149–163, quotations 150 f., 154 and 162; see also *Im türkisenblauen Garten*, 89 f.

102 Weill, K., 'Der Rundfunk und die Umschichtung des Musiklebens, 13.6.1926', in Weill, K., *Ausgewählte Schriften*, edited by D. Drew, Frankfurt am Main 1975, 111–114, here 112.

103 Weill, K., 'Absolute Radiokunst, 28.6.1925', in Weill, K., *Ausgewählte Schriften*, edited by D. Drew, Frankfurt am Main 1975, 127–131, here 130.

104 See Weill, K., 'Der Rundfunk und die neue Musik, 25.1.1929', in Weill, K., *Ausgewählte Schriften*, edited by D. Drew, Frankfurt am Main 1975, 135–138.

Compositional work for radio found expression in artistically ambitious works but especially in the field of popular music, the goal being to fuse serious and popular music in order to reach the widest possible audience. As a tried and tested way of doing this, the so-called 'radio suite' (*Funksuite*) came increasingly into vogue as the exemplar of what was soon called 'upscale popular music'.¹⁰⁵ In comparison to silent film, then, far more works were created and ultimately produced that were intended to do justice to the new medium's 'unique art', yet bespoke radio compositions remained an ephemeral phenomenon. It was the radio play that developed into a truly new artistic genre; in the field of music, meanwhile, the radio eventually came to be regarded (once again) primarily as a technical medium of transmission due to rapidly improving reception quality.¹⁰⁶

For a time, however, there were even musicians who were convinced that their performing colleagues, too, ought to specialize in broadcasting. In the opinion of Hugo Becker, who taught the violoncello class at the Berlin Academy of Music, the Radio Research Institute (*Rundfunkversuchsstelle*) established there in 1928 – which soon developed into the Weimar Republic's premier institution embodying the spirit of experimentation in radio technology – should be integrated into regular lessons. Becker took the view that every professor must instruct his students in playing in front of a microphone and referred to 'nothing less than the acquisition of a special technique for radio performances'.¹⁰⁷ And at the Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatoire in Berlin as well the idea was aired (probably shortly before the fall of the republic) of founding a separate radio class; among others, Szendrei was envisaged as teaching it.¹⁰⁸

Both ideas fizzled out, however, and we have no evidence to suggest that musicians employed in radio felt that their work was fundamentally different

105 See Stapper, M., "Radio ist heute Mode". Leichte Musik im Rundfunk der Weimarer Republik, in U. Scharlau and P. Witting-Nöthen (eds.), *Wenn die Jazzband spielt ...? Von Schlager, Swing und Operette. Zur Geschichte der Leichten Musik im deutschen Rundfunk*, Berlin 2006, 19–32, here 29 f.; Ziemer, *Moderne*, 267–269.

106 See Ulm, R., 'Rundfunkentwicklung am Beispiel des Bayerischen Rundfunks', in A. Jacobsen and F. Reininghaus (eds.), *Musik und Kulturbetrieb. Medien, Märkte, Institutionen*, Laaber 2006, 46–74, here 55–58. On the beginnings of the radio play, see Daniels, D., 'Abstrakter Film und Radiohörspiel der 1920er als komplementäre Formen einer "Eigenkunst" der Medien', in M. Saxer (ed.), *Spiel (mit) der Maschine. Musikalische Medienpraxis der Frühzeit von Phonographie, Selbstspielklavier, Film und Radio*, Bielefeld 2016, 51–74. The waning fascination is palpable at the personal level in the case of Hindemith. See Schaal-Gotthardt, 'Paul Hindemith', 314–316.

107 Quoted in Schenk, *Hochschule*, 261 f.; on the Radio Research Institute, see *ibid.*, 257–265.

108 See *Im türkisblauen Garten*, 152.

to that done in other settings, such as the cinema, coffee house or concert hall. In view of the initially mediocre quality of transmissions, they were also fairly relaxed about the competitive potential of the new medium. The notion of radio as the 'musician's terror', which was sometimes aired, was firmly rejected; its introduction was instead praised as a blessing because broadcasters were creating new jobs. Some were cautiously optimistic, believing that radio would help familiarize people with music, prompting them to go to concerts or ballrooms more often. The fact that the musical public sphere and the courtroom were soon discussing whether music broadcasts engendered special claims for remuneration by musicians dovetails with the warm welcome for radio within the profession: it gave rise to an additional market that, unlike silent film, was to endure.¹⁰⁹

Compared to cinema and radio, the German record industry enabled just a few musicians to earn a living. The job description of studio musician did not yet exist in the 1920s. Certainly, numerous recording studios serving the various record companies were concentrated (once again) in Berlin, and the entire industry racked up tremendous growth.¹¹⁰ But it seems that this primarily benefited outstanding performers and ensembles, who had already earned their spurs in the primary market of live music and for whom recording in the studio offered an additional source of income. US-American banjo player Michael Danzi is the best example of this, and his almost minutes-like account of everyday working life between stage and studio is instructive in this respect.¹¹¹ For women, however, this nexus applied only to a limited extent. Violinist Edith Lorand, one of the very few female recording stars, who amassed a fortune with her records, was rarely heard live.¹¹²

109 See A. H. Barko, 'Radiofunk! – Musikerschreck?', *DMZ* no. 5, 2 February 1924, 38; Hans Arendt, 'Maschinenmusik und Radio', *ibid.* no. 18, 2 May 1924, 428 f.; 'Rundfunk. Eine wirtschaftliche Frage für die Musiker', *ibid.* no. 23, 6 June 1925, 570 f. On remuneration, see 'Rundfunk und Orchester', *ibid.* no. 11, 13 March 1926, 251. See also chapter 11.

110 Between 1925 and 1928, sales figures in Germany rose from 18 to 30 million records a year. As a result of the global economic crisis, they had fallen back to five million by 1935. See Haffner, *Master's Voice*, 79–81.

111 See Danzi, *American Musician*. The same conclusion with respect to the United States is reached by Kraft, *Stage*, 87. Foreign musicians were paid particularly high fees; see Kater, *Spiel*, 26. Another reason for the relatively small labour market of recording studios was that after 1927 German record companies in the jazz sector increasingly acquired foreign licences for reasons of cost and quality instead of recording themselves. See Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, 316 f.

112 See Stahrenberg, C., 'Edith Lorand', in Stahrenberg, C. and S. Rode-Breymann (eds.), '*... mein Wunsch ist, Spuren zu hinterlassen ...!* Rezeptions- und Berufsgeschichte von Geigerinnen', Großburgwedel 2011, 118–135.

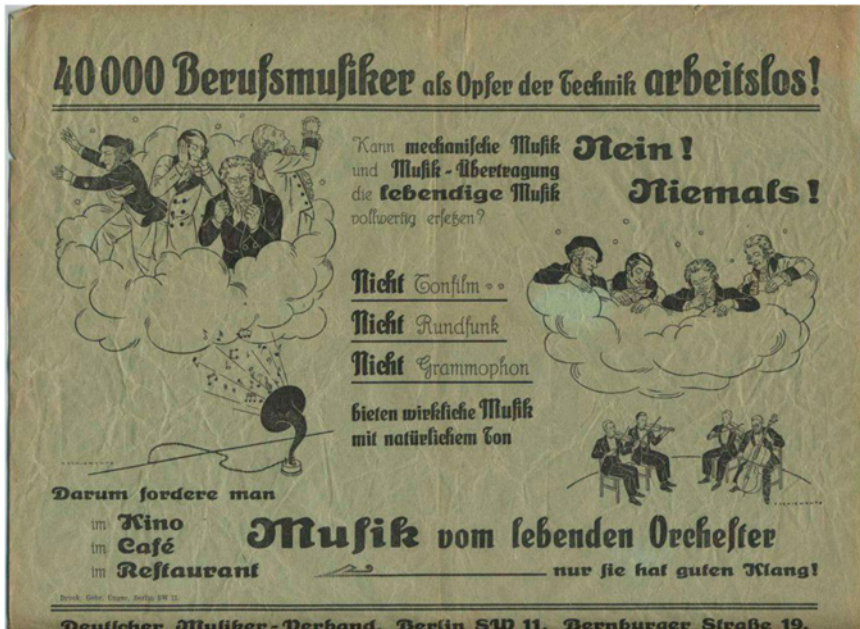


FIGURE 9 Pamphlet produced by the German Musicians' Union, undated (BArch RY 22/291)

For ordinary musicians, the new record market apparently offered hardly any additional sources of income during this period; at least, they did not perceive it as doing so. Instead, they exhibited a certain scepticism and, as practitioners, intuitively sensed what Walter Benjamin described in his famous essay on 'The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility' as the atrophy of the musical 'aura'.¹¹³ As an article in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* put it, 'gramophone music overwhelmingly leads ear, feeling and taste astray. The monochromaticity of gramophone acoustics erases completely the original sound of a song or instrumental performance'.¹¹⁴ Like the other new media, however, the record was only identified as a real danger to the profession of musician towards the end of the decade, as a pamphlet published by the Musicians' Union illustrates (figure 9). After the stock market crash in October 1929, the hopes placed in film, radio and records flipped over into outright technophobia.

113 Benjamin, *Work of Art*, 217 f.

114 Hans Arendt, 'Maschinenmusik und Radio', *DMZ* no. 18, 2 May 1925, 428 f.

Jazz, or the Emergence of Popular Music as an Independent Genre

In addition to new opportunities to work in radio and film, the transition to the Weimar Republic also brought innovations in the musical field, some of which had long-term effects on the music profession. In the hotly contested market of popular entertainment, the aim was to tap into the musical trends of the time in an attempt to stay in business. Simple band musician Heinrich Bock talks matter-of-factly about this in his memoirs. When Bock moved to Hamburg in the autumn of 1925 to launch himself into the day-to-day music business, what he found was an overcrowded music market in which men and women, old and young musicians, were desperately waiting for assignments. For months, Bock explained, he failed to sign a single contract. A colleague then pointed out to him that as a clarinetist he could easily play the saxophone. The new instrument immediately gave him opportunities to perform and turned out to be his ticket to a fairly successful career in the Hamburg entertainment business.¹¹⁵

Though Bock did not identify explicitly what kind of music he played with his saxophone, this instrument was a symbol of jazz, which found its way to Germany after the First World War. Its reception history has been described several times, so it is sufficient here to briefly summarize the key stages.¹¹⁶ In the early phase between 1919 and 1924, jazz was primarily regarded as dance music. Jazz thus meant either a collective term for various fashionable dances including one-step, foxtrot, shimmy and Charleston, or it was itself considered a specific kind of dance. In the early 1920s, however, in view of the limited global market, it was quite difficult to get hold of relevant sheet music or records. Even many musicians remained relatively unclear about what constituted jazz music and how one dance differed from another. Jazz thus functioned chiefly as an alluring label within the entertainment industry rather than being associated with a specific musical genre.¹¹⁷

The economic stabilization from 1924 onwards then ushered in a major boom: sheet music, records and a number of jazz bands from abroad now

115 See Bock, 'Erinnerungen', in DTAE Reg.nr. 1656.2, 36–41, quotation on 36. The mouthpiece and fingering of the clarinet and saxophone are in fact closely related.

116 See the recent account by Wipplinger, J. O., *The Jazz Republic: Music, Race, and American Culture in Weimar Germany*, Ann Arbor, MI 2017; also Partsch, *Töne*; Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*.

117 See Kater, *Spiel*, 21–63; Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, 255–311; Kater's account, however, labours under the misapprehension – widespread in jazz research – that there is such a thing as 'authentic' jazz, which sometimes leads to false, ethnocentric lines of argument.

reached Germany. As a result, symphonic jazz in the style of Paul Whiteman found many imitators. The 'king of jazz' himself visited Germany in 1926, where he racked up major concert successes and thus made a significant contribution to the public valorization of jazz music. It was the global economic crisis and the rise of the Nazis that punctured the popularity of jazz, though it had been subject to harsh musical and cultural criticism since the beginning of the republic and it did not disappear completely.¹¹⁸

For musicians, the reception and appropriation of jazz became important in a range of ways. First, as Bock's experience in Hamburg has already shown, new instruments came into vogue. In addition to saxophone and drum set, the latter being considered the most important instrument of jazz music in the early days and sometimes even being referred to simply as 'jazz', these included the banjo. Probably no one contributed more to its popularization than the aforementioned Michael Danzi; in Germany, he described himself as the 'king of banjo'. The US-American arrived in Berlin in 1924 and played almost everywhere. Whether film, radio, recording studio or live performances – Danzi was constantly engaged and worked with all the well-known formations of the time, including those of Marek Weber, Dajos Béla, Mitja Nikisch, Marlene Dietrich and Kurt Weill. Even Franz Lehár is said to have been so taken with Danzi's rhythmic banjo playing that he hired him for a recording of his *The Merry Widow* (*Die lustige Witwe*); Danzi's style seemed ideally suited to the pizzicati needed in the polkas in particular.¹¹⁹

The use of the banjo in operettas was, however, an exception. In fact – and this is the second key point – the arrival of jazz and the spread of the new musical instruments associated with it engendered a stricter separation of previously overlapping musical worlds. Previously, the same instruments had mostly been used for different genres, but this unity applied only to a limited extent in the case of jazz, depending on the line-up, and was ever less the case in every other musical genre that subsequently emerged and became popular. In the long term, this decoupling had structural consequences for the music profession. More often than before, neophytes and other newcomers to the profession plumped for one particular type of music from the outset. This

118 See *ibid.* On Whiteman, see also Wipplinger, *Jazz*, 88–98; on the critique of jazz, see the detailed study by John, *Musikbolschewismus*.

119 See Danzi, *American Musician*, 25 f. On the significance of the instruments, see also Bönner, A., *Zwischen Imitation und Eigenständigkeit. Jazz in der Weimarer Republik*, Berlin 2009, 74 f. On the history of jazz's emergence in the United States, see Jost, E., *Sozialgeschichte des Jazz*, Frankfurt am Main 2003.

process of aesthetic specialization continued into the second half of the twentieth century: new genres such as jazz by no means completely displaced older forms of dance and popular music. In addition, plenty of wind instruments, and more rarely the violin, were used in jazz, and these were also common in salon or symphony orchestras. But the new instruments, which also included the accordion and, from the late 1920s onwards, the guitar, were bound to appear doubly attractive to the younger generation of musicians because they were not only considered modern but were also easier to learn.¹²⁰

Third, this was one of the main reasons why the rise of jazz music in Germany fostered a dynamic that favoured amateurs and was widely deplored, especially in the early phase of jazz.¹²¹ Put differently, the demands on jazz musicians were of a novel kind: traditional skills such as reading music and musical obedience became less important, whereas the performance itself and with it improvisation and intuitive interaction came to the fore.¹²² There were early attempts in Germany to integrate jazz into the education system and thus bring it closer to the world of art music, for example through the establishment of a jazz class at the Hoch Conservatoire in Frankfurt and various jazz textbooks for specific instruments. However, these efforts met with very little response in the Weimar Republic and only fell on fertile soil later in the young West Germany. During the 1920s, alongside formal training, autodidactic practices rose increasingly to prominence, and in addition to playing from sheet music, the imitation of records and radio music as well as simply trying things out on the instrument oneself grew in importance.¹²³

This dynamic, too, started only with jazz, by no means followed a linear trajectory and reached far beyond this genre, until it perhaps reached its apogee in the *bon mot* attributed to Elvis Presley: 'I don't know anything about music. In my line you don't have to'.¹²⁴ It is true that the entertainment industry of the 1920s was still home to many stars who had enjoyed a classical education, such

120 See Poldi Schmidt, 'Das Akkordeon und die Philosophen', *DMZ* no. 35, 28 August 1926, 828; Berghoff, *Kleinstadt*, 302 f. Danzi suggests that some banjo players around 1930 switched to guitar. See Danzi, *American Musician*, 35.

121 See Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, 300 f.

122 See Wicke, 'Dienstleistung', here 228 f.

123 See Cahn, *Konservatorium*, 261–264. The jazz class itself drew strong protests. See for example Robert Hernried, 'Niggermusik und Frankfurter Konservatorium', *Das Orchester* no. 23, 1 December 1927, 320. On jazz textbooks, see Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, 308; on new forms of learning and practising, see also Kater, *Spiel*, 32.

124 Quoted in *The Yale Book of Quotations*, edited by F. R. Shapiro, New Haven, CT 2006, 605. It should be borne in mind, for example, that the big band playing of the swing era sometimes placed high technical demands on musicians.

as Peter Kreuder, Mitja Nikisch, Norbert Schultze and others.¹²⁵ Little by little, however, autodidacts too conquered the stages of the republic with similar success. Stefan Weintraub serves as a prime example of musical do-it-yourself, which later became the core paradigm of the rock 'n' roll generation. After teaching himself drums and other instruments, he founded the Weintraubs Syncopators, which quickly grew into one of the most successful German jazz bands of the time. Weintraub and the trajectory of his band thus pointed the way to the future of musical professionalization in the entertainment sector.¹²⁶

Aficionados considered the Weintraubs one of the few German bands that could play 'hot jazz' in the manner familiar from US-American recordings and colleagues. At the same time, the Weintraubs' musical flexibility was a major reason for their success. Because the seven-piece band, according to the band leader, could use up to forty-five different instruments, the Weintraubs often mixed old with new. They exemplify the musical eclecticism that dominated the stages of the republic. In addition to hot jazz, the band could effortlessly play symphonic jazz, drawing on the literature of coffee house ensembles as well as imitating the sound of a salon orchestra.¹²⁷ It was vital to adapt to the tastes of the German audience of the day – and this was reflected in the experience of jazz musicians from the United States who toured Germany, such as trombonist Herb Flemming in 1925: 'We again made historical impression on the German music lovers. At that time, many of them had no concept of jazz, but loved our symphonic arrangements like Overture of 1812 and excerpts from the masters as Beethoven'.¹²⁸

125 Kreuder studied in Cologne and later also took piano lessons with Ferruccio Busoni; he began his professional life as a ballet répétiteur at the Hamburg Opera. See Kreuder, *Puppen*, 25 f., 40 f. and 97 f. Nikisch, son of the famous conductor, was trained as a pianist in Leipzig and was present on the concert stages of the world before he became acquainted with symphonic jazz in the United States, to which he dedicated himself after his return. See Lange, H. H., *Jazz in Deutschland. Die deutsche Jazz-Chronik 1900–1960*, Berlin 1966, 32. Schultze, the later composer of the wartime hits 'Lili Marleen' and 'Bomben auf Engelland' ('Bombs on England'), had learned conducting at the Cologne Academy of Music (*Musikhochschule Köln*) and began his career as opera conductor in Heidelberg. See Schultze, N., *Mit dir, Lili Marleen. Die Lebenserinnerungen des Komponisten Norbert Schultze*, Zurich 1995, 17–22 and 32 f.

126 See Stefan Weintraub, 'Antworten zu einem Interview', undated, *AdK Weintraub-Syncopators-Archiv* no. 102.

127 See *ibid.*; 'Besetzungstabelle für die Weintraub Syncopators', undated (around 1930), *ibid.* no. 1. Trained hairdresser and later bandmaster Bernhard Etté seems to have been another career jumper; see Kater, *Spiel*, 25.

128 Biagoni, E., *Herb Flemming: A Jazz Pioneer around the World*, Alphen aan de Rijn 1977, 35; the overture is by Pyotr Tchaikovsky.

Endless playful engagement with well-known, culturally sanctified material was rejected in the musical public sphere as vehemently as jazz in general and – to turn to my fourth point – ultimately triggered a search for ‘good’ popular music. Complaints about supposedly low-brow musical performances were certainly nothing new. However, as a result of the triumphant advance of jazz, they took on new forms, not least because jazzed-up versions of the art-musical canon represented a far greater affront than the accommodating adaptations for salon orchestras typical hitherto. Theo Freitag, for example, every bit the old-school conductor, feared the worst. In the mid-1920s, he raised the prospect that ‘someone would soon turn the *St. Matthew Passion* into a foxtrot. Wagner, Tchaikovsky, Schumann and others fell victim to adaptation, so why stop at Bach?’ Just a short time before, he had shuddered when, after a rendition of Handel’s *Largo*, a band played the shimmy song ‘Wo hast Du denn die schönen blauen Augen her?’ (‘Where Did You Get Those Beautiful Blue Eyes?’) as an encore. Freitag had no time for this *mélange*. He held that even an ensemble had ‘a kind of cultural task, and one that cannot be tackled with banjo and saxophones.’¹²⁹ Henceforth, the desideratum articulated here of aesthetically high-quality German popular music became an integral part of discourse in the musical public sphere, but it was not until the Nazis that concrete measures were implemented to achieve it.¹³⁰

Meanwhile, musical practice moved in a different direction, adapting new instruments, rhythms and techniques and thus ultimately fostering the specialization of musicians as they embraced specific musical styles. Nevertheless, the persistence of traditions should not be underestimated. Jazz ushered in an era of the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous, in which older and newer forms of musical entertainment came to overlap that had ever less in common musically, instrumentally and in terms of performance. For a lengthy period, it was those who remained flexible that were successful. Only in the young West Germany was the old school, of which Theo Freitag was already a member in the Weimar period, finally forced to disband.¹³¹

129 Theo Freitag, ‘Ensemblemusik einst und jetzt’, *DMZ* no. 4, 24 January 1925, 60; see also Schröder, *Unterhaltungsmusik*, 329–332. On the critique of jazz, see also the next section of this chapter.

130 See also Morat, ‘Einleitung’; Maase, *Grenzenloses*.

131 See Theo Freitag, ‘Die Not des Alten Musikers’, *Der Artist* no. 13, 5 July 1950, 4 f.

Emancipation in the Workplace

Together with musical innovations, socio-political change soon made itself felt in the musician's everyday life as well, leading to gradual artistic and social emancipation in the workplace. The transition to democracy challenged the core nexus that defined the collective practice of music, namely the relationship between bandmaster and band, between conductor and orchestra. 'There is no more obvious expression of power than the performance of a conductor', stated Elias Canetti laconically. In analysing the relationship between bandmaster and musicians, however, he restricts himself to the artistic situation of the performance. He describes the conductor as an omnipotent custodian of sound and silence, not only obeyed by musicians but willingly followed by the audience as well. Canetti, however, does not mention the fact that bandmasters also had social powers that reflected the type of orchestra involved. In addition to their claim to artistic authority, they were often able to hire and fire as they saw fit, schedule extra-long rehearsals and decree strenuous concert tours, fail to recognize proof of illness and withhold wages.¹³²

The rise of jazz thus entailed innovations not only in terms of music aesthetics, but also with respect to the sociology of music, probably captured most astutely by music critic and jazz lover Karl Laux after he had attended a concert by the Weintraubs Syncopators:

That's jazz. A certain disrespect for outmoded laws, a new theory of harmony, a new counterpoint, a new theory of instrumentation. The Weintraubs have mastered jazz through a *fortissimo* approach. They are the prototype of the new musician. He is no longer subject to the whim of a bandmaster. He is a free man. When he takes the notion, he blows the notes for all he is worth and devises for himself a verse on life. If he feels like it, he stands up and takes the initiative. Then he personally becomes master of the band; on another occasion it's the banjo player, the trombonist, the through-the-fingers piper. Everyone gets a turn and the others have to submit to him. It is the triumph of democracy.¹³³

132 See Canetti, E., *Crowds and Power*. Translated by Carol Stewart. New York 1962, 394–396, quotation on 394. Their relationship with the audience is discussed in more detail by Osterhammel, 'Meisterschaft', 156 f.; see also Hattinger, W., *Der Dirigent: Mythos, Macht, Merkwürdigkeiten*, Kassel 2013, 152 f.

133 Karl Laux, 'Hochschule des Jazz. Die Weintraubs', *Neue Badische Landeszeitung*, undated, *AdK Weintraub-Syncopators-Archiv* no. 1.

But even in this respect, a certain cultural pessimism prevailed when it came to jazz. What some celebrated as a new democratic practice of music-making originating in the United States, others, such as Russian-born bandmaster Arthur von Gyzicki-Arkadjew, condemned as 'band communism', effortlessly incorporating jazz into the widespread critique of so-called cultural Bolshevism.¹³⁴

Regardless of such criticism, the self-determining jazz band reflected a new professional self-image that was also noticeable in the world of classical music. In the spring of 1928, for example, the Leipzig Symphony Orchestra dared to perform a classical concert programme without a conductor. It was an experiment that the Western world had never seen before. This performance concept had been tried out for the first time in the Soviet Union, where the *Perviy Simfonicheskiy Ansambl' bez Dirizhyora*, better known under the abbreviation Persimfans, had appeared regularly without a conductor from 1922 onwards and achieved great success. From the orchestral line-up to its original programme, the Persimfans also served as a model for the Leipzig musicians. In the shape of Beethoven's Overture to *Egmont*, his violin concerto, played by Gustav Havemann, and his Symphony No. 3, they managed to make a major musical statement.¹³⁵

Alfred Malige took part in this, having been a member of the orchestra since 1925. 'The orchestra played with a vigour and enthusiasm of a kind that only special circumstances in very fortunate situations can bring forth', as he fondly recalled this success. He went on: 'everything was of the greatest precision, mistakes were nowhere to be seen – this was chamber music in expanded form.' Surprised by applause meant specifically for them, according to Malige the musicians expressed their thanks 'in an embarrassed and clumsy way (this too should have been rehearsed)'.¹³⁶ At the same time, the Leipzig musicians were interested in more than pulling off a convincing musical performance. Playing without a conductor drew the audience's attention more than usual to the musicians themselves and was consciously meant to make a socio-political point, highlighting the need to improve orchestral musicians' precarious lot.¹³⁷

134 Quoted in John, *Musikbolschewismus*, 290 f. The association of jazz with disreputable sexuality, the proletariat and thus ultimately with subversive movements became even more important to the connection between this musical genre and Bolshevism. See *ibid.*, 284–290.

135 See Eckard John, 'Orchester ohne Dirigent. Vor 75 Jahren: Premiere des Moskauer "Persimfans"', *NZfM* no. 2, March/April 1997, 40–43.

136 Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 45–56, quotation on 56; see also Alfred Malige, 'Orchester ohne Dirigenten', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, May 1928, 270 f.

137 The concert was intended to fill the coffers of the orchestra's pension fund, the ensemble having been struggling with financial problems since its foundation in 1923. According to

Despite very good reviews in relevant periodicals and two more concerts by the Leipzig ensemble, orchestral music without a conductor remained a mere vignette in the Weimar Republic. In a restrained but unequivocal way, 'leaderless playing' was met with scepticism from colleagues. For example, in *das Orchester*, the publication of the German nationalist Imperial Association of German Orchestras and Orchestra Musicians, Robert Hernried sang from the same hymn sheet as jazz critics when he discerned a 'Bolshevik principle' at play here that, he claimed, would also give musicians a considerable amount of extra work.¹³⁸

Both musical experiments, one widespread in the form of the jazz band with no bandmaster, the other a one-off in the shape of the symphony orchestra *sans* conductor, reflected demands for better legal and artistic treatment and for a greater say in everyday working life. Precisely because there was a lot going on in this field in the Weimar Republic, the symbolic power of these new forms of music-making should not be underestimated. In the realm of ensemble music, artistic emancipation was followed by improvements in labour law, which clarified that the company owner was musicians' employer; this undoubtedly meant a certain loss of power for bandmasters.¹³⁹ Code-determination in orchestras was still regulated differently from one business to the next. As a result of the adoption of the Works Councils Act (*Betriebsrätegesetz*) in the winter of 1920, however, the general trend was to let orchestral boards have a say in allocating duties and determining rehearsal length, as well as in recruitment and dismissals. Their powers ranged between a formal right to be heard and genuine co-determination. The Berlin National Opera (*Berliner Staatsoper*) also granted its musicians the right to advise on the selection of conductors.¹⁴⁰

Szendrei, the Russian pianist Samuel Feinberg inspired the musicians to try this during a guest performance in Leipzig. See *Im türkisenblauen Garten*, 129 f.

138 See for example Alfred Heuß, 'Ein Beethoven-Orchesterkonzert ohne Dirigent', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, June 1928, 334–336; for a critique, see Arthur Bläß, 'Das Orchester ohne Dirigenten', *Das Orchester* no. 10, 15 May 1926, 110 f.; Robert Engel, 'Wie arbeitet das dirigentenlose Orchester?', *ibid.* no. 2, 15 January 1928, 14 f., esp. afterword by the editors.

139 This view of things gradually gained acceptance through recourse to the courts. See Dersch, *Angestellten*, 3.

140 See the data on rights of co-determination in *Statistik, 1929*. See also 'Der neue Schlichterspruch im Bühnentarifstreit', *DMZ* no. 26, 30 June 1928, 561–565, here 563 f. The pioneer was the Frankfurt Opera House Orchestra (*Opernhausorchester Frankfurt*), which had already clashed with its director Willem Mengelberg during the war. See Ziemer, *Moderne*, 202 f. At the Leipzig *Gewandhaus* Orchestra and the Braunschweig National Theatre (*Staatstheater Braunschweig*), on the other hand, demands for a say in the selec-

Under inglorious circumstances, the musicians of the Leipzig Symphony Orchestra were in fact responsible, to a significant extent, for toppling their Jewish chief conductor Alfred Szendrei in November 1931. Decried as a tyrant, he was evidently so unpopular that the communist-dominated orchestral board around Malige preferred to side with the Nazis, at whose expense the conductor had cracked a lewd joke during a rehearsal, rather than taking a stand against the anti-Semitic motivated plot.¹⁴¹

Regardless of this affair, overall the relationship between conductor and musician seems to have taken on more cooperative features during the republic: conductors began to undergo a significant change of attitude and granted orchestral musicians greater recognition. Certainly, we should not be too bedazzled by the exuberant paeans to the 'German orchestral musician' sung by leading conductors, including Busch, Furtwängler, Knappertsbusch, Walter and Weingartner, in a pamphlet promoting the Musicians' Union. Few went as far as conductor Eduard Mörike. He opined that anyone playing this role had to be an 'artistic democrat' and that it was ultimately irrelevant 'whether one person has the baton and the other the triangle'. But the very fact that these and a few other well-known conductors, including such conservative spearheads as Hans Pfitzner, Siegmund von Hausegger and Max von Schillings, made themselves available to the Musicians' Union in order to emphasize the orchestral fraternity's discipline, technical ability and willingness to suffer, points to a certain learning process.¹⁴²

Conversely, in the shape of Berlin violinist and National Orchestra member Hans Diestel, for the first time a musician dared to describe the artistic work of conductors from the perspective of the orchestra pit. But his study, to which Richard Strauss contributed a cordial foreword, came across as both staid and timid; it contained no criticism of any kind and put forward virtually no pro-

tion of conductors were in vain. See Deutscher Musiker-Verband, *Protokoll*, 37; on the Works Councils Act, see Frerich, J. and M. Frey, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Sozialpolitik in Deutschland*, vol. 1: *Von der vorindustriellen Zeit bis zum Ende des Dritten Reiches*, Munich 1993, 177–179.

141 See Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 63. Szendrei had made fun of an imagined new political outfit, namely the 'National Sexual Party' from 'Braunschweig' (an allusion to Nazi 'Brown Shirts') and its slogan 'Heil Kitzler!' (*Kitzler* means clitoris). Looking back, the conductor complained about the lack of solidarity shown by his orchestra musicians. See *Im türkenblauen Garten*, 146–149.

142 See *Der Orchestermusiker im Urteil berühmter Dirigenten*, edited by Deutscher Musiker-Verband, Berlin 1927, 48 f.

gressive vision of the future.¹⁴³ This text thus did nothing to challenge the basic division of roles between conductor and orchestral musicians. The same may be said of the one-off performance without a conductor, and of recording star Edith Lorand, who led a salon orchestra of fifteen men, one of the very few women to hold such a position.¹⁴⁴

Musicians for the 'People's Body' (*Volkskörper*): Occupational Hygiene

The social developments of the time also found reflection beyond the podium. In particular, musicians discovered their bodies, related their health to their professional activity, and contemplated appropriate leisure activities as well as typical musicians' illnesses and measures to prevent them. Certainly, since the appearance of the *Ärztlicher Rathgeber für Musiktreibende* ('Medical Guide for Musicians') by brothers Karl and August Sundelin, published in 1832, medical professionals had addressed the specific ailments afflicting musicians time and again. However, this discourse had remained largely limited to medical experts and barely reached the periodicals read by its true addressees. It was only after the First World War that a discourse on sport, leisure and health kicked off in the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* and other music publications, spurred on not just by the general cult of the body that was burgeoning at the time, but also by new scientific studies by doctors and psychologists that were now being more widely received.¹⁴⁵

The tenor of the observations made by performing musicians, such as Amandus Prietzel, Alfred Malige and Rudolf Oberheide, was always that at the end of the day the music profession was a very unhealthy one: the constant sitting affected bodily functions, artificial light was bad for the eyes, and the late working hours did long-term harm to the nervous system. Nervousness was in fact identified as the most widespread occupational disease, its ubiquity attributed to a wide variety of factors: over-ambition during studies, fear of the audience and certain conductors, and the dread of hearing oneself playing in the orchestra. Specific instrument-related ailments were also discussed

143 See Diestel, H., *Ein Orchestermusiker über das Dirigieren. Die Grundlagen der Dirigier-technik aus dem Blickpunkt des Ausführenden*, Wilhelmshaven 1960 (1931). Unsurprisingly, Strauss is highly praised as a conductor; see for example 25.

144 See Stahrenberg, 'Edith Lorand', 130.

145 See Breuer, R., *Berufskrankheiten von Instrumentalmusikern aus medizinhistorischer Sicht (vom 15. Jahrhundert bis 1930)*, Mainz 1982, 36–58. In the trade journal the topic only came up after 1910. See 'Ermüdung und Berufskrankheiten', *DMZ* no. 22, 31 May 1913, 461.

in detail: muscular paralysis of arm, hand and finger among the strings as well as disorders of the lips, tongue and respiratory organs among the winds. Even the mortality statistics, in which heart and nervous disorders as well as strokes were conspicuously frequent causes of death, were explained with reference to the health-damaging effects of everyday working life.¹⁴⁶

Thus, for the most part, the medicalization of the musical profession was not a top-down process driven by a central authority but was impelled by an interplay between the experiences of those affected and individual medical professionals who came to envisage musicians' health as a field of occupational medicine.¹⁴⁷ One pioneer was neurologist Kurt Singer, better known today for his later work as president of the Jewish Cultural League (*Jüdischer Kulturbund*) under the Nazi regime. Beginning in 1923, Singer gave lectures on this subject at the Berlin Academy of Music and headed its newly established Medical Advice Centre. A few years later, he published a study on occupational illnesses among musicians, which incorporated the insights of his Vienna-based colleague Julius Flesch, who had recently written a similar work. Both books are considered pioneering studies that were still being treated as valuable guides within medical circles in the early 1980s.¹⁴⁸

A third doctor active in this field was Munich-based ear, nose and throat specialist Waldemar Schweisheimer. He had made a name for himself with a book on Beethoven's health and occasionally wrote relevant advisory articles in the RDO's in-house periodical. The fact that all three doctors were of the Jewish faith and fell victim to Nazi persecution – Flesch died in the Maly Trostinets concentration camp in 1943 and Singer a year later in Theresienstadt, with only Schweisheimer surviving by emigrating to the United States in 1933 – probably helps explain why the subject of musicians' health was long woefully neglected in West Germany.¹⁴⁹

146 See Amandus Prietzel, 'Wissenschaftliche Erforschung und Durchleuchtung des Musikerberufes. Eine Aufklärungsschrift zur Beurteilung der Verhältnisse im Musikerberuf', Berlin, March 1926, in BArch RY 22/293; Alfred Malige, 'Berufserkrankungen beim Musiker (Streicher)', *DMZ* no. 18, 2 May 1925, 427 f.; Rudolf Oberheide, 'Fragen der Berufshygiene', *ibid.* no. 16, 17 April 1926, 364 f. and no. 17, 24 April 1926, 390 f.

147 On the context, see Hau, M., *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890–1930*, Chicago 2003, esp. 1–5.

148 Julius Flesch was the brother of the well-known violin teacher Carl Flesch; on the Medical Advice Centre, see Schenk, *Hochschule*, 170 f.

149 See Schweisheimer, W., *Beethovens Leiden. Ihr Einfluss auf sein Leben und Schaffen*, Munich 1922; Schweisheimer, W., 'Gehörstörungen beim Musiker. Entstehung – Anzeichen – Abhilfe', *Das Orchester* no. 23, 1 December 1928, 269 f.

Through a series of lectures, practical treatments and a wide range of publications, Flesch and Singer brought this topic to the attention of a wider public while also giving it a scientific air that was very much in keeping with the times. Singer's explanations, for example, were redolent of social Darwinism, as when he lamented that it was not always those with the greatest aptitude and talent that became musicians: 'A higher cultivation of a particular profession happens rarely', he stated in his *magnum opus*, and this would only change if the government 'draws the worthy elements for its own advantage and gain, leaves the mediocre to itself and rejects the inferior'.¹⁵⁰ In addition, Singer relied to a significant degree on the constitutional typology constructed by psychiatrist Ernst Kretschmer. This posited connections between anatomy or physique and psychological characteristics, prompting Singer to conclude that nervous and mental disorders were congenital in musicians. He also contended that the 'type of the psychopathic, that is, mentally inferior individual' was particularly common among members of the music profession.¹⁵¹

Flesch took much the same line. With a view to the musicality of entire peoples, he stated that musical talent must be described as a 'racial characteristic', which – drawing on the phrenology of Franz Joseph Gall – he believed he could recognize outwardly in the shape of skulls. Characterizations of the musician rooted in supposed biology and psychopathology took up considerable space in the accounts produced by these physicians and culminated in Flesch's thesis that composing musicians tended towards sexual perversion, while their performing counterparts often exhibited an excessive libido. The Viennese saw this too as a problem, because he believed he had discovered that sexual intercourse in the twenty-four hours before a concert 'has a highly unfavourable effect on the sensual reproduction of a composition'.¹⁵²

However, Singer and Flesch met with a positive response not so much because of these pseudoscientific positions, which were quite unflattering for the professional field as a whole, but in light of their recommendations on health at work and preventive occupational hygiene. Flesch provided detailed insights into musicians' energy consumption: a pianist supposedly

150 Singer, K., *Diseases of the Musical Profession: A Systematic Presentation of Their Causes, Symptoms and Methods of Treatment*. Translated by Wladimir Lakond. New York 1932, 5; see also Singer, 'Musikberuf und Krankheit', *DMZ* no. 20, 16 May 1925, 483 f.

151 *Ibid.*, 64. On Kretschmer's constitutional typology, which, according to him, could be applied to all 'races' and was therefore not necessarily racist, see Hau, *Cult*, 164–170.

152 Flesch, J., *Berufs-Krankheiten des Musikers. Ein Leitfaden der Berufsberatung für Musiker, Musikpädagogen, Ärzte und Eltern*, Vienna 1925, 56, 70 and 170 f.; on these two texts, see also Breuer, *Berufskrankheiten*, 81–93.

consumed 180 calories per hour played, a violinist no less than 108. Compared to other professions, Flesch explained, in this respect the violinist most closely resembled the shoemaker. This led him to posit increased nutritional requirements, particularly for adolescent musicians, because they had to practice several hours a day.¹⁵³

Singer, who also reported on the series of tests underlying these claims, was more focussed on day-to-day working life. It was this perspective that made his book attractive to musicians. Simple principles such as 'A break should be taken before fatigue makes it a necessity' and 'The strictest requirement of hygiene [...] for a pure artist must be the day off, the day of relaxation' harmonized perfectly with trade unionist demands for better working conditions.¹⁵⁴ The two physicians were at odds, meanwhile, over the *role of* intellectual activity as part of occupational hygiene. While Singer viewed education as an elementary component of the music profession and thus perpetuated the discourse of the civilizing mission so typical at the turn of the century, Flesch took the view that making music in itself should be viewed as 'one of the most strenuous intellectual activities', such that general education would have to be curtailed.¹⁵⁵

The medicalization of the music profession prompted some musicians to turn consciously to sport. But this new fashion did not go uncontested. In general, opinions in the musical fraternity diverged over the extent to which sports were an appropriate form of recreation. While some believed that certain activities such as football, cycling or boxing were generally unhealthy, others demanded that sports be included in educational curricula.¹⁵⁶ It took Singer some time to reverse his basic aversion to sport. In his 1926 study, he had dismissed it as a rhythmic fashion whose pursuit must come 'at the cost of emotional art', yet just a few years later at the Berlin Academy he was teaching orchestra students that sport was not only the right but the duty of every musician.¹⁵⁷ As its proponents saw it, coffee house musicians in particular ought to select a suitable form of sport, because making music in 'poorly ventilated, alcohol-impregnated and smoke-filled rooms' led to 'constant illness'.¹⁵⁸

153 See *ibid.*, 16 f. and 78.

154 Singer, *Diseases*, 222 and 227.

155 See *ibid.*, 226 f.; Flesch, *Berufs-Krankheiten*, 74 f.

156 See A. Karsten, 'Sportschäden und ihre Vermeidung', *DMZ* no. 43, 25 October 1930, 815; Ein ehemaliger Orchesterschüler (a former orchestral student), 'Der junge Musiker und der Sport', *ibid.* no. 23, 8 June 1929, 479.

157 Singer, *Diseases*, 224 f.; Ein ehemaliger Orchesterschüler (a former orchestral student), 'Der junge Musiker und der Sport', *DMZ* no. 23, 8 June 1929, 479.

158 S. Eggert and H. Tiemann, 'Musikersport', *DMZ* no. 29, 18 July 1925, 726.

Ensemble musicians in Magdeburg turned such advice into action and founded the *Tonkünstler-Sportclub 1924* ('1924 Musicians' Sports Club'), whose motto was: 'Bathe your body in sun, air and water.' The almost fifty members played fistball, swam or went on bike rides in the company of women. A purely functional understanding of sporting activity became further entrenched here: the primary aim was to maintain and optimize the workforce. This attitude placed musicians within the general trend of paying greater attention to public health and the economic productivity of society, whose physical condition, as a result of the considerable losses in the First World War and the substantial downsizing of the army, was generally bemoaned. Physical exercise was therefore seen as an important means of whipping the 'people's body' back into shape. This aspiration was also expressed in the UFA's promotional documentary film *Wege zu Kraft und Schönheit* ('Paths to Strength and Beauty'), to which the Magdeburg musicians referred directly when they founded their club.¹⁵⁹

But the enthusiasm for sports among musicians also went beyond such functional perspectives. According to Szendrei, in Leipzig a benefit match was held between operatic and dramatic staff, with the conductor in goal. When Jean Kurt Forest recorded film music with Richard Tauber and Paul Dessau in Geiseltal, Munich, in 1930, one of the ways the members of the eighty-strong film orchestra diverted themselves in the morning and on breaks was by playing football. Malige reported that those of his colleagues who had joined the Südwest Stötteritz Workers' Sports Club (*Arbeitersportverein Südwest Stötteritz*) in Leipzig at the same time as him were not content with the fairly harmless forms of sport. The consequences were broken legs and hands, and many a wind player left the pitch with a split lip.¹⁶⁰

In the Middle of Society

Detlev Peukert described the 1920s as 'classical modernity' and, in addition to the experiment of democracy and the experience of crisis, he saw in them 'the

159 'Wege zu Kraft und Schönheit', *DMZ* no. 29, 18 July 1925, 725. On the context in which the film was made, see Kreimeier, *Ufa*, 176 f. On the discourse on sport as a means of achieving 'national recuperation' (*Volksgesundheit*), see Hau, M., 'Sports in the Human Economy: "Leibesübungen", Medicine, Psychology and Performance Enhancement during the Weimar Republic', *CEH* no. 41, 2008, 381–412.

160 See *Im türkisenblauen Garten*, 49–51; 'Interview mit JKF', undated (1974), *AdK Jean-Kurt-Forest-Archiv* no. 461, here 20; Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 60 f. On sport as a form of pleasure, see also Eisenberg, C., 'Massensport in der Weimarer Republik. Ein statistischer Überblick', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* no. 33, 1993, 137–177.

emergence of our own lifeworld'. This observation remains valid, especially when applied to the musical life of the Weimar Republic.¹⁶¹ The retreat of military music, the expansion of the cultural state, the establishment of secondary media of dissemination, the instrumental and technical division into different musical worlds as inaugurated by jazz, the emancipatory movements in the workplace and the discovery of occupational health – all these developments began in the Weimar Republic or received significant impetus during that era. Each played its part in the relative upswing of the profession. Only the continued exclusion of women is strikingly different from present-day realities.

But not everything that was new endured, and not everything that endured simply wiped out the pre-existing. Conductors who hoped to develop cinema and radio into new musical art forms had to quickly draw the curtain over these mini-projects of professionalization due to the invention of the sound film and improvements in radio technology. Orchestral performances without a conductor could only be carried out on an exceptional basis. The relationship between conductors and their musicians took on somewhat more cultivated, less authoritarian traits; but the artistic hierarchy between art-creating conductors and obedient musicians remained untouched. Meanwhile, Jazz, *the* new, emancipatory and at the same time the most idiosyncratic musical phenomenon of the 1920s, did not displace existing practices of musical entertainment.

Rather than a simple process of new phenomena replacing older ones, these various dynamics became ever more significant over the *longue durée*. Jazz ushered in an aesthetic simultaneity of the non-simultaneous in the field of popular music, whose impact long continued to be felt and that demanded a high degree of musical flexibility from the musicians working in this area. The art music world was able to further fortify itself with the help of state subsidies and cultural policies but was far from being hermetically sealed: cinemas sometimes used classical music, jazz found its way into the conservatoire, and some serious composers, such as Ernst Krenek in his jazz opera *Jonny spielt auf*, enjoyed experimenting with new sounds.

All in all, the era of experiments benefited the lives of musicians in many ways. As late as March 1928, this republican dividend was viewed with remarkable positivity: 'The more democratic art becomes, the more people it seizes hold of, the greater the number of activities opened up to the musician.' As if this was not enough, it was believed that democracy would finally bolster the musician's social prestige as well: 'The more art is recognized as a cultural asset

161 Peukert, *Republik*, 271 f., quotation on 272.

[...] the more indispensable the musician becomes. The more appreciated, the more “in demand”! The public realm is no longer imaginable without him!¹⁶²

This finding once again underlines recent insights arising from research on Weimar, whose practitioners reject a one-sided interpretation of the republic in light of its end point and thus as a time of permanent crisis. Instead, they quite rightly highlight the fundamental political and socio-political openness of the 1920s, even if some of these studies, such as Sabina Becker’s recent cultural-historical synthesis, risk going to the other extreme and painting an all too golden picture of the decade.¹⁶³ Conversely, the socio-historical perspective on the music profession adopted here reveals the variations of light and shade in the Weimar experiment, not least because I have discussed music-making as an artistic, playful and work-like phenomenon.

Ultimately, all three modes of musical experience received greater social recognition during the Weimar period: the artistic due to the highly subsidized cultural state; the playful through the new aesthetics of jazz; and the work-related through further integration into the welfare state and the discovery of musicians’ health. At the apex of the republic, the music profession had arrived at the middle of society, despite all the economic crises and social policy conflicts. Weimar would certainly not have come to grief if musicians’ lot had been the decisive factor. It was the global economic crisis that shook the profession to its foundations.¹⁶⁴

162 See ‘Die soziale Bewertung des Musikers’, *DMZ* no. 10, 10 March 1928, 210.

163 See Becker, *Experiment*. For a thorough account, see Föllmer et al., ‘Einleitung’; Graf, *Republik*; Fritzsche, ‘Weimar’.

164 With respect to the labour movement, see also Mason, T., *Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich. Arbeiterklasse und Volksgemeinschaft*, Opladen 1977, esp. 96–98. For a nuanced treatment of the depression that takes account of other factors fostering the downfall of the republic, see Fritzsche, P., *Germans into Nazis*. Cambridge, MA and London 1998, 150–161.

PART 3

Crisis, Collapse, Continuities, 1930–1960



Neglected Muse: Nazi Music Policy

Spring 1942, the Rositabar on Bayerischer Platz in Berlin. Alongside jazz musician Tullio Mobiglia, who styled himself the most beautiful saxophonist in the world, Jewish guitarist Heinz Jakob Schumann, just eighteen years old, made his debut. The Italian Mobiglia, who had been an apprentice to Coleman Hawkins, and his sextet offered the best swing to be heard in the ‘Third Reich’. In the middle of the war, the Berlin nightclub seemed to be a refuge for everyone who wanted to flee the cruel reality of renunciation, loss and persecution. A horde of female admirers had their sights set on the beautiful Tullio, but Schumann also seems to have enjoyed himself amply. That spring of 1942, he was given a nickname by a French friend, who called him Chérie Coco because she couldn’t pronounce Heinz; henceforth he was to make his career under the name Coco Schumann.¹

One of the regulars at the Rositabar was Heinrich Kupffer, born like Schumann in 1924. Before Kupffer was conscripted into the Wehrmacht in 1942, he had paid a visit to the jazz club one last time with his ‘half-Jewish’ girlfriend from Neukölln and may well have enjoyed Mobiglia’s and Schumann’s swing standards. He had met this woman just a few days earlier. She had already lost her father, though we do not learn how. Yet she had been ‘in no way gloomy or withdrawn’, recalled Kupffer, but fully ‘involved in the colossal and crazy normality of this city’.²

Of course, the Rositabar was not in the public eye to the same extent as the Berlin Philharmonic, for example. Coco Schumann was nowhere near as well-known as the likes of Friedrich Hollaender, who had long since left Germany. Furthermore, in the spring of 1942, only a short time after the United States had entered the war, the Nazi regime had other things to do than raid a jazz club in Schöneberg in order to send yet another Jew off to a prison camp; Schumann was admitted to Theresienstadt a year later. Ultimately, this vignette in the Rositabar reflects individual experiences that contrast with the displacement and murder of many Jewish musicians and many more Jewish listeners.

And yet Kupffer’s ‘crazy normality’ should be taken seriously as an attempt to describe everyday life in the Nazi state, not least with a view to musical

1 See Schumann, C., *The Ghetto Swinger: A Berlin Jazz-Legend Remembers*. Translated by John Howard. Los Angeles 2016, 32f; Kater, *Spiel*, 262.

2 See Kupffer, H., *Swingtime. Chronik einer Jugend in Deutschland 1937–1951*, Berlin 1987, 57.

life. With a focus on domestic music in the 'Third Reich', Celia Applegate has shown convincingly that we cannot necessarily better understand the mechanisms of Nazi murder by seeking to examine them in contexts in which they did *not* come into play. To put it more generally: the Nazi state does not become more comprehensible because we are determined to demonstrate its spread to every part of society.³

This insight applies even more to the study of musicians' lives. As US-American musicologist Pamela Potter has recently shown, the image of a musical life coming apart at the seams, a more or less impotent artistic fraternity and total organizational and aesthetic control by the Nazi state continues to mould the public imagination on both sides of the Atlantic and still informs a fair number of scholarly accounts. Be it the *Gleichschaltung* or forcible coordination of the music world, the political exploitation of the Berlin Philharmonic, the affairs centred on Strauss, Hindemith and Furtwängler, the *Degenerate Music* exhibition or the ban on jazz on the radio – the notion of art in the regime's totalitarian grip, as spearheaded by Hitler and Goebbels, is still readily evoked.⁴

In the present chapter, I merely touch on these topics or disregard them completely, because for a large number of the musicians who continued to pursue their profession after 1933 they played no or only a subordinate role. Nor does this chapter foreground the extent of organizational and aesthetic control or individual musical personalities' degree of involvement in the Nazi regime.⁵ Instead I cast light on 'how competent [...] the Third Reich [was] in dealing with the Depression',⁶ while seeking to trace the effects of its music policy on musicians' lives.

Overall, I argue, as a professional group civilian musicians were neglected under Nazism. It is true that the regime gradually managed to breathe new life into a musical world that was languishing in the wake of the economic crisis.

3 See Applegate, C., 'The Past and Present of "Hausmusik" in the Third Reich', in M. H. Kater and A. Riethmüller (eds.), *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny, 1933–1945*, Laaber 2003, 136–149, here 147 f.; similar points are made by Gregor, N., 'Die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus und der Cultural-Historical Turn', *VJZ* no. 65 2017, 233–245, esp. 238.

4 See Potter, P., *The Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts*, Oakland 2016, 1–47.

5 The spotlight was on these issues for decades, the first key text being the annotated sourcebook by Joseph Wulf. See Wulf, J., *Musik im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Gütersloh 1963; the most important study on leading figures in classical music life is Kater, *Muse*.

6 Conceptual framework here stimulated by Patel, K. K., *Soldiers of Labor: Labor Service in Nazi Germany and New Deal America, 1933–1945*. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. Cambridge 2005, 7.

However, the relevant measures and reforms were in some cases implemented after a considerable delay. Socio-economic recovery thus came relatively late compared to other occupational fields. In addition, the Nazis stimulated few novel developments at the level of content, tending to build on the socio-political developments of the republic era, though without entirely reaching the same level. Conversely, Jewish musicians were consistently, albeit gradually, excluded, but this had little effect on the musical labour market. The discrepancy between Nazi social and cultural policies on the one hand and their implementation on the other could hardly have been greater. Together with the renaissance of military music, this rapidly diminished the appeal of the civilian music profession.⁷

Finally, aspiration and reality also diverged when it came to the evocation of professional unity and the formation of a musical *Volksgemeinschaft* or 'National Community'. The diverse range of ideas associated with this concept, ranging from promises of social equality through visions of social and cultural hierarchies to blood-and-soil constructs, moulded the inner workings of the Reich Chamber of Music (*Reichsmusikkammer* or RMK) as well as its search for the fitting soundtrack to Nazi ideology.⁸ This search failed due to a conflictual polyphony of both opinions and sounds. The project of a Nazi 'National Community' soon reached its limits within musical life.⁹

Cutback Fever: the World Economic Crisis

The global economic crisis marked a profound turning point in the history of musicians in Germany. The stock market crash of October 1929 and the

7 But cf. Levi, E., *Music in the Third Reich*, Basingstoke 1994, 195–197; Potter, *Suppression*, 12 and 40 f.; Okrassa, *Peter Raabe*, 323; Steinweis, *Art*, 102, is undecided.

8 See Wildt, M., "Volksgemeinschaft" – eine Zwischenbilanz, in D. von Reeken and M. Thießen (eds.), *Volksgemeinschaft' als soziale Praxis. Neue Forschungen zur NS-Gesellschaft vor Ort*, Paderborn et al. 2013, 355–369, here 362.

9 On the *Volksgemeinschaft* concept, including a summary of the historiographical debate, see Steber, M. and B. Gotto, 'Volksgemeinschaft: Writing the Social History of the Nazi Regime', in Steber, M. and B. Gotto (eds.), *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany*, Oxford 2014, 1–25; Kershaw, I., "Volksgemeinschaft". Potenzial und Grenzen eines neuen Forschungskonzepts, *VfZ* no. 59, 2011, 1–17 and Herbert, U., 'Echoes of the *Volksgemeinschaft*', in M. Steber and B. Gotto (ed.), *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany*, Oxford 2014, 60–69, rightly warn against overestimating the potential insights arising from this vague concept. At the same time, following Wildt, it is reasonable to conclude that projects of communitization must be investigated even when they fail, as this one did in the context of musical life. See Wildt, M., "Volksgemeinschaft". Eine Antwort auf Ian Kershaw, *ZF/SCH* no. 8, 2011, 102–109.

subsequent global depression ended the phase of relative stabilization in the Weimar Republic. At the end of March 1930, the erosion of the political system became manifest in the first presidential cabinet under Heinrich Brüning. Concurrently, political radicalization set in, which became unmistakably clear in the rise of the Nazi Party to second strongest party at the Reichstag elections in September the same year. National income fell by 25 percent between 1929 and 1932. In view of the rapid rise in unemployment, from 1.9 million in the late 1920s to over 6 million in January 1933, and the associated decline in the standard of living in virtually every section of the population, conflicts over wealth distribution became more acute. Obviously, this economic crisis also had a detrimental effect on musical life and musicians' everyday working lives.¹⁰

There was a lot at stake for orchestral musicians in particular. The orchestral landscape, which had been expanded by the states and municipalities despite depleted coffers, quickly shrank again after 1929. The spectres haunting the scene were 'theatre closure' and 'orchestra disbandment', and there was soon talk of 'cutback fever' as well.¹¹ As early as the spring of 1930, the city of Mainz dismissed its entire orchestra. In the course of the same year, the same fate befell the orchestras in Flensburg, Neiß, Trier, Koblenz, Königsberg, Osnabrück, Plauen, Weißenfels and Würzburg. In Düsseldorf, 44 musicians were dismissed, in Darmstadt 25, and many other orchestras were also downsized.¹² At this early stage, a total of more than 1,000 of the approximately 6,000 orchestral employees had already been dismissed.¹³ In the wake of the Emergency Decree Law (*Notverordnungsrecht*) of 1931–32, the national theatres in Kassel and Wiesbaden along with many other municipal orchestras were also targeted by the fiscal authorities. Salary deductions of up to 35 percent were no rarity, and special allowances were also axed here and there. These cuts hit civil servant musicians particularly hard.¹⁴

10 On the course of the crisis in Germany, including figures, see Hesse, J. et al., *Die große Depression. Die Weltwirtschaftskrise 1929–1939*, Frankfurt 2014, 54–59.

11 'Aufbau im Abbau', *DMZ* no. 17, 26 April 1930, 345.

12 See 'Notiz', *Mitteilungsblatt des RDO* no. 8, 15 April 1930, xxix; 'Die Theaterkrise im Reiche', *DMZ* no. 5, 1 February 1930, 90 f.; 'Vorsicht bei Angeboten nach ...', *ibid.* no. 17, 26 April 1930, 344; 'Was tut der Verband? Ein Querschnitt durch das Jahr 1930', *ibid.* no. 52, 27 December 1930, 981 f.

13 See 'Entschließung zur Notlage im Musikerberuf', *DMZ* no. 14, 5 April 1930, 283.

14 See 'Theaterschließung und Orchesterauflösung', *Mitteilungsblatt des RDO* no. 2, 15 January 1932, vii; RDO-Vorstand, 'Der Düsseldorfer Streitfall', *ibid.* no. 14, 15 July 1930, liii; 'Die Gruppe Ia seit 1929', *DMZ* no. 37, 10 September 1932, 440; Alfred Erdmann, 'Sind die Notverordnungsmaßnahmen für die Mitglieder der deutschen Kulturorchester in der heutigen Zeit noch aufrecht zu erhalten?', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 40, 5 October 1935, 4 f.

A similarly bleak picture prevailed at privately run theatres. Most did not survive the crisis.¹⁵ Although cinemas managed to hold up better overall, the switch to sound film virtually wiped out an entire field of activity. 'Between 1928 and 1930, millions of musicians in the world became unemployed. This was so dreadful that it cannot be put into words', recalled cinema bandmaster Werner Schmidt-Boelcke, with some exaggeration: he, at least, was able to continue his career in talkies.¹⁶ During the Depression era, competition flared up again between civil servants, dilettantes and the armed forces. Once again, reference was soon being made to musicians' plight, and reports of starving musicians made the rounds. Unemployment in the profession rose steadily until the end of 1932 and, according to the Musicians' Union, lay at around 23,000 musicians, over 40 percent of whom received no support through unemployment insurance or welfare benefits. Unofficially, it was in fact assumed that 30,000 musicians were unemployed shortly before the Nazi 'seizure of power' (*Machtergreifung*).¹⁷

While plans to disband orchestras were rapidly drawn up and implemented, resistance was also quick to emerge. In an open letter to Reich Minister of the Interior Joseph Wirth, the Association of German Conductors and Choirmasters, whose chairman at the time was Wilhelm Furtwängler, urged prudence. Its managing director Rudolf Cahn-Speyer self-confidently suggested that no cuts should be made in municipal orchestras; they were, he asserted, extremely popular and in any case got by with modest resources. Savings should instead be made by reducing funding for more expensive and less used cultural services such as museums. Cahn-Speyer also criticized as a 'huge mistake' the idea at large in many municipal administrations that savings could be made by cutting jobs without detriment to artistic substance: downsizing would not only significantly limit the repertoire, but also wipe out years of orchestral work that, he claimed, was vital to creating ensembles of superior

15 See Schöndienst, *Geschichte des Theaters 1846–1935*, 288 f. and 304; Becker, *Moderne*, 49 f. and 328 f.

16 Quoted in Bockstiegel, *Schmidt-Boelcke*, 52; see 'Was tut der Verband? Ein Querschnitt durch das Jahr 1930', *DMZ* no. 52, 27 December 1930, 981 f.

17 See Strelow, 'Musikerehend', *DMZ* no. 29, 19 July 1930, 575 f.; Dr. Löblich, 'Die Pflicht der Arbeitsämter, für die hungernden Berufsmusiker Arbeit zu schaffen', *ibid.* no. 48, 29 November 1930, 925; 'Das Ergebnis unserer Arbeitslosenstatistik', *ibid.* no. 47, 19 November 1932, 563 f. In June 1933, according to the occupational census, 29,077 musicians were unemployed; see table A in the appendix. Hence, the musicians' labour market deviated from general trends in unemployment, which had already peaked in January 1932. See Benz, W., *A Concise History of the Third Reich*. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. Berkeley 2006, 97 f.

artistic quality. Last but not least, he averred, in times of material sacrifice it was all the more important to provide a starving society at least with intellectual nourishment and spiritual consolation.¹⁸

A rare show of unanimity saw the German Musicians' Union endorse this letter of protest. Even more than before, foreign musicians now came under fire, with petitions to the Ministry of Labour opposing their entry to the country, employment and even their efforts to advertise themselves, though again with little success.¹⁹ In a crisis-struck context, the prevailing discourse sometimes took on more emotional, even violent overtones. 'Beat Him to Death, He's a Musician!' screeched the front page of the *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* of February 1930. In view of the obsessive cost-cutting, the associated article seriously discussed whether society would allow musicians the right to exist. Some of the blame, however, was placed on musicians themselves, with many described as lacking the will and commitment to engage in the struggle for economic survival.²⁰ The membership of the Musicians' Union did in fact shrink from around 40,000 in 1928 to little more than 15,000 three years later.²¹

The local authorities and states certainly sought to mitigate the worst effects of the economic crisis. An official certificate of employment was introduced in many cities, thus municipalizing a function previously carried out by the Musicians' Union.²² The Convention of Municipal Authorities (*Städtetag*) also set up a committee that provided advisory services for theatre operators to help them avoid cuts and closures.²³ Finally, the most visible expression of these efforts were so-called orchestras of the unemployed, which were established by labour offices from Frankfurt to Dresden and from Düsseldorf to Halle. The Munich authorities were particularly committed, creating a string orchestra, a wind orchestra and a piano ensemble, which employed a total of up to 75 musicians and held ten concerts in November 1930 alone. Through

18 Rudolf Cahn-Speyer, 'Gegen den Orchester-Abbau', *Das Orchester* no. 12, 15 June 1930, 144 f.

19 See 'Gegen den Abbau der Orchester', *DMZ* no. 23, 7 June 1930, 468; 'Gegen entbehrliche Ausländer und musikalische Schwarzarbeit!', *DMZ* no. 22, 28 May 1932, 253 f.; 'Der Reichsarbeitsminister zur Ausländerfrage', *ibid.* no. 25, 18 June 1932, 289 f.

20 'Schlagt ihn tot, er ist ein Musikus!', *DMZ* no. 6, 8 February 1930, 102 f.

21 Figures in Steinweis, *Art*, 10.

22 See Richard Treitel, 'Der öffentliche Arbeitsnachweis für Musiker', *DMZ* no. 15, 12 April 1930, 304 f. But criticisms were soon being voiced about the labour offices' meagre placement rate. See Dr. Löblich, 'Die Pflicht der Arbeitsämter, für die hungernden Berufsmusiker Arbeit zu schaffen', *ibid.* no. 48, 29 November 1930, 925.

23 See 'Ein Rundschreiben des Deutschen Städtetages', *DMZ* no. 49, 6 December 1930, 940.

such measures, the municipalities explicitly attempted to counter the much-maligned competition from the armed forces and civil servants.²⁴

Ultimately, however, these efforts were a drop in the ocean. From 1932 onwards, the (political) party bands that emerged from the army of unemployed musicians attracted far more attention than the orchestras run by local authorities. The Musicians' Union was far from pleased about this further politicization of the profession. The union top brass saw this development, probably with good reason, as an 'abuse of the unemployment crisis, of the worst kind imaginable'.²⁵ While this criticism was directed equally at the Communist Party and the Nazi Party, it was concerns about 'Nazi bands' (as they were also called) that clearly predominated.²⁶ Among the first of its kind was the National Socialist Reich Symphony Orchestra (*Nationalsozialistisches Reichssinfonieorchester*) under Munich-based conductor Franz Adam, which made its first appearance at the Circus Krone in January 1932, where it delighted 3,000 listeners with renditions of Bruckner, Wagner and Weber. Adam had joined the party in late 1930, his work with the Association Orchestra of the South German Musicians' Syndicate (*Verbandsorchester der Interessengemeinschaft süddeutscher Musiker*) having brought him little success.²⁷ The formation of the party orchestra, which recruited most of its members from the Association Orchestra, was motivated by both ideology and labour market policy. Adam wanted 'to be able to bring German music to the entire German people, lead the NSDAP's struggle against the internationalization and Bolshevization of music by setting a practical example, [and] ward off the looming mechanization of music'.²⁸

24 See Otto Neuburger, 'Wodurch können die Arbeitsämter zur Linderung der Arbeitsnot der Musiker beitragen?', *DMZ* no. 49, 6 December 1930, 944 f. On Halle, see Paul Klanert, 'Aus dem Wirkungsbereich der Arbeitslosenorchester', *ibid.* no. 46, 12 November 1932, 552. For more details on Munich, see Neumann, S., *Musikleben in München 1925-1945*, Au in der Hallertau 2009, 70-72.

25 'Politische Hetze gegen den Demuv', *DMZ* no. 46, 12 November 1932, 545.

26 Verbandsvorstand, 'Nazikapellen', *DMZ* no. 38, 17 September 1932, 455.

27 Franz Adam, 'Lebenslauf des Unterzeichneten, 8.7.1948', in BSB Ana 559 NL Adam, C. I.16; Franz Adam, 'Entstehen und Wirken des Nationalsozialistischen Symphonieorchesters, 25.7.1945', in *ibid.*, A.3. On the syndicate, see also Neumann, *Musikleben*, 39; another example was the orchestra of the Militant League for German Culture (*Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*) under Gustav Havemann. See Levi, *Music*, 18 f.

28 'Zweck und Ziele des Nationalsozialistischen Reichs-Symphonie-Orchesters', undated (February 1932), in BSB Ana 559 NL Adam, D. I.6. In order to realize his plans, Adam had already contacted Hitler directly in November 1930. See 'Kanzlei Adolf Hitler an Adam, 11.11.1930', in *ibid.*, C. I.12.

But even the party bands, whose employment conditions were initially quite obscure, scarcely improved the situation.²⁹ Taking the occupational census of June 1933 as our basis clarifies the extent of the disaster unleashed on the music profession by the economic crisis. Of a total of almost 120,000 registered musicians (excluding singers), almost one in three stated that they worked in music only as a side-line. At the same time, unemployment among the more than 96,000 salaried musicians, full-time and part-time combined, was 46 percent. It was thus more than 15 percent higher than the Reich average for white-collar and blue-collar workers. The musical labour market had shrunk to such an extent, with moonlighting musicians omnipresent on all stages from beer hall to concert hall, that music-making as a professional activity *per se* was under serious threat.³⁰

The Nazi state was thus faced with a mammoth cultural policy challenge, one caused not so much by the Weimar Republic as by the economic crisis.³¹ The dire situation on the labour market was least of all the fault of those most violently attacked under the new regime: Jews and foreigners. The proportion of full-time musicians of Jewish faith, according to the occupational census, was not even 2 percent, those of foreign origin less than 4 percent, while three quarters of the latter were native German speakers.³² It is from this point of departure that Nazi music policy must now be discussed. But the regime's ability to resolve the crisis was limited: it took years to bring about major improvements within the music profession, and in some respects the solutions involved fell far short of what had been achieved under the republic. Even the supposedly long-awaited Reich Chamber of Music could do nothing to change this.

29 Rumour had it that musicians were housed and fed in mass quarters. It was claimed that they either received no wages at all, were made responsible for ticket sales or were paid far below the standard wage. See *Verbandsvorstand*, 'Nazikapellen', *DMZ* no. 38, 17 September 1932, 455.

30 Friedrich Zander, 'Die Berufe der Musikausübenden in der deutschen Reichsstatistik', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 25, 19 June 1937, 1–4.

31 The tendency to interpret Weimar as a permanent 'crisis state' is explicit or implicit in a number of accounts of Nazi musical life. For a recent example, see Potter, *Suppression*, 10 f.

32 See Friedrich Zander, 'Die Berufe der Musikausübenden in der deutschen Reichsstatistik', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 25, 19 June 1937, 1–4.

The Reich Chamber of Music: Right-Wing Staff ...

'The Reich Chamber of Music, for decades the great dream of the entire German musical fraternity, was established on 15 November 1933, which means that we have taken the most important step along the path to reconstructing German musical life in its entirety', stated Richard Strauss at the first conference of this newly created institution in the winter of 1934.³³ Here, the newly elected president of the chamber struck the right tone, as its founding was associated with tremendous hopes of radical reforms that were supposed to put new heart into the profession as a whole and lead it into a brighter future. Yet Strauss himself was soon one of those whose expectations of the Reich Chamber of Music were disappointed or only partially fulfilled. The composer resigned from his post after a little more than a year and a half for health reasons, to quote the official explanation. In fact, he encountered clear headwinds when he sought to virtually bypass Nazi party functionaries in order to pursue a one-sided music policy to the benefit of composers of serious music. While the chamber's managing director Heinz Ihler had begun to stir up opposition to his superior's leadership style, Strauss's forced resignation was due to his loyalty to his Jewish librettist Stefan Zweig. This incident alone demonstrates that in the wake of the 'seizure of power' there were as many different ideas about what the Chamber of Musicians should and shouldn't do as in the debates of the previous thirty years.³⁴

This was particularly evident in the case of the Musicians' Union. If it had been up to the union, the RMK would never have come into being. The union's resistance – as cultivated under the republic – to the neo-corporatist notion of a chamber even outlasted its evidently forcible *Gleichschaltung*. In the wake of the union's declaration of loyalty to the new regime on 15 April 1933, a late occurrence in comparison to other organizations in the musical world and one accompanied by the replacement of the executive committee, the new leaders initially refused to pledge allegiance to the Reich Cartel of German musicians (*Reichskartell der deutschen Musikerschaft*), which had been initiated by Berlin-based violin professor Gustav Havemann and functioned as a kind of forerunner of the Reich Chamber of Music.³⁵

33 'Eröffnung der ersten Arbeitstagung der Reichsmusikkammer', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 5, 14 February 1934, 15.

34 On Strauss's conduct as Chamber president, see Walter, *Strauss*, 296–303; Steinweis, *Art*, 51–53. Against this background, Kater's claim that Strauss wished to resign anyway seems questionable. See Kater, *Muse*, 397.

35 See 'Deutscher Musiker-Verband an RMVP, 28.4.1933', in BArch R55/1138, fol. 124; on the founding of the Reich Cartel, see Steinweis, *Art*, 35 f.

Havemann, active in the party and in the Militant League for German Culture (*Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*) since May 1932, was the driving force behind the crushing of the old Musicians' Union. As early as mid-March 1933, he had asked the Ministry of the Interior to arrange for its building on Bernburger Straße to be occupied and placed under the provisional administration of Nazi party comrades.³⁶ However, this *Gleichschaltung* did not go as Havemann had envisaged it. The new leadership of the Musicians' Union emerged from the National Socialist Factory Cell Organization (*Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation*), a union-like apparatus of the Nazi Party that was absorbed by the German Labour Front (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*) in the course of the general smashing of the unions at the beginning of May.³⁷ Havemann was viewed as nothing more than a 'Marxist parasite' who had become a National Socialist 'all of a sudden' and now thought he could tell everyone what to do. The new executive committee even brought proceedings against him before the Investigative and Arbitration Committee (*Untersuchungs- und Schlichtungsausschuss*).³⁸

The lines of conflict that had solidified over the years between unionized and business-friendly musicians thus persisted as the new Nazi cultural apparatus was being constructed, though conservatives now clearly gained the upper hand. The Imperial Association of German Orchestras and Orchestra Musicians was one of the first organizations to give their allegiance to Havemann, which paid off to a degree. Leo Bechler, president of what had still been a marginal body under the Weimar Republic, was immediately appointed to the executive committee of the Reich Cartel. Robert Hernried, editor of the trade journal *Musik im Zeitbewusstsein* ('Music in the Spirit of the Age'), which was to be revamped, was also a member of the Imperial Association and remained in charge of the periodical even after it was taken over by the RMK.³⁹ Finally, union member Alfred Erdmann became involved in the Reich Cartel. Long-time horn player in the Wuppertal Municipal Orchestra (*Wuppertaler Städtisches Orchester*), Erdmann had been a diligent contributor

36 See 'Havemann an Dalugee, 17.3.1933', in BArch RK Havemann, fol. 1790; 'Havemann an Metzner, 17.3.1933', in *ibid.*, fol. 1792. On his career, see *Beiträge*, 3.

37 See 'Deutscher Musiker-Verband an RMVP, 28.4.1933', in BArch R55/1138, fol. 124.

38 'Deutscher Musiker-Verband an Göring and Goebbels, 19.5.1933', in BArch RK Havemann, fol. 1564. On the so-called USchLA hearings, which proved fruitless, see 'Seidel an Göring, 6.5.1933', in *ibid.*, fol. 1788. Among other things, Havemann was accused of being philosemitic. See 'Seidel an Hitler, 26.5.1933', in *ibid.*, fol. 1482; 'Notruf an unseren Führer und Volkskanzler', undated (26 May 1933), in *ibid.*, fol. 1500. On his reputation, see also Kater, *Muse*, 50 f. For a comprehensive account, see Steinweis, *Art*, 38 f.

39 That Hernried was Jewish was to emerge only some time later. See Steinweis, *Art*, 53.

under Herried in the 1920s, had fought bitter written feuds with the Musicians' Union and had joined the Nazi Party by the end of 1931. Beginning in November 1933, he headed the Division of Orchestral Musicians (*Fachschaft Orchestermusiker*) within the Chamber of Musicians for six months.⁴⁰

Havemann himself was entrusted with running the Reich Musicians Department (*Reichsmusikerschaft*) within the RMK. The heads of the divisions (*Fachschaften*) under him – Karl Stietz for Ensemble and Freelance Musicians (*Ensemble- und freistehende Musiker*), Hermann Abendroth for Musical Educators (*Musikerzieher*) and Karl Klingler for Bandmasters and Soloists (*Kapellmeister und Solisten*) – had likewise had nothing to do with the Musicians' Union before 1933.⁴¹ The only union official to play a fairly prominent role in the new regime was Hermann Becker, who had been responsible for orchestral musicians and was therefore Erdmann's archenemy. He succeeded the latter as head of the Orchestra Division (*Orchesterfachschaft*) but was just as unable to assert himself in this post.⁴² Hence, the conflict between Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels and Labour Minister Robert Ley, both of whom had initially claimed responsibility for the artistic professions, also found reflection in the staffing of the RMK. The selection of personnel left no doubt that Goebbels had emerged victorious from this power struggle.⁴³

A large number of performing musicians thus had to reconcile themselves to a new, non-union and far more conservative leadership. Yet the latter fell out with the new regime almost as quickly as they had warmed to it. The construction of the Nazi state would be hampered by figures such as Strauss, his deputy Furtwängler and even Havemann, as Goebbels and his right-hand man in the superordinate Reich Chamber of Culture (*Reichskulturkammer*), Hans Hinkel, soon realized. All three considered artistic matters more important than ideological prerogatives. Their successors, Peter Raabe as president and also head

40 See O. K., 'Zum 25-jährigen Dienstjubiläum von Alfred Erdmann', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 20, 15 May 1937, 7. On party membership, see Prieberg, F. K., *Handbuch deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, Version 1.2–3, CD-ROM 2005, 9424. The factors involved in his departure are unclear. He may have had to leave because he was an avowed defender of orchestral musicians' civil servant status. Cf. the next section of the present chapter.

41 Karl Stietz was a pianist, Hermann Abendroth a conductor and Karl Klingler a violinist and first violinist of the Klingler Quartet.

42 See for example Hermann Becker, 'Anstellungs- und Besoldungsfragen der deutschen Kulturorchester', *Musik im Zeitbewußtsein* no. 28, 13 July 1935, 3 f.; Hermann Becker, 'Der Bankrott des RDO', *DMZ* no. 18, 27 March 1926, 293 f.; Becker's successor was Hermann Henrich, previously executive director of the entire Reich Musicians Department. No entry on Becker appears in Prieberg, *Handbuch*.

43 For details of the conflict, see Steinweis, *Art*, 38–44.

of the Reich Musicians and Paul Graener as vice president as well as head of the Composers' Department (*Berufsstand der deutschen Komponisten*), were certainly no less conservative, but were politically more opportunistic and far more pliant with regard to artistic issues.⁴⁴

It is difficult to say to what extent the right-wing shift in this music organization that went hand in hand with the 'seizure of power' met with approval, shoulder-shrugging or disapproval among musicians. Alan E. Steinweis has estimated that around 20 percent of musicians active under Nazism were members of the Nazi Party; 6 percent had joined before 1933, around 10 percent did so that year, while the remaining 4 percent signed up under the Nazi regime. Musicians were thus roughly on par with teachers (23 percent) and clearly below the party membership rates in other professional fields such as medicine (45 percent) and law (35 percent).⁴⁵ Considering that the RMK only really began its work in 1934, the 16 percent who had high expectations of Nazi cultural policy represented a far larger group than the 4 percent whose views were perhaps influenced by their experience of that policy. In short, the leap of faith was great, but the results achieved were meagre.

... and Left-Wing Reforms

The Nazis did not have their own music policy ready for implementation, at least not when it came to professional musicians. Instead, they took up key aspects of the agenda pursued by the now defunct Musicians' Union. Their music policy can therefore be described as 'left-wing' insofar as it perpetuated the traditional concerns of the Musicians' Union. In terms of its realization, however, this policy often fell short of the union's demands and achievements under the republic.⁴⁶

44 On the various tensions, see Kater, *Muse*; Steinweis, *Art*. On the successors, see Okrassa, *Peter Raabe*; Domann, A., 'Paul Graener als nationalsozialistischer Kulturpolitiker', in A. Riethmüller and M. Custodis (eds.), *Die Reichsmusikkammer. Kunst im Bann der Nazi-Diktatur*, Cologne 2015, 69–85.

45 See Steinweis, *Art*, 29 f.; Kater, *Muse*, 28. Percentage share of the other occupations mentioned here in Jaraus, K. H. and G. Arminger, 'The German Teaching Profession and Nazi Party Membership: A Demographic Logit Model', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* no. 20, 1989, 197–225, here 201 f. and 223 f.

46 Aly has presented this argument more succinctly than anyone else. See Aly, G., *Hitler's Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War, and the Nazi Welfare State*. Translated by Jefferson Chase. New York 2007, 20–27. In contrast to Aly, whose main focus is in any case on war-time, here I place far more emphasis on the discrepancy between aspiration and reality.

Even the organizational features of the Reich Musicians showed continuity with the earlier Musicians' Union. Havemann and his department moved into the seized union building in Berlin Mitte. Furthermore, the structure of the Reich Musicians was based on that of the Musicians' Union, with divisions of orchestral musicians, ensemble musicians, music educators and church musicians. Only the Division of Bandmasters and Soloists (*Fachschaft der Kapellmeister und Solisten*) was new, while the old Group III of Freelancers (*Gruppe III der Freistehenden*), an institutional home for many unemployed musicians towards the end of the republic, had been fused with the ensemble musicians.⁴⁷ This continuity was particularly evident in the layout of the periodical *Musik im Zeitbewußtsein*, which clearly took its lead from the defunct *Deutsche Musiker-Zeitung* from early 1935 onwards.

Despite the dominance of conservative forces in the Reich Chamber of Music, the first reforms were mainly devoted to the field of popular music, where the competition on the labour market was toughest.⁴⁸ The exams initially held for admittance to the RMK were primarily aimed at identifying dilettantes and denying them the so-called brown card, the compulsory token of membership for professional musicians in the chamber. According to reports, these exams proved quite effective, though there were some comical incidents, for example when one candidate identified the Bayreuth Festival as a composition by Richard Wagner or another stated in a questionnaire: 'I just want to know what my job has to do with Beethoven.'⁴⁹

Generally speaking, the elimination of competitive distortions (*Wettbewerbsverzerrung*) was the order of the day: laypeople were no longer allowed to perform in public or for a fee;⁵⁰ those making music as a side-line were not required to join the chamber, but had to acquire a day pass if they wished to perform; from now on, bands had to obtain permission to work at health

For further criticisms of Aly's study, see Wildt, M., 'Alys Volksstaat. Hybris und Simplizität in der Wissenschaft', *Sozial Geschichte* no. 20 2005, 91–97.

47 On the structure of the RMK, see Ihler, H., *Die Reichsmusikkammer*, Berlin 1935, 28 f.

48 An exception was the extension, implemented at Strauss's instigation, of the copyright term of compositions from 30 to 50 years after the death of the author. See Steinweis, *Art*, 51.

49 Karl Stietz, 'Berufsbereinigung. Prüfungen, Ergebnisse, Folgerungen', *Musik im Zeitbewußtsein* no. 16/17, 20 April 1935, 10–12; 'Prüfungsausschüsse bei den Landesmusikerverbänden', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 13, 18 April 1934, 44.

50 However, festivals, celebrations and marches were exempt from this, which is why this provision had little effect in practice. See 'Vereinbarung zwischen der Reichsmusikkammer und der Reichsleitung des Arbeitsdienstes', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 8, 7 March 1934, 25.

resorts, and this was to be denied to those engaged elsewhere throughout the year; the private founding of orchestras was banned; radio orchestras were no longer allowed to give concerts outside of broadcasting stations except in the context of promotional events; and finally, the admission of 'non-Aryans' to the Chamber was tied to a special examination, since they were, supposedly, fundamentally incapable of functioning as 'bearers of German cultural riches'. The utter determination to rapidly achieve the 'pacification of economic relations in musical life', as the relevant measures were sometimes officially called, was clearly in evidence.⁵¹

Anyone who believed that this type of state regulation could solve the structural problems on the labour market in short order, problems that had existed in certain variations for about fifty years, were soon disabused of this notion. Despite the Nazi state's mania for control, the measures against laypeople and those making music as a side-line suffered from a lack of effective implementation.⁵² Goebbels soon realized that regulation and professionalization of the arts should not be taken too far, partly in order to avoid alienating fans of amateur music, who outnumbered professional musicians many times over. In November 1935, he did away with the entrance exams, and two years later the regulations restricting amateur music were also relaxed.⁵³ By withdrawing the entrance exams, Goebbels also returned, albeit probably unconsciously, to the policy of the earlier Musicians' Union, which, unlike other professional associations, had always refused to link membership to artistic ability.

The lines of continuity between Nazi policy and the agenda of the Musicians' Union were even more evident in the adoption of new employment regulations (*Tarifordnungen*) in the entertainment sector than in labour market regulation. These were enacted in 1935–36 and were tailored to individual states, though they were largely identical. They were applied to cafes, cabarets, bars, restaurants and wine taverns, but neither to variety shows nor to spa and symphony orchestras. In terms of content, these new regulations ushered in

51 See 'Zweite Anordnung zur Befriedung der wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse im Musikleben', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 15, 2 May 1934, 49; 'Richtlinien für die Aufnahme von Nichtariern in die Fachverbände der RMK', *ibid.* no. 14, 25 April 1934, supplement; 'Anordnung betr. "Kurmusik"', *ibid.* no. 5, 5 February 1935, 16; 'Anordnung des Präsidenten der Reichsmusikkammer', *ibid.* no. 21, 20 June 1934, 71; 'Konzerttätigkeit der festangestellten Rundfunkorchester außerhalb des Rundfunks', *ibid.* no. 33, 12 December 1935, 103.

52 For example, in Berlin alone almost 400 violations by moonlighting musicians were recorded in a three-month period, but this was probably no more than the tip of the iceberg. See Kontrollabteilung der Landesmusikerschaft Berlin-Brandenburg, 'Sonderbericht, 28.9.1934', in LAB A Rep. 243–01/314, fol. 2.

53 For details, see Steinweis, *Art*, 89 f.

a number of improvements in working conditions for which the Musicians' Union had fought vehemently in the 1920s; in some cases, depending on place and time, they had already been implemented. These included, for example, the clarification that the owner of a venue was the musicians' sole employer. In addition, the day off during the week became legally binding on the condition that the musicians worked at least six hours a day. The employment regulations also prescribed a holiday entitlement of six days in the first year of work. Minimum wages were set relatively low, but henceforth restaurant operators had to pay monthly salaries. The union had campaigned on this issue, just as it had on the regulation of maximum working hours, break time and overtime.⁵⁴

Overall, the working conditions of employed ensemble musicians in the mid-1930s did not differ significantly from those ten years earlier – with the exception of wages. In Hanover, the monthly standard wage in 1928 was 350 marks for seven hours of playing, while the corresponding regulation of February 1936 provided for just 280 marks for eight hours.⁵⁵ *Musik im Zeitbewußtsein* praised the new employment regulations as 'words dictated by the spirit of National Socialism' which were now 'to be impregnated with the blood of the National Socialist view of life'.⁵⁶ Yet there was nothing ideological about these rules and regulations as such: they built seamlessly on the policies of the Musicians' Union and in some cases even lagged behind them.

Much as in the 1920s, employers tried to circumvent the employment regulations under Nazism. Those musicians who knew their new or regained rights, however, found in the legal offices of the Reich Chamber of Music the protection formerly afforded them by the Musicians' Union.⁵⁷ The RMK acted as a reliable advocate of their interests – at least insofar as the issues raised pertained purely to labour law and showed no indication of ideological lapses. Lawyer Hermann Voss, who worked as legal advisor to the chamber in Cologne and who would later enjoy a long and successful career as a functionary in West Germany, recalled that he chiefly had to take action against restaurants

54 See 'Tarifordnungen für Niedersachsen, Rheinland', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 3, 13 February 1936, 15. For a summary of the DEMUV programme, see *Musikerkalender*, 133–135.

55 See *ibid.*; 'Was sagt der Schlichterspruch zu den Forderungen der Kaffeehausmusiker?', *DMZ* no. 24, 16 June 1928, 529.

56 Hermann Stuckenbrock, 'Die praktischen Auswirkungen der Tarifordnung', *Musik im Zeitbewußtsein* no. 29, 20 July 1935, 8 f.; Stern, W., *Der Berufsmusiker, insbesondere seine Stellung als Kapellenmitglied*, Cologne 1939, 23–26. The employment regulations are a good example of the failure to sufficiently question propaganda of this kind; similar remarks are made by Potter, *Suppression*, 34 f.

57 On the legal protection provided by the union, see *Musikerkalender*, 137–139.

that refused musicians their day off during the week.⁵⁸ Even in the middle of the war, the chamber sought to address the concerns of the 'little musician'. For example, it helped violinist Alfred Wahnschaffe, who was employed in the on-board orchestra of the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, get his due in the spring of 1942 after he had been dismissed without notice on the grounds that there was no money for more events. According to the instruction issued by the chamber, this business risk should not be passed on to musicians; the losses suffered in this case had to be recompensed.⁵⁹

Compared to ensemble musicians, orchestral musicians fared even worse under the new regime. For a long time, their division or *Fachschaft* lay dormant, much to the chagrin of its members, who expressed their displeasure cautiously but unequivocally. And they had grounds for doing so, because the aforementioned Emergency Decree Law was still in force at many theatres and orchestras. As a result of the associated special regulations, orchestral musicians received a salary up to 35 percent lower than public service employees of comparable status.⁶⁰ It was not until 1 May 1938 that a new set of rules came into force in the form of the Employment Regulations for Cultural Orchestras (*Tarifordnung für Kulturorchester* or TOK). Had orchestral musicians taken Hitler's 'four-year promise' of 1 February 1933 literally, their verdict would surely have been damning.⁶¹

It almost sounded like an apology when Havemann's successor as executive director of the Reich Musicians, Hermann Henrich, at last announced that the employment regulations (*Tarifordnung*) had been finalized and explained their main features in the spring of 1938. He asserted that there was no need to justify the fact that 'in the National Socialist state a discussion in the parliamentary sense in circles large or small is out of the question', as he wrote in *Die Musik-Woche* ('Music Week'). But, he contended, because so many of those affected had come forward in advance with questions, suggestions and criticism, it had taken a long time to fully take stock of what amounted to a

58 See Prieberg, F. K., *Musik im NS-Staat*, Frankfurt am Main 1982, 185 f. On Voss's further career, see chapter 11.

59 See 'Leiter der Rechtsstelle an Frontbühne Bordorchester M/S "Wilhelm Gustloff", 11.2.1942', in LAB A Rep. 243-01/82, fol. 1; 'Zimmereiner an Wahnschaffe, 16.4.1942', in *ibid.*, fol. 2.

60 See Alfred Erdmann, 'Sind die Notverordnungsmaßnahmen für die Mitglieder der deutschen Kulturorchester in der heutigen Zeit noch aufrecht zu erhalten?', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 40, 5 October 1935, 4 f.

61 See Hermann Becker, 'Anstellungs- und Besoldungsfragen der deutschen Kulturorchester', *Musik im Zeitbewußtsein* no. 28, 13 July 1935, 3. In a radio broadcast, Hitler's exact words were: 'Now German *Volk*, give us four years' time, and then judge and pass sentence on us!'; quoted in Benz, *Third Reich*, 97.

complex body of material and to work out a fair and durable solution for all orchestras. As Henrich saw it, for the first time the new arrangements, which combined a unified set of employment regulations with the establishment of a pension scheme for all publicly financed orchestras, created 'a true profession of German orchestral musician', extending from the 'cultural cell' of the provincial municipal orchestra to the 'pinnacle of the proud pyramid', namely leading orchestras in the major metropolises.⁶²

Once again, the new employment regulations recapitulated a principle close to the heart of the old Musicians' Union by abolishing orchestra musicians' civil servant status.⁶³ The preservation and expansion of this status, conversely, was a key motive behind the founding of the RDO. Shortly before the promulgation of the new regulations, Alfred Erdmann was still defending this status, arguing that orchestral musicians carried out 'official functions' as 'public bearers of culture'.⁶⁴ There is much to suggest that the adoption of the new laws was delayed so long precisely because of this issue: President Raabe too was a friend of the orchestral civil servants.⁶⁵ The Nazi Party, on the other hand, generally had little sympathy for civil servants because, as they saw it, sluggish bureaucrats were merely an obstacle to rapid social mobilization.⁶⁶ This point of view was, of course, disadvantageous for orchestral musicians. The elimination of civil servant status meant a great loss of prestige for this subgroup. And it clearly made new members of the relevant ensembles worse off because they had to pay social security contributions into the pension fund. In addition, the TOK placed significant restrictions on the payment of so-called performance bonuses (*Leistungszulagen*), to which orchestral musicians had long since become accustomed.⁶⁷

62 Hermann Henrich, 'Der Sinn der Tarifordnung', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 15, 9 April 1938, 245 f.

63 The DEMUV had taken the view that professional interests could be much better represented through collective bargaining laws than within the framework of civil service laws. See 'Tarifrecht und Beamtenrecht', *DMZ* no. 33, 17 August 1929, 705 f.

64 Alfred Erdmann, 'Was die deutsche Orchestermusikerschaft vom Jahre 1937 erwartet', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 4, 23 January 1937, 1 f.

65 Given the outcome, Raabe clearly had little influence on this issue. Unfortunately, no informative documents of any kind are to be found in the Federal Archives. See also Okrassa, *Peter Raabe*, 323.

66 See Herbst, L., *Das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945. Die Entfesselung der Gewalt: Rassismus und Krieg*, Darmstadt 1997, 246 f.

67 In the post-war period, this policy even led to demands for 'indemnification' (*Wiedergutmachung*) in light of the 'wrongs done': 'Protokoll der Delegierten-Versammlung der DOV, 3.2.1953', in DOV AA GEN 1 Delegiertenversammlung 1952–54. A protracted dispute broke out between the RMK and the ministerial bureaucracy over performance bonuses. See Richter, 'Vermerk, 5.10.1940', in R 55/199, fol. 181.

A closer look at the new employment regulations themselves, moreover, reveals that the last collective wage agreement negotiated between the Musicians' Union and the Stage Association in 1928 had served as a template. Be it the rehearsal time of three hours, the regulations on the day off or the rest periods before and after performances – many provisions were adopted largely unchanged.⁶⁸ Other elements were enhanced to the benefit of musicians, such as continued payment of wages in the event of illness, which was expanded, in some cases quite considerably, depending on seniority, the extension of the guaranteed holiday to three weeks, employment in principle for an indefinite period and the standard notice period, which was lengthened to six months.⁶⁹

What was genuinely novel about the new employment regulations was that they specified remuneration as part of a tiered salary structure. The cultural orchestras were divided into five classes plus a special class, each with the same salary structure, depending on their artistic ability. However, standardization by no means automatically entailed financial improvements for all orchestral musicians. To a certain extent, in fact, the employment regulations had to ensure the preservation of the status quo for musicians who were already employed, precisely because a considerable portion of their earnings had consisted of performance bonuses.⁷⁰ Accordingly, in his commentary (echoing the new employment regulations themselves in their preamble), Henrich evoked the 'National Socialist worldview' and appealed to the orchestral musician's artistic ethos, which knew no 'petty individual interests' even if 'he believes he will make a few marks less'.⁷¹

The new system was also intended to create an artistic hierarchy within the German orchestral landscape, but this idea was doomed to failure from the start. The orchestras' salary structure ultimately depended on the salary class to which the local authorities assigned them, before these in-principle decisions were approved by the special trustee for labour (*Sondertreuhänder der Arbeit*), Hans Rüdiger, as something of a custodian of the

68 See 'Der neue Schlichterspruch im Bühnentarifstreit', *DMZ* no. 26, 30 June 1928, 561–565. On the role of the old collective wage agreement during this period of transition, see Hermann Henrich, 'Der Sinn der Tarifordnung', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 15, 9 April 1938, 245 f.

69 See 'Tarifordnung für die deutschen Kulturorchester', *Reichsarbeitsblatt* VI, no. 14, 1938, 597–600.

70 Salary increases *per se* were in the low double digits. See 'Einkommen der Orchestermitglieder nach der bisherigen und nach der neuen Regelung', undated (December 1938), in BArch R 55/199, fol. 16. The abolition of bonuses cut musicians' income, for example, in Augsburg and at the *Deutsches Opernhaus* in Berlin. See 'Oberbürgermeister Augsburg an Sondertreuhänder der Arbeit, 5.9.1938', in *ibid.*, fol. 89; 'Rode an Goebbels, 21.10.1939', in *ibid.*, fol. 241–247.

71 Hermann Henrich, 'Der Sinn der Tarifordnung', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 15, 9 April 1938, 245 f.

overall artistic tableau. What emerged was that many municipalities, notoriously cash-strapped, wanted their orchestras to receive a lower classification than planned; or they went so far as to request that they be exempted entirely from classification. Rüdiger cleverly passed the buck back to the local authorities by leaving it up to them to place ensembles in the lower three classes themselves. Any protests thus had to be negotiated locally.⁷²

Finally, another novel aspect of the new system and probably the most consequential was the legal enshrining of the so-called cultural orchestras (*Kulturorchester*) based on aesthetic considerations. They were defined as 'orchestral businesses that regularly provide operatic services or hold concerts of serious music'. Even orchestras that predominantly played operettas no longer came under the purview of the new employment regulations. In case of doubt, the decision was left to the special trustee.⁷³ What was new about this was not so much the term 'cultural orchestra', which appeared for the first time in the early days of the Weimar Republic and had become ever more common over the course of the 1920s to denote those orchestras funded by the public purse.⁷⁴ The distinction between high-cultural and popular music too had been a feature of German labour law in the shape of the phrase 'higher artistic interest' since the time of the German Empire.

What was truly new about this set of rules was that it defined the 'higher artistic interest' and thus not only pursued programme policy through ordinances on working conditions, but also intervened substantially in the (still highly varied) orchestral landscape: requests from medium-sized and smaller communities to be allowed to waive a classification were not only due to financial hardship, but also reflected the fact that their bands had been performing a broader range of music than permitted by the new definition of the cultural orchestra. The municipalities were therefore faced with an unappealing choice. They could risk being perceived as provincial cultural

72 See 'Rüdiger an Goebbels, 16.12.1938', in BArch R 55/199; 'IB an Goebbels, 21.12.1938', in *ibid.*; Steinweis, *Art*, 81 f.

73 'Tarifordnung für die deutschen Kulturorchester', *Reichsarbeitsblatt* VI, no. 14, 1938, here 597.

74 The earliest use of the term of which I am aware is in a petition submitted by the former court orchestras of Berlin, Wiesbaden, Kassel and Hanover to the Prussian government in June 1920. See C. Draeger, 'Den Manen Albert Diedrichs', *DMZ* no. 47, 21 November 1925, 1147 f. The term also came into common use in the Musicians' Union. See 'Luft-Kulturorchester?', *DMZ* no. 36, 4 September 1926, 847 f.; 'Aufbau im Abbau', *DMZ* no. 17, 26 April 1930, 345. But cf. Felbick, L., 'Das "hohe Kulturgut deutscher Musik" und das "Entartete" – über die Problematik des Kulturorchester-Begriffs', *Zeitschrift für Kulturmanagement* no. 2, 2015, 85–115.

philistines unwilling to cough up for a 'cultural orchestra' or they could subsidize an orchestra that exclusively served the musical tastes of a fairly small social class.⁷⁵ To a certain extent, then, the Employment Regulations of 1938, which provide the framework for the remuneration of orchestral musicians to this day, created the very object they were intended to regulate: the unique landscape of cultural orchestras for which Germany is still known across the world.⁷⁶

From the perspective of many musicians, the idea of the cultural orchestra in the Nazi state remained a vision cultivated by aesthetic purists. This was reflected in the publicly subsidized orchestras that continued to follow the audience on holiday every summer and provide musical entertainment as spa bands, which made up no less than half of all ensembles classified as cultural orchestras.⁷⁷ Remuneration according to the new rules would have driven the health resorts into financial ruin, so all these orchestras were paid according to the cultural classification in winter but still on the basis of the lower spa category in summer. The spa administrations at least continued to pay the social benefits of the cultural orchestras, which were not supposed to apply to spa bands. In return, they were given a free hand in programme policy.⁷⁸ Hence, the regime's vision of a musical landscape in which cultural orchestras existed in a pure form remained a pipe dream; only in West Germany did it become a reality.

Exclusions: Jews and Opponents of the Regime

What clearly set Nazi music policy apart from that of the republican era was its repressive measures against Jewish and other musicians who were viewed by the regime as enemies, such as communists and homosexuals. While no statistics are available for the latter, the proportion of musicians who considered

75 Two years before the new employment regulations were introduced, *Die Musik-Woche* was singing the praises of the flexible small-town orchestra (reference in this case was to towns of up to 50,000 inhabitants), which was used as symphony orchestra, dance ensemble, spa orchestra and *Kirchweihkapelle*, that is, a band performing at fairs. See Günther Köhler, 'Der Orchestermusiker im Kulturleben der Kleinstadt', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 7, 15 February 1936, 2 f.

76 See Schulmeister, 'Weltkulturerbe'; Felbick, 'Kulturgut'.

77 See the account of the lifeworld of the Borkum Spa Orchestra (*Kurorchester Borkum*), which was formed by members of the Oldenburg State Theatre (*Oldenburgisches Landestheater*), in Budde, G. and M. Witkowski, *Beethoven unterm Hakenkreuz. Das Oldenburgische Staatsorchester während des Nationalsozialismus*, Oldenburg 2007, 77–80.

78 See Flügel, 'Vermerk', in BArch R 55/199, fol. 61.

themselves members of the Jewish religious community was around 2 percent of the entire profession.

Of a total of almost 94,000 professional musicians, including singers, the occupational census of June 1933 recorded 1,915 individuals of Jewish religion; over a third of them were women. Thus, although Jews were twice as likely to be found in the music profession as in the general population, they were present in significantly small numbers than in other artistic occupations such as acting (almost 7 percent) and writing (more than 12 percent).⁷⁹ Even taking into account the Nuremberg Race Laws (*Nürnberger Rassengesetze*) of 1935, which greatly intensified repressive Nazi policies targeting Jews while widening the group of persons affected, Jews remained an absolute minority in the profession: to extrapolate, a total of around 2,600 musicians will have been subject to the new laws.⁸⁰

The gradual but systematic process of the displacement of Jews on the labour market thus had minor effects. This process began with the 'Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service' (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*) of 7 April 1933, continued in the summer of 1935 with the general exclusion of Jews from the Reich Chamber of Music and was subsequently completed through the repeal of exemptions.⁸¹ Among the few to benefit from this development and explicitly say so was Norbert Schultze, a conductor and later Goebbels' in-house composer. According to his own statements, having single-mindedly pursued membership of the Militant League for German Culture in order to improve his career opportunities, despite Hitler's 'stupid anti-Semitism', he took over from Hermann Ludwig as conductor at the Munich People's Theatre (*Volkstheater*). With Schultze's consent, however, this Jewish musician continued to work at the same establishment

79 See Friedrich Zander, 'Die Berufe der Musikausübenden in der deutschen Reichsstatistik', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 25, 19 June 1937, 1–4, here 3. Figures on the other professions in Steinweis, *Art*, 105.

80 The Nuremberg Race Laws deprived Jews of civil and electoral rights and henceforth made identification dependent on ancestry. See Friedländer, S., *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939*, vol. 1, London 1997, 145–151. Extrapolation based on Friedländer's figures: according to him, the number of Jews in Germany increased from 525,000 to approximately 700,000 under the new definition. See *ibid.*, 62 and 150 f. My extrapolated figure of 2,600 is somewhat higher than the RMK figure on expulsions, which was around 2,200 musicians in 1936. See Steinweis, *Art*, 110 f.

81 See Steinweis, *Art*, 104–120. Above all, it was economic reasons that made a gradual policy necessary. Exceptions long continued to apply to publishing houses such as Fürstner and Peters and to internationally successful composers, who brought in foreign currency. See also Friedländer, *Nazi Germany*, 131–135.

as celesta player, and the two allegedly became friends. Few musicians wrote so openly about the ways in which they benefited from the new regime; a supposedly maladroit but simultaneously patronizing attitude, conversely, was far more common, especially in personal accounts that appeared after 1945.⁸²

Meanwhile, for a large portion of the music profession, everyday working life simply continued. It is difficult to judge to what extent musicians were simply ignorant of the exclusion of Jews and other undesirables, indifferent *Mitläufer* (hangers-on) or applauding sympathizers. But fluctuations in musical line-ups were, traditionally, far from unusual in the fast-moving entertainment sector, and in large symphony orchestras it may not have been especially noticeable if one or two musicians out of fifty disappeared. In any case, given these small numbers and the army of unemployed musicians, it is unsurprising that there are very few accounts of the systematic discrimination against Jewish musicians penned by those who were unaware of what was going on, looked on while doing nothing about it or even benefited from it.⁸³

But it was not only musicians who had nothing to fear from Nazism that soon focussed their attention on everyday life. A large proportion of musicians in Germany facing discrimination also found their way back relatively quickly to a professional life that, while clearly subject to the conditions of Nazi rule, still entailed something akin to everyday work routines. Violinist Alfred Malige, who was employed by the Leipzig Radio Orchestra (*Rundfunkorchester*) and had been dismissed in March 1933 due to his communist activities, first had to endure further harassment directed against him and his family. This included house searches as well as his wife's involuntary job transfer and the deliberate withholding of offers of employment. But the violinist did not give up, instead taking up a new career and becoming self-employed. As leader of the 'Fred Malige' traveling band, he soon gained a national reputation and, when the war resulted in the disbandment of his ensemble, he was even praised by the editor-in-chief of *Unterhaltungsmusik* ('Popular Music'), Arthur von Gyzicki-Arkadjew, who stated that his band had formed 'a bulwark against the onslaught, against resounding idiocy – against the slippage of the entire profession'. Even if Malige was happy to find a place at a symphony

82 See Schultze, *Marleen*, 35–37. The more closely musicians had been linked with the regime, the more likely such 'rescue stories' were. See for example Franz Adam, 'Lebenslauf des Unterzeichneten, 8.7.1948', in BSB Ana 559 NL Adam, C. I.16; 'Spruchkammer München I, Spruch gegen Franz Adam, 10.8.1948', in *ibid.*

83 See also Aster, M., *The Reich's Orchestra: The Berlin Philharmonic, 1933–45*. Oakville, ON 2010, 55.

orchestra again after the outbreak of war, he did not seem to have regretted his recent foray into the world of popular music.⁸⁴

For a time, even the activities of Jewish musicians took on almost quotidian features under Nazism, provided they were employed by one of the Jewish cultural leagues. The initiative to found such bodies came from Berlin-based neurologist, violinist and conductor Kurt Singer and director Kurt Baumann, who began to contemplate the future of Jewish cultural workers immediately after the 'seizure of power'.

As early as July 1933, Hans Hinkel, at the time still state commissioner at the Prussian Ministry of Education and Culture, gave the green light for the establishment of a Berlin league. He liked the plan because it kept Jewish artists out of the job market and made them easier to control. In addition, the league could be used for propaganda purposes abroad. Last but not least, as the person in charge, Hinkel banked on increasing his own power.⁸⁵

The idea of a cultural league quickly inspired imitators throughout the Reich, so that by the mid-1930s, under Nazi supervision, a vibrant cultural life, constructed exclusively by Jews for Jews, had developed in probably more than sixty cities. Classical music played a particularly important role alongside the theatre of the spoken. Entire symphony orchestras were created in Berlin, Frankfurt, Mannheim, Munich, Stuttgart and Breslau. This organizational ghettoization, however, was soon followed by aesthetic restrictions and guidelines: little by little, Hinkel banned the performance of 'German' composers and dramatists and narrowed the repertoire down to 'Jewish' authors and composers in order to advance cultural segregation and demonstrate the supposed otherness of Jews.⁸⁶

Regardless of these restrictive and increasingly discriminatory conditions, the Jewish cultural leagues not only enabled musicians to make a living, but also triggered the development of a new lifeworld, in which musical work in the league became a matter of everyday routine. Nowhere is this more clearly expressed than in Martin Goldsmith's double biography of his parents Günter Goldschmidt and Rosemarie Gumpert, who met in the orchestra of the Frankfurt League. Günter Goldschmidt, who had emigrated to Sweden after a brief period as a substitute worker in Frankfurt, returned to Germany in autumn

84 See Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 64–74, quotation on 74.

85 See Fritsch-Vivié, G., *Gegen alle Widerstände. Der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933–1941*, Berlin 2013, 188–191. On the debate on the character of the league, covering the spectrum from Nazi instrument to aid to emigration, see Hirsch, L. E., *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Cultural League*, Ann Arbor, MI 2010, 148–158.

86 See Prieberg, *NS-Staat*, 80–83; Steinweis, *Art*, 120–122.

1936, due no doubt to the delirium of young love, but probably also because orchestral work within the Cultural League appealed to him. According to their own account, the pair had two happy years before they had to move to Berlin. After the pogroms of November 1938 at the latest, which resulted in the disbandment of all the leagues except for the one in Berlin, this refuge of Jewish life in Nazi Germany was finally consigned to history.⁸⁷

Civil Decline ...

The effects of the repressive policies targeting Jews and dissidents on the music profession remained negligible because this group was relatively small. The consequences of general music policy and its failures, meanwhile, were more conspicuous. This started with women. Virtually nothing had changed with respect to their extremely meagre presence in symphony orchestras and among performing musicians as a whole; on the contrary, the number of full-time women musicians fell from more than 5,300 in June 1933 by about a third to just over 3,500 in May 1939. In contrast, the number of self-employed women music teachers increased, from 9,100 to almost 12,400.⁸⁸ Female musicians who aspired to a career as a performer could expect little help from the new regime. This was hardly surprising given a family policy that, among other things, issued interest-free loans to husbands if their wives gave up work or refrained from taking a job in the first place.⁸⁹ The Berlin Women's Chamber Orchestra (*Berliner Frauen-Kammerorchester*), which was founded in 1934, remained the only one of its kind until the outbreak of war and primarily served propaganda purposes, with appearances abroad as well as at events organized by the Strength Through Joy organization (*Kraft durch Freude* or KdF) and the National Socialist Cultural Community (*Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde*). In the shape of the Vienna Women's Symphony Orchestra (*Wiener Frauensymphonieorchester*), formed in October 1939, also a purely

87 See Goldsmith, M., *The Inextinguishable Symphony: A True Story of Music and Love in Nazi Germany*, New York 2000, 93–100 and 190–195; Kater, *Muse*, 192; on their subsequent fate, see chapter 10.

88 See tables A, B and C in the appendix. The total increase in the number of working women musicians between 1933 and 1939 by about 3,000 women is chiefly attributable to the field of music education.

89 See Mason, *Sozialpolitik*, 96 f.

string ensemble, just one other major orchestra was founded under the Nazi regime.⁹⁰

The decline in employed women musicians not only coincided with a conservative turn in family policy, but was also congruent with general trends, because the musical labour market shrank considerably in the Nazi state: in 1939 almost 49,000 musicians were in dependent employment, a few hundred fewer than in 1925, although the Reich population rose by almost 30 percent from 62 to 79 million in the same period.⁹¹ If we add together full-time and part-time musicians, between 1933 and 1939 the professional field shrank by a little more than 3,000 people in total, from around 119,500 to 116,300 individuals in employment. The number of part-time musicians increased significantly in the same period, which was mainly due to the fact that now many men began to give music lessons on the side or to work as freelance musicians in other ways. In the shape of the 49,000 musicians in full-time employment, there were more than 13,000 more people making a living in 1939 than in 1933; the remaining 16,000, who had been counted as unemployed dependent employees in 1933, however, pursued music only as a side-line or had left the professional field entirely.⁹²

These figures inevitably point to the conclusion that the profession of civilian music had generally lost its appeal, despite all the reform efforts of the Reich Chamber of Music and all the job creation measures implemented by the German Labour Front and its Strength Through Joy organization.⁹³ This development was certainly due in part to factors that were not the responsibility of the Nazi state, such as the advancing mechanization of music and the decline of silent films. Probably more decisive, however, was a certain neglect of the profession, which found expression both directly and indirectly. In terms of direct measures, music policy reforms, some of which had only been undertaken after considerable delay, provided no financial or social policy incentives. And in an indirect sense, the well-being of musicians took a back seat in an economic policy geared towards autarchy and rearmament, a policy that had served to advance German war preparations since the Nuremberg

90 See Friedel, C., 'Frauenensembles im Dritten Reich', in *Info/Frau und Musik, Internationaler Arbeitskreis e. V.: Archivnachrichten*, 19, 1990, 1–10; Prieberg, *NS-Staat*, 295; Othmar Wetzy, 'Wiener Frauensymphonieorchester', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 30, 20 September 1941, 309. On the KdF, see also Baranowsky, S., *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich*, Cambridge 2007, 56 f.

91 The increase was primarily due to the reintegration of the Saarland, the 'Anschluss' of Austria and the occupation of the Sudetenland.

92 See tables A, B and C in the appendix.

93 For details of the job creation measures, see Steinweis, *Art*, 74–79.

Reich Party Congress of September 1936 at the latest. Music functionary Hermann Blume was aware of this two years earlier when he declared to the many musicians who had felt overlooked by the new state that there was no point 'for example, in assigning bands to the work gangs constructing the Reich's motorways [...]'.⁹⁴

The declining appeal of the civilian music profession was already noticeable in peacetime. One young orchestral musician, for example, who had learned his trade in a municipal apprentice band and was determined to make a career in a 'cultural orchestra', complained of a lack of opportunities for advancement and low wages. The high-cultural institutions, he contended, did not even consider applications from musicians in outdated municipal pipe bands, while the apprentice's and journeyman's wages were barely enough to live on.⁹⁵ Even established orchestral musicians predicted anything but a bright future for their profession. Of 100 musicians, violinist Ekkehard Vigelius speculated, 99 would not allow their son to embark on a musical career: 'He'd be better off going into something more sensible!' was the oft-heard rationale.⁹⁶

As a result of the low demand for a music degree, the problem received more attention. 'How are [...] our cultural orchestras supposed to fill their gaps when the water level in the reservoirs is already sinking alarmingly?' Hanns Ludwig Kormann asked resignedly in the spring of 1939. Again taking up a concept dear to the defunct Musicians' Union, this employee of the Reich Music Examination Office (*Reichsmusikprüfstelle*) in the Ministry of Propaganda pleaded for the re-establishment of orchestral schools at conservatoires.⁹⁷ Once again remarkably late, a debate on reforming the education system at all levels thus began, from music schools through orchestral schools to conservatoires, which dragged on until 1943, but could achieve virtually nothing due to the war.⁹⁸ Not only the war, but the years of preparation for

94 Hermann Blume, 'Arbeit, Arbeit! Das Gebot der Stunde', *Musik im Zeitbewußtsein* no. 36, 8 September 1934, 1.

95 H. Gaiser, 'Die Not der Jungen – die Anstellung. Eine Stimme aus den Reihen der jungen Orchestermusiker', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 39, 24 September 1938, 605 f.

96 Ekkehard Vigelius, 'Formung und Ausbildung des Nachwuchses für die Kulturorchester', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 23, 4 June 1938, 369 f.

97 Hans Ludwig Kormann, 'Zur Frage des Musiker-Nachwuchses', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 12, 25 March 1939, 178 f. On the recruitment problem, see also Prieberg, *NS-Staat*, 296.

98 See note 'Einrichtung von Orchesterschulen, 24.5.1941', in BArch N 15/317; 'Rust an Unterrichtsverwaltungen der Länder', in *ibid.* R 36/2386; 'Rust an Bormann, 24.4.1943', in *ibid.* R 36/2387. For critical remarks on the state of the music academies, see also Oberborbeck, F., 'Gegenwartsaufgaben der Musikhochschule', in W. Stumme (ed.), *Musik im Volk. Grundfragen der Musikerziehung*, Berlin 1939, 83–101; see also Prieberg, *NS-Staat*, 251 f.

war led to an appreciable depletion of the civilian profession. The flipside of this neglect was the renaissance of military music.

... and Remilitarization

The boom in military music, which has as yet mostly been overlooked, was as natural as it was extensive. With the reintroduction of compulsory military service in March 1935, a massive programme of rearmament began, which included military music. Numerous new regimental bands were created, and all were increased in size by 10 musicians, to make a total of 37 per ensemble. The SS and SA also effected a musical upgrade. The establishment of high-quality wind orchestras for the Luftwaffe, as a new branch of the armed forces, happened to be one of the favourite pastimes of its Commander-in-Chief Hermann Göring.⁹⁹ There are no exact figures, but contemporaries estimated the number of military bands at between 900 and 1,000, employing an estimated 31,500 to 35,000 musicians.¹⁰⁰ On this premise, in 1939 one in three full-time musicians was employed by the armed forces, and this group made up almost 40 percent of musicians in dependent employment.¹⁰¹

The remilitarization of German musical life has never captured the attention of researchers in part because of a highly unfavourable source situation.¹⁰² Military music probably also faded into the background because it became independent of the Reich Chamber of Music. In October 1934, the Reichswehr Ministry and the RMK agreed to exempt military musicians from all rights and duties involved in the chamber. On paper, the different bailiwicks were neatly separated, and public performances by military bands were restricted to a few events per month. But the agreement deprived the civilian

99 The artistic recognition of his wind orchestras was so important to Göring that in 1937 he intervened in an unsuccessful attempt to prompt the ADMV to include them in the musicians' conventions. He was more successful with the STAGMA, where he achieved a special status for composers who composed new works for his wind orchestras. See 'Reichsminister der Luftfahrt an Rasch, 18.3.1937', in GSA 70/152; Dümling, *Musik*, 222.

100 See Höfele, *Militärmusik*, 187–195. On the SS, see Bunge, F., *Musik in der Waffen-SS. Die Geschichte der SS-Musikkorps*, Dresden 2006. Number of musicians calculated on the basis of 35 musicians per band: although trumpet and battalion bands had 27 members, many special military bands (*Sondermusikkorps*) were much larger.

101 See table A in the appendix. Military musicians were not counted in the occupational census.

102 See Matthews, B., *Military Music & Bandsmen of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich 1933–1945*, Winchester 2002, 27.

authorities of all control over the future size of military music formations and over how important they ought to be. It was not long before the RMK was complaining that the Reichswehr was aggressively recruiting students in training at apprentice bands and similar establishments.¹⁰³ The competitive battle for prestige and influence in Nazi musical life had thus been joined, and the figures make it clear that military music gained considerable ground in a very short time.

In reality, the military musical apparatus grew rapidly and in an uncoordinated manner. The band of the *Leibstandarte ss 'Adolf Hitler'*, for example, was formed as early as August 1933; other ss bands were founded soon after. Military musicians were not, however, recruited only from among up-and-coming civilian musicians. Soldiers trained in the Hitler Youth, seasoned professional musicians and amateurs all came together in military bands. What they had in common was that they had to undergo basic military training, which lasted up to three months, before they could pick up their instrument.¹⁰⁴

In contrast to the civilian sector, the expansion of military music was flanked by a targeted policy intended to ensure a new generation of musicians. As early as October 1935, a military music school was established in Bückeburg, which was officially recognized by the War Ministry but initially remained in civilian hands and under the supervision of the RMK. Four years later, when the desired results failed to materialize, Ernst Lothar von Knorr, music advisor to the Army High Command, insisted that it should be placed under military administration. He got his wish and, in the shape of Paul Kehr, a former conductor of the Munich State Opera was put in charge of the school.¹⁰⁵ Among the most prominent students of this institution were Hans Last, who made a great career in West Germany under the first name of James, and Werner Müller, who later established the RIAS (*Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor* or 'Radio in the American Sector') Dance Orchestra (*Tanzorchester*) in Berlin, directing it for almost twenty years.¹⁰⁶ A second military music school opened shortly afterwards in Frankfurt am Main. Earlier, in 1938, the Luftwaffe had

103 See 'Vereinbarung zwischen dem Reichswehrministerium und der Reichsmusikkammer', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 34, 3 October 1934, 117 f.; 'Einstellung von Musiklehrlingen in die Musikkorps der Reichswehr', *ibid.* no. 17, 22 May 1935, 47.

104 See Bunge, *Musik*, 25–39; Matthews, *Military*, 34–36.

105 See 'Errichtung einer Militärmusikschule in Bückeburg', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 27, 2 October 1935, 81; Knorr, E.-L. von, *Lebenserinnerungen. Erlebtes musikalisches Geschehen in Deutschland*, edited by Ernst-Lothar von Knorr-Stiftung, Cologne 1996, 78–81.

106 See Last, J. and T. Macho, *Mein Leben. Die Autobiographie*, Munich 2007, 29–33. On Müller, see Wölfer, J., *Jazz in Deutschland. Das Lexikon. Alle Musiker und Plattenfirmen von 1920 bis heute*, Höfen 2008, 238.

already opened its own school in Sondershausen, and the Waffen ss also set great store by having its own training facility, which opened its doors in Braunschweig in 1940.¹⁰⁷

Military bands' aspiration to produce art music did not disappear under Nazism. On the contrary, seasoned orchestral musicians taught at the newly established schools. In addition to marching and wind music, military bands also frequently gave symphony concerts. I have already mentioned the artistic ambitions of the Luftwaffe, whose formations readily presented their new wind music compositions at the Berlin Philharmonic. And the *ss-Leibstandarte* band made the trip to Bayreuth every year to sound the fanfares from the balcony of the Festival Theatre.¹⁰⁸

Military music was valorized on ideological grounds, and even civilian musical notables, regardless of musical genre, could not ignore its enhanced status: both Paul Lincke and Peter Raabe conducted military music formations without further ado, and Richard Strauss fulsomely praised arrangements of his orchestral works for military bands. Finally, military music's remarkable comeback was topped off by Hitler himself, who met a demand made by its practitioners for over fifty years: in April 1938, he at last elevated bandmasters to the rank of officer. Within a few years of Nazi rule, the army had once again become an attractive and respected employer for musicians.¹⁰⁹

United in Discord: the Music of the *Volksgemeinschaft*

Overall, the measures pursued by the Reich Chamber of Music were calculated to organize musicians' various areas of activity, to classify them hierarchically according to artistic criteria and to differentiate them more strongly from one another in terms of labour and employment law. Aesthetic music policy in a narrower sense, meanwhile, aimed to provide a musical foundation for the *Volksgemeinschaft* or National Community and thus to do the exact opposite. In addition to the destructive aspect of this policy, which is often discussed

107 See Matthew, *Military*, 40 f. For details on Sondershausen, see Höfele, *Militärmusik*, 191–193.

108 See Bunge, *Musik*, 25–28 and 70–74; Georg Kandler, 'Was erhoffen wir vom Jahre 1937?', *DMMZ* no. 3, 16 January 1937, 1–4; Hauptmann Winter, 'Die Musik der Luftwaffe', *ibid.* no. 9, 28 February 1937, 7 f.

109 Lincke conducted the *Leibstandarte* among other ensembles; see Bunge, *Musik*, 26; Georg Kandler, 'Der Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer dirigierte deutsche Militärmusiker', *DMMZ* no. 24, 12 June 1937, 2 f.; Georg Kandler, 'Richard Strauss über Bearbeitungen seiner sinfonischen Werke für Blasorchester', *ibid.* no. 43, 26 October 1940, 371.

in the literature – such as the *Degenerate Music* exhibition in Düsseldorf in 1938 or the jazz ban on radio issued in October 1935 – the relevant authorities launched various initiatives to create new, truly ‘German’ music and thus to give the longed-for *Volksgemeinschaft* the ‘right’ soundtrack.¹¹⁰

It was so-called popular music (*Unterhaltungsmusik*) that received the greatest amount of attention. This was a term that the Nazis had certainly not invented, but which they consciously propagated and used as an alternative to ‘ensemble music’ with its French connotations.¹¹¹ There were at least four reasons that popular music was the focus of aesthetic music policy. First, the goal was to counter the hated jazz with something new and German. Second, nowhere did the expulsion of Jews from musical life leave a greater void than in the creative field of popular music. Third, the masses felt little enthusiasm for modern art music, even if it was written by composers as loyal to the party line as Werner Egk or Paul Graener. And fourth, the overall valorization of the music profession could succeed only if popular music received greater aesthetic recognition. It is thus no coincidence that in his ‘Ten Principles of German Music-Making’, which he proclaimed at the Reich Music Festival (*Reichsmusiktag*) in Düsseldorf in the summer of 1938, Goebbels stated dryly in his second precept: ‘Not all music is suitable for everyone.’ Therefore, the propaganda minister went on, ‘the kind of popular music that has found favour with the broad masses [also has] its *raison d’être*’. Conversely, it was not until his penultimate point that he mentioned the ‘great masters of the past’, who had to be honoured.¹¹²

The increased commitment to a ‘new popular music’, of the kind Hinkel called for in 1936 at the first Reich conference of the Composers’ Department,¹¹³ provided representatives of different musical worlds with a common

110 On the exhibition, see Du Closel, A., *Erstickte Stimmen. ‘Entartete Musik’ im Dritten Reich*, Vienna 2010; for a summarizing account of Jazz, see Hasenbein, H., ‘Unerwünscht – toleriert – instrumentalisiert. Jazz und Swing im Nationalsozialismus’, 1999. *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* no. 10, 1995, 38–52; Polster, B., ‘Es zittern die morschen Knochen’, in Polster, B. (ed.), *‘Swing Heil’. Jazz im Nationalsozialismus*, Berlin 1989, 9–30.

111 Thus, in 1936, the *Fachschaft für Ensemble- und freistehende Musiker* (Division of Ensemble and Freelance Musicians) was renamed the *Fachschaft Unterhaltungsmusiker* (Division of Entertainment Musicians), just as the tradition-rich journal *Der Artist* (‘The Artist’) was renamed *Die Unterhaltungsmusik* (‘Popular Music’). See Herrock, ‘Unterhaltungsmusik’, *Die Unterhaltungsmusik* no. 2650, 1 October 1936, 1239–1241.

112 ‘Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Musikschaffens’, *Ämtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 11, 1 June 1938, 41. For the essentials, see Jockwer, ‘Unterhaltungsmusik’.

113 See ‘1. Reichstagung der deutschen Komponisten’, *Die Einheit* no. 6, November 1937, 3–6.

theme and inspired some absurd suggestions. On the one hand – and in involuntary continuity with the free-spirited aesthetic eclecticism of the Weimar Republic – some ensemble musicians advocated adapting or arranging works by German composers for popular music. Baroque music was identified as suitable material for the coffee house, as were excerpts from Egk's opera *Die Zauberflöte*. Various songs by Richard Strauss, whose vocals were to be replaced by the first violin, were also discussed, and even Bruckner was far from taboo. An article in *Unterhaltungsmusik*, for instance, recommended the trio in the third movement of Symphony No. 4 and the adagio in Symphony No. 7 for arrangement, because, as it argued, there were ample opportunities even for musicians in this field to 'enter into Bruckner's cheerful and pious German heart'.¹¹⁴ While such ideas were subject to controversial debate, this discourse clearly made an impact on the music publishers' programming policy. A monthly booklet of autumn 1936, for example, which promised the 'latest hit and song lyrics', included Franz Schubert's 'Ständchen' right next to 'Tante Jutta aus Kalkutta' ('Aunt Jutta from Calcutta').¹¹⁵

On the other hand, well-known figures in the world of art music suddenly began to grapple with the nature and future of popular music and sought to level differences. Furtwängler, for example, intervened in the jazz debate. Conceding that he had no idea about this style of music, he suggested that it should not be condemned wholesale. Something could certainly be done with 'classical jazz music' if, 'instead of the dance music of the Negro women [...] the rustling of the palm trees' were set to music: 'The essence of the music should be captured, making it both folksy and uplifting.'¹¹⁶ In an interview, Chamber President Peter Raabe, when asked for his opinion of hits, recalled an entrance exam in which the examinee stated that he would now sing the popular 'Winterstürme wichen dem Wonnemond', an excerpt from Wagner's *Die Walküre*. Hit songs, Raabe concluded, were a matter of quality and values: 'We need a cheery German dance that refuses to emulate hot jazz.'¹¹⁷ In order to create such music, Raabe stated elsewhere, those composers who had already made

114 Lothar H. Br. Schmidt, 'Bruckner, der deutsche Mensch', *Die Unterhaltungsmusik* no. 2651, 8 October 1936, 1259 f. On Baroque music, see Otto Icks, 'Gute Musik im Kaffeehaus', *Der Artist* no. 2459, 3 February 1933, 140. On Strauss and other contemporaries, see Reinmar von Zweter, 'Kreuz und quer durch die Musik', *ibid.* no. 2640, 23 July 1936, 843.

115 Reinmar von Zweter, 'Kreuz und quer durch die Musik', *Der Artist* no. 2467, 10 September 1936, 1129; see also Jockwer, 'Unterhaltungsmusik', 161–167.

116 Reinmar von Zweter, 'Kreuz und quer durch die Musik', *Der Artist* no. 2640, 23 July 1936, 843.

117 Reinmar von Zweter, 'Kreuz und quer durch die Musik', *Die Unterhaltungsmusik* no. 2652, 15 October 1936, 1290 f.

a career in the world of serious music must also be made to do their duty. They should not 'consider themselves too good to write good popular music'.¹¹⁸

There was thus no lack either of declarations of loyalty to the musical 'National Community' or of suggested routes to a new popular music, however fanciful they may have been. In practice, however, concrete initiatives regularly failed because aesthetic preferences were ultimately more important to composers, performers and the audience than ideological precepts. The first such initiative was the 'great advertising campaign' launched by the Composers' Department. In August 1934, its tellingly titled bulletin *Die Einheit* ('Unity'), called 'creators to the front':¹¹⁹ fresh 'German' music was to be identified through an eight-category competition, while the works selected would be advertised on the radio and at special concerts. The first three categories were reserved for the popular genre: dance music, popular music and artistic popular music. Works were initially assessed by examining committees, which were established within the country's various music academies and were supposed to cooperate with a representative of the venerable General German Music Association. Hence, the advertising campaign de facto expanded the association's decades-long practice of presenting compositions of art music submitted annually at musicians' festivals to the entire musical spectrum; this led to genres such as mass singing and popular music becoming part of these events from 1934 onwards.¹²⁰

For the selection of works in the field of popular music, experts were to be called in, which reflects the one-sided staffing of the examining committees by representatives of serious music. From a musical point of view, no further guidelines were issued other than the recommendation to avoid 'American instrumentation' with respect to works in the three popular categories. Committee members were advised to privilege instruments that were 'in line with the German character', such as the horn.¹²¹ Despite the large number of participants, the competition ended in a fiasco, at least when it came to popular music. It was mainly better-known composers who had submitted their work, though the initiative was intended to unlock latent talent. Furthermore, the jury assessed the quality of the submissions as moderate at best, especially

118 'Der zweite deutsche Komponistentag', *Die Einheit* 5, December 1935, 1–12, here 10.

119 'Die Schaffenden an die Front', *Die Einheit* 2, August 1934, 1 f.

120 See 'Bestimmungen für den großen Werbefeldzug des Berufsstandes der Komponisten', *Die Einheit* 2, August 1934, 3 f.; Kopsch, 'Vermerk, 8.8.1934', in GSA 70/152; Ernst Laaf, '67. Tonkünstlerversammlung des ADMV', *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* no. 7, 14 July 1936, 56–59; see also Kaminiarz, *Strauss*, here 17 f.

121 *Ibid.*

in the three popular music categories. Most of the entries were for the latter but fell so far below the requirements of the examining authorities that the planned performances were cancelled.¹²²

The damning indictment delivered by the composers of art music to their colleagues in the field of popular music was just the first of several slaps in the face for the hit-making faction. This pointed up the absurdity of any notion of professional unity, let alone the broader vision of a musical 'National Community'. The composers' conferences held annually at Burg Castle near Remscheid from 1936 onwards clearly reflected serious musicians' disdain for popular music: so few representatives of the latter were present at the first conference that Graener spoke profusely about their mediocre artistic work.¹²³ A year later, the specially arranged 'cheerful musical evening' in a pub triggered such vociferous expressions of displeasure with the works performed – by composers such as Hanns Löhr and Will Meisel – that the event had to be aborted. And in the years that followed too, the representatives of popular music in attendance felt they were being routinely neglected as second-class composers.¹²⁴

Conversely, popular music that pandered to the views prevailing among the purveyors of serious music and came across as overly ambitious or old-fashioned rarely found favour with the public. The music festival in Bad Pyrmont organized a composition competition in August 1936 with a view to promoting 'new, entertaining music'; this was intended to breathe new life into spa music. One review praised one or the other new composition, such as Boris Blacher's 'Kurmusik' for its rousing character. Overall, however, it was cautiously expressed criticism that predominated in this text. The characterization of Hermann Erpf's 'Nachtmusik', which the reviewer felt was overloaded with polyphony and counterpoint, gives us at least some idea of the liveliness and entertainment value of these concerts. However that may be, the conclusion was clear: 'There is no such thing yet as a new German popular music' – because, to quote the reason identified by this reviewer, most new works failed utterly to connect with the audience.¹²⁵

122 See 'Der Werbefeldzug', *Die Einheit* 3, December 1934, 16.

123 Graener's allegations against popular music were, however, in part personally motivated, because he was in financial difficulties and also envied his colleagues' lavish royalties. He thus also tried to shift the distribution key further in favour of serious music. See Domann, 'Graener', 76–78.

124 For details, see Jockwer, 'Unterhaltungsmusik', 169–174.

125 Walter Riekenberg, 'Pyrmontener Musikfest 1936', *Der Artist* no. 2647, 10 September 1936, 1131–1134; 'Neue unterhaltsame Musik', *ibid.* no. 2643, 13 August 1936, 1007 f.; Jockwer, 'Unterhaltungsmusik', 170 f.

Finally, dance music was such a hot topic that the Composers' Department would not go near it, while the radio stations got their fingers burned when they did. In the wake of the jazz ban issued in 1935, the latter initiated a public competition to find a substitute. It ended in an own goal. At the Berlin finale in March 1936, Fritz Weber, who was highly favoured by the around 7,000 listeners, and his band – suspected of jazz – came away empty-handed, while the staid Willy Burkart won first prize; Weber subsequently went on to fill venues throughout the Reich, while Burkart was never to be heard of again.¹²⁶

As meagre as the musical accomplishments of these initiatives were, and though they did little to forge a musical 'National Community' among audiences or even within the musical fraternity, they did have certain consequences. The unsuccessful search for a new 'German' popular music, which was concurrently intended to endow this musical spectrum with greater prestige, at least helped improve the financial position of its creators. It was not entirely coincidental that the originator of this initiative was Norbert Schultze, composer of 'Lili Marleen' and 'Bomben auf Engelland'. An opportunist through and through, he was also a conformist traveller between musical worlds of every kind imaginable and in this respect he was perfectly in keeping with Goebbels' musico-political tastes. Schultze embraced the ideology of a musical 'National Community' and applied it to the distribution key of the State-Approved Society for the Exploitation of Musical Performing Rights (*Staatlich genehmigte Gesellschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Aufführungsrechte* or STAGMA). In 1940, he had a memorandum distributed within the German music world in which he expressed the view that the 'division of German composers and their works into a culturally more valuable and a culturally less valuable class no longer corresponds in any way to the facts'.¹²⁷

Schultze thus called into question the so-called 'serious third', a regulation only introduced in 1934 at the urging of Richard Strauss. It stipulated that regardless of the music events generating capital, a third of the total revenue would be distributed to composers of art music. Schultze's little revolution led to lively discussions at Burg Castle, though nothing came of them. Goebbels,

126 For details, see Ritzel, F., "... und nun an die Front, deutsche Kapellen, deutsche Musiker!" Informationen und Überlegungen zu Wettbewerben in der populären Musikszene aus der Zeit vor dem 2. Weltkrieg, in D. Helms and T. Phleps (eds.), *Keiner darf gewinnen. Populäre Musik im Wettbewerb*, Bielefeld 2005, 41–55; on other failed initiatives, see also Kater, *Spiel*, 110–117.

127 Quoted in 'Arbeitstagung auf Schloß Burg', *Mitteilungen der Fachschaft Komponisten* Nov. 1940, 11. See also his own account in Schultze, *Marleen*, 86 f.; also Prieberg, *NS-Staat*, 264 f.

however, with a view to the propaganda value of popular music in the war, embraced Schultze's critique and adjusted the distribution key to the benefit of this genre. Popular music had taken its revenge.¹²⁸

But the long-term consequences of these forced encounters and conflicts between representatives of serious and popular music should not be underestimated. The guiding idea of artistically valuable popular music, which shaped all debates and initiatives to a greater or lesser extent, cast its shadow as far as the young West Germany. There were many reasons for the undynamic state of this musical world, in which hit orchestras and cover bands dominated stages and radio broadcasts.¹²⁹ One of them, however, was certainly that the expulsion of Jewish composers and the backward-looking music policy of the Nazi regime triggered a palpable decline in creativity. Whether Nazism was truly anti-modern has rightly been called into question in many areas; here it undoubtedly was.¹³⁰ Another reason may be that the sense of aesthetic inferiority, articulated so persistently, turned into a complex in which even musicians devoted to popular music felt they had a duty to create 'valuable' and 'uplifting' music for posterity and perhaps even eternity.¹³¹

Beyond Instrumentalization

'When I listen to Beethoven, I become braver.' This phrase, attributed to Bismarck, was not only popular under Nazism, but was modified through the

128 See Dümling, *Musik*, 222–231. Prior to 1934, around a quarter of the revenue had gone to composers of art music.

129 See Nathaus, K., 'Vom polarisierten zum pluralisierten Publikum. Populärmusik und soziale Differenzierung in Westdeutschland, circa 1950–1985', in S. O. Müller et al. (eds.), *Kommunikation im Musikleben. Harmonien und Dissonanzen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2015, 251–275.

130 For an appraisal, see Potter, *Suppression*, 175–180 and 207–214; the ideological anti-modernism that shines through here is, of course, not to be confused with social practice, which, as the opening scene in the Rositabar has already made clear, sometimes offered more 'modern' sounds. On the fundamental aspects of the Nazi regime's 'modernity', see Herf, J., *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*, Cambridge 1984; see also Bavaj, R., *Die Ambivalenz der Moderne im Nationalsozialismus*, Munich 2003.

131 See Larkey, 'Postwar', 234 f. and 237 f. For a retrospective account, see also Kuhn, P., *Swingende Jahre. Der Mann am Klavier erzählt seine Lebensgeschichte*, Bergisch Gladbach 1988, 87–89.

addition of the comparative form.¹³² The Nazi state undoubtedly instrumentalized this and many other kinds of music and musicians for political and ideological purposes, a phenomenon that has been elaborated time and again in the scholarly literature.¹³³ But the Nazis not only ‘abused’ music; they also neglected it. As this chapter has shown, this emerges if we undertake a diachronic comparison with the Weimar Republic, if we assess the attention paid by the regime to Euterpe and Bellona and if we contrast the civilian profession with military music. Last but not least, it applies even with a view to other arts such as the theatre of the spoken word, for which the Propaganda Ministry made available almost four times as much funds as for music, the visual arts and literature combined.¹³⁴ That the Nazi state instrumentalized music and musicians for ideological purposes while concurrently neglecting them in terms of cultural and social policy does not necessarily imply a contradiction. It is a matter of perspective and of which aspects of history we seek to illuminate.

The rhetoric of ‘faster-higher-further’ (and indeed braver), which was inherent in Nazi ideology and appeared again and again in the statements of Hitler, Goebbels and others, made an impact on musical life as elsewhere. Yet it was quite out of sync with the sluggish pace of reform. In other policy fields, it proved easier to respond to the self-imposed pressure to act with the aid of networks, improvisation and flexible decision-making structures, but music policy suffered from entrenched aesthetic, professional and, not least, class-related conflicts that could not simply be wiped away by a change of regime and the propagation of a musical ‘National Community’.¹³⁵

132 Hermann Unger, “Wenn ich Beethoven höre, werde ich tapferer”. Eine Untersuchung über das Thema “Kriegsmusik”, *DMMZ* no. 13/14, 5 July 1942, 105–107. Of the first movement of the *Appassionata*, Bismarck is said to have commented, ‘If I listened to this music often, I would always be very brave’. Quoted in Engelberg, W., *Das private Leben der Bismarcks*, Berlin 1998, 59.

133 See Kater, *Muse*; another example is Trümpi, F., *The Political Orchestra: The Vienna and Berlin Philharmonics During the Third Reich*. Translated by Kenneth Kronenberg. Chicago 2016. On Beethoven specifically, see Dennis, D. B., *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870–1989*, New Haven 1996, 142–174.

134 Between 1933 and 1943, the RMVP spent 26.4 percent of its budget on theatre, but only 6.2 percent on the other three fields mentioned. See Vossler, F., *Propaganda in die eigene Truppe. Die Truppenbetreuung in der Wehrmacht 1939–1945*, Paderborn 2005, 289. See also Steinweis, *Art*, 75 f.

135 See Reichardt, S. and W. Seibel, ‘Radikalität und Stabilität. Herrschen und Verwalten im Nationalsozialismus’, in Reichardt, S. and W. Seibel (eds.), *Der prekäre Staat. Herrschen und Verwalten im Nationalsozialismus*, Frankfurt am Main 2011, 7–27. The ‘new statehood’ of the Nazi regime, introduced into the debate by Hachtmann, a concept that

Hence, the regime's music policy ultimately adhered to the general trajectory of Nazi social policy much more closely than has been recognized. At first, this policy could only haltingly mitigate the dire consequences of the global economic crisis. In general, it did little to defuse class conflicts. And from the autumn of 1936 onwards, it had to bow to the prerogatives of the accelerated rearmament programme. While employees in some branches of the economy, particularly the consumer goods industry, could still capitalize on the incipient labour shortage, this was not yet the case for civilian musicians in peacetime.¹³⁶

The fact that the Nazi state neglected musicians, however, does not mean that their lifeworld remained untouched by it. On the contrary, after 1933 certain far-reaching and in some cases long-term developments set in: the civilian lifeworld shrank, partly because of remilitarization, while Jewish and other musicians classified as hostile to the regime had to come to terms with completely new living conditions as a result of systematic exclusion.¹³⁷ The efforts of the Reich Chamber of Music to gain control over the profession and establish a hierarchy of occupational profiles undoubtedly fostered the separation of serious and popular music. Hence, the boundary line between exalted art and mere play was further reinforced through social policy; countervailing cultural policy measures, such as the search for artistically high-quality popular music, were unsuccessful. The RMK also failed to establish a clear boundary between professional musicians on the one hand and music-lovers and amateurs on the other. Overall, the civilian music profession became less appealing and suffered reputational losses during the first six years of Nazi rule. It was only during the war that the Nazi state paid more attention to musicians, when Bismarck's reaction to Beethoven was in greater demand than ever.

builds, among other things, on the work of Reichardt and Seibel, was thus less effective in musical life. See Hachtmann, R., 'Wie einzigartig war das NS-Regime? Autoritäre Herrschaftssysteme der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts im Vergleich – ein Forschungsbericht', *NPL* no. 62, 2017, 229–280, here 263–267 and 275–277.

136 See Mason, *Sozialpolitik*, here 105, 126 f., 139 and 229–232.

137 For an in-depth treatment, see the next chapter.

Forced Migrations: Lifeworlds in Times of War and Violence

Twenty-seven million: this is the estimated number of people who were forced to leave their place of residence during and after the Second World War.¹ They can be divided into four groups: refugees who fled the war or were evacuated; deportees, including forced labourers, prisoners of war and concentration camp inmates, who received special treatment as displaced persons after the war; populations resettled during the war; and finally, those displaced from the eastern settlement areas after the war. According to migration researcher Jochen Oltmer, Germany was the ‘engine and centre of forced mass migrations’.² Even before the war, the Nazis had expelled more than half a million people from the Reich, including around 280,000 Jews. The Nazi war economy was based to a large extent on forced labour: in the autumn of 1944, there were 7.4 million foreign civilians, two million prisoners of war and 700,000 concentration camp inmates subject to what was known as labour deployment (*Arbeitseinsatz*).³

Musicians too were affected by the largest forced migration the world had ever seen. So far, the study of this group has been divided into different research fields that came into being after 1945 with reference to different groups of victims. The largest body of scholarship is exile research, which deals with the individual fates of mainly Jewish and predominantly famous composers and performers, a field of inquiry so vast as to defy neat summation.⁴ Holocaust studies, meanwhile, has probed the fate of Jewish musicians in concentration camps in a similarly thorough manner.⁵ In contrast, the histori-

1 See Smyser, W. R., *Refugees: Extended Exile*, New York 1987, 8.

2 Oltmer, J., ‘Migration und Zwangswanderungen im Nationalsozialismus’, in *bpb Grundlagen Dossier Migration 2005*, URL: www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/dossier-migration/56358/nationalsozialismus; Oltmer, J., ‘Einführung, Migrationsregime und “Volksgemeinschaft” im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland’, in Oltmer, J. (ed.), *Nationalsozialistisches Migrationsregime und ‘Volksgemeinschaft’*, Paderborn 2012, 9–25.

3 See Spoerer, M., ‘Kriegswirtschaft, Arbeitskräftemigration, Kriegsgesellschaft’, in J. Oltmer (ed.), *Handbuch Staat und Migration in Deutschland seit dem 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2016, 643–689, here 645–652.

4 For a summary, see Potter, *Suppression*.

5 For the essentials, see Gilbert, S., *Music in the Holocaust. Confronting Life in Nazi Ghettos and Camps*, Oxford 2005.

ography of the Second World War has as yet addressed the music profession in a rather patchy way. Musicians were deployed as ordinary soldiers, as cultural workers in the occupied territories and as itinerant propaganda tools of the regime or troop entertainers at the front, while foreigners were suddenly needed in the Reich to fill the resulting gaps in the job market.

What these different fates had in common was enforced or at least unforeseen mobility: more musicians than ever before embarked on a journey with an often uncertain destination and outcome. For many, it ended in death on battlefields or in concentration camps. Some ultimately found themselves in another country or even continent, while others returned to their starting point, sometimes without recognizing it. This chapter examines this forced migration and sheds light on the new lifeworlds into which musicians had to insert themselves over the short or long term. I show that, on the one hand, Nazi Jewish and extermination policy spawned a global diaspora of German musicians from Sydney to Shanghai and from Buenos Aires to New York, and that these emigrants sometimes had a considerable musical influence on their new surroundings. On the other hand, the Second World War resulted in a worsening shortage of musicians in Germany. Overall, the profession diminished considerably in size.

Global Refugee Movements

The forced migrations began immediately after the 'seizure of power', in the shape of the emigration of Jews and opponents of Nazism. Between 1933 and 1939, a total of around 400,000 Jews and 25,000 to 30,000 political exiles left Germany, Austria and the German-speaking areas of Czechoslovakia. Most Jews went overseas: in 1941, according to estimates, 100,000 made a new home in the United States, 40,000 in Argentina, 20,000 in Brazil and another 30,000 in the rest of Latin America. 55,000 to 60,000 Jews fled to Palestine and around 18,000 to Shanghai. In Europe, the United Kingdom was the main destination country with 40,000 Jewish emigres, followed by Switzerland with around 30,000. Other countries, such as France, Belgium and the Netherlands, lost their status as safe sites of exile as a result of Nazi occupation. France and the UK were also considered the main refuges for political exiles, alongside the Soviet Union, Switzerland and Spain.⁶

6 Figures in Röder, W., 'Die Emigration aus dem nationalsozialistischen Deutschland', in K. J. Bade (ed.), *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Ge-*

This general topography of exile also points up the main destinations of musicians who left Germany after 1933. There were of course other countries in which they found refuge, such as Turkey or Australia; among others, a few members of the Weintraubs Syncopators ended up in the latter. They, however, were the absolute exception.⁷ Regardless of this, the general picture is likely to reflect the distribution of musical exiles at least roughly, though we have no specific figures to substantiate this. In particular, the large number of Latin American exiles is quite out of proportion to the sparse musico-historical research literature on the region. In general, Latin America was musicians' second choice or a way station en route to their desired goal of the United States. Many settled there nonetheless. Especially if we broaden the narrow view that predominates within exile research and take into account lesser-known musicians, there is a lot to suggest that the exile of musicians in Latin America was of almost as great socio-historical and musico-historical relevance to local musical life as in North America.⁸

From a socio-historical perspective, the profit-and-loss narrative frequently found in exile research requires modification.⁹ The previous chapter has already made it clear that the forced migration of Jewish musicians in Germany could easily be offset in quantitative terms, since it involved a fairly small proportion of this occupational group (just over 2,000 people) and due to the high unemployment at the time. The true nature of this loss was qualitative. The list of prominent music exiles is long – and it is they who have so far formed the focus of musical exile research. Examples include composers Ralph Benatzky, Hanns Eisler, Ernst Krenek, Wolfgang Korngold, Werner Richard Heymann, Arnold Schönberg, Oscar Straus, Kurt Weill and

genwart, Munich 1992, 345–353; Du Closel, *Musik*, 246 f. On Switzerland, see Maissen, T., *Geschichte der Schweiz*, Baden 2015, 270 f.

7 See Dümmling, A., *The Vanished Musicians: Jewish Refugees in Australia*. Translated by Diana K. Weekes. Bern and New York 2015. Australia, then, was not a favoured destination for Jewish musicians; see *ibid.*, 58. There is documentary evidence of just 35 German musicians who fled to Turkey; see Zimmermann-Kalyoncu, C., *Deutsche Musiker in der Türkei im 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1985, 138.

8 See the recent case study on conductor Richard Engelbrecht in Pasdzierny, M., *Wiederaufnahme? Rückkehr aus dem Exil und das westdeutsche Musikleben nach 1945*, Munich 2014, 186–211; see also Pohle, F., 'Musiker-Emigration in Lateinamerika. Ein vorläufiger Überblick', in H.-W. Heister et al. (eds.), *Musik im Exil. Folgen des Nazismus für die internationale Musikkultur*, Frankfurt am Main 1993, 338–353; also Ostleitner, E., "Fremd bin ich eingezogen". Anmerkungen zum Alltag österreichischer Musiker im lateinamerikanischen Exil, in H. Kroner (ed.), *Geächtet, verboten, vertrieben. Österreichische Musiker 1934–1938–1945*, Vienna 2013, 551–562.

9 See also Potter, *Suppression*, 48–88.

Stefan Wolpe, conductors Fritz Busch, Erich Kleiber, Otto Klemperer and Bruno Walter and soloists Adolf Busch, Artur Schnabel and Rudolf Serkin.¹⁰

On the 'credit' side, it is important to examine more closely who gained what, where, and at what point in time. Obviously, the fates of immigrant musicians varied greatly. Origin, age and family status, previous career path, language skills, the timing of emigration and, last but not least, personal relationships with contact persons in the destination country had a significant influence on subsequent life paths.¹¹ Musicological research on exile, in which the individual biographical approach dominates, has repeatedly highlighted these factors with reference to rightly famous or unfairly forgotten musicians, women and men as well as artists of both serious and popular music.¹²

Because musicological exile research is aesthetically motivated in the main, it has paid less attention to the socio-economic and musico-cultural parameters of migration. For the same reason, musicians as a group in exile, one that tends to bring out these structural aspects more clearly, have rarely been discussed explicitly.¹³ It made a big difference, for example, whether musicians, as in Shanghai, had to forge their own links with the local musical scene beyond the cultural life of the exile community, or whether, as in Palestine, they knew with a fair degree of certainty what to expect professionally; there, thanks to Bronisław Huberman's orchestra initiative, artists from Germany and the rest of Europe were actively recruited.¹⁴

10 See for example Du Closel, *Musik*; Crawford, *Windfall*.

11 See Mäkelä, T., 'Vom Individuum zum Typus. Probleme der modellorientierten Typologisierung von Musiker-Emigranten um 1933–1945', in C. Kaden and V. Kalisch (eds.), *Professionalismus in der Musik*, Essen 1999, 230–242.

12 See Crawford, *Windfall*; Du Closel, *Musik*; also Fauser, A., *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II*, Oxford 2013, 178–223; Dompke, C., *Unterhaltungsmusik und NS-Verfolgung*, Münster 2011; Arbeitsgruppe 'Exilmusik' am Musikwissenschaftlichen Institut der Universität Hamburg (ed.), *Lebenswege von Musikerinnen im 'Dritten Reich' und im Exil*, Hamburg 2000; *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, edited by C. Maurer-Zenck and P. Petersen, Hamburg, URL: www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/content/index.xml.

13 Similar arguments are put forward by Schenk, D., 'Von Berlin nach ... Die Emigration von Musikern in der NS-Zeit', *Exilforschung. Ein internationales Jahrbuch* no. 26, 2008, 27–43, here 32–34; Scheduling, F., "'The Splinter in Your Eye': Uncomfortable Legacies and German Exile Studies', in Scheduling, F. and E. Levi (eds.), *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond*, Lanham, MD 2010, 119–134.

14 On Shanghai, see Philipp, M., 'Identität und Selbstbehauptung. Das kulturelle Leben im Shanghaier Exil 1939–1947', in G. Armbrüster et al. (eds.), *Exil Shanghai 1938–1947. Jüdisches Leben in der Emigration*, Teetz 2000, 147–164. On Palestine, see Lühe, B. von der, *Die Musik war unsere Rettung! Die deutschsprachigen Gründungsmitglieder des Palestine Orchestra*, Tübingen 1998, 69–78.

This is not the place to sketch a global social history of musicians' exile between 1933 and 1945. Instead, the following section illuminates the socio-economic parameters and mechanisms of professional integration with reference to the United States. We can best understand these mechanisms by first examining institutions that sought to place refugees in employment. The work of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars and the National Refugee Service (NRS) make it clear how difficult it initially was for ordinary – but even some extraordinary – musicians to make a living in their professional field in the supposed paradise of the United States. This also modifies the consensus, widely shared by researchers, that musicians had it easier than other artists such as actors or writers because they could make their art immediately understandable to any audience.¹⁵

A Provincial Terminus: Exile in the United States

The general conditions for migrants in the United States were challenging, the country having been hit even harder by the global economic crisis than Europe. The first refugees arrived at a time of severe depression, when foreign workers were anything but welcomed, if they were allowed to enter in the first place. The Nazi 'seizure of power' did nothing to change the quotas enshrined in American immigration law. Even after Germany attacked Poland in September 1939, the US government could bring itself to make only minimal concessions at a time when xenophobia and anti-Semitism were, to a significant extent, socially acceptable in the United States. But the academic labour market, to which the quota system did not apply, remained an exception. As a result, in May 1933, a fairly early point in time, the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars was founded in New York, an aid organization that acted as a contact point and informed US-American universities of potential staff. Among the sometimes leading scholars and intellectuals placed in work by this body, such as Max Delbrück, Herbert Marcuse and Thomas Mann, there were a few musicologists, such as Curt Sachs, Paul Nettl and Manfred Bukofzer.¹⁶

15 See for example Gay, P., "We miss our Jews": The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany', in R. Brinkmann and C. Wolff (eds.), *Driven Into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, Berkeley 1999, 21–32, here 24. On the supposed paradise, see also Potter, *Suppression*, 50.

16 See Grünzweig, W., "Bargain and Charity"? Aspekte der Aufnahme exilierter Musiker an der Ostküste der Vereinigten Staaten', in H.-W. Heister (ed.), *Musik im Exil. Folgen des*

As its name implied, this organization was chiefly interested in university teaching staff. Practicing musicians came to the notice of the Emergency Committee only if they were individuals of distinction, and even then they rarely received support or were placed in a teaching position. Emil Hauser, who had served as first violinist in the Budapest Quartet until 1932, was denied a grant, as was Hugo Burghauser. The bassoonist had lost his position at the Vienna Philharmonic after the 'Anschluss' of Austria in March 1938 for political reasons and, like so many before and after him, had fled to the United States via Paris. Despite excellent references – Hauser was able to submit a letter from Albert Einstein, Burghauser a letter from Arturo Toscanini – and although a potential employer had been found for both, the committee refused to take up their case. In his memoirs, Burghauser made no mention of the Emergency Committee, but stated that he had gained one of his first insights into his new home during the relevant period, namely that what 'the famous "unlimited possibilities"' chiefly meant was that 'there was no lower limit'.¹⁷

The committee made exceptions if musicians worked as scholars. It thus contributed to a broader trend that saw many musicians who had performed on stage or worked as teachers or music critics in Europe embark on an academic career after their arrival.¹⁸ One individual who benefited, at least for a short time, from this committee policy, was conductor Alfred Szendrei. Like many others, he had fled the Nazi regime in stages, first moving to France in 1933 and finally to the United States in February 1941. Despite first-class references, the former conductor of the Leipzig Symphony Orchestra could not find a job. He was dependent on aid payments from the National Refugee Service, which he evidently found hard to cope with psychologically, and while waiting for something better he kept himself afloat by playing the organ in a synagogue and giving music lessons.¹⁹ Szendrei eventually proposed that he produce a three-volume history of Jewish music, which met with a positive

Nazismus für die internationale Musikkultur, Frankfurt am Main 1993, 297–310; Daniels, R., 'American Refugee Policy in Historical Perspective', in J. C. Jackman and C. M. Borden (eds.), *The Muses Flee Hitler: Cultural Transfer and Adaptation 1930–45*, Washington DC 1983, 61–77; Gabaccia, D., *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective*, Princeton 2012, 141–146.

17 Burghauser, H., *Philharmonische Begegnungen. Erinnerungen eines Wiener Philharmonikers*, Zurich 1979, 137; see 'Mead to Drury, 19.2.1942', in NYPL MAD MssCol 922 Box 68/50. On Burghauser, see also Trümpi, *Political Orchestra*, 92f.

18 See Josephson, D., 'The German Musical Exile and the Course of American Musicology', *Current Musicology* vol. 79 & 80, 2005, 9–53, here 12.

19 Szendrei, 'Biographical Statement, 30.4.1942', in NYPL MAD MssCol 922 Box 31/2; 'NRS to Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, 5.4.1944', in *ibid.*

response from the committee; it provided him with a grant between June 1943 and May 1944. His eventual declaration that the two pending volumes – he claimed that the first was almost finished – could be written in a single year was an expression of profound despair. He was refused the requested grant extension. Szendrei then moved to live with his son in Los Angeles, where he was appointed to a position as a university lecturer.²⁰

Szendrei's first few years in New York illustrate the self-confidence with which seasoned musicians from Europe arrived on the Atlantic coast, only to end up as hopeless supplicants just a short time later due to the difficult circumstances. When he first made contact, the Hungarian-born composer had sent along a leaflet in English in which authorities such as Arthur Nikisch, Richard Strauss, Arnold Schönberg and Otto Klemperer paid him fulsome tribute and signed in their own hand. Here Szendrei was extolled as the most apt conductor who could possibly have taken over the Leipzig Opera, a specialist in the Gurre-Lieder, whose performance Schönberg was extremely satisfied with, simply one of the greatest conductors of his time and at least the second-best conductor of *Zarathustra*, *An Alpine Symphony* (*Alpensinfonie*) and *Death and Transfiguration* (*Tod und Verklärung*) – after Strauss himself, of course (figure 10).²¹

When Szendrei learned, more than three years later, that his grant would not be extended, he wrote a straightforward begging letter to spell out the hopelessness of his situation:

I have made at least half a dozen applications for other fellowships – in vain. I have registered with a goodly number of governmental and private agencies for work of all kind. For some, my age was an obstacle, for others my Jewish faith, but in the main, citizenship was a prerequisite. All I have been offered until now is factory work or similar manual labor, for which I am not physically fit.²²

In contrast to the exclusive Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, the National Refugee Service, founded in 1939, felt respons-

20 'Szendrei to Duggan, 31.10.1942', in *ibid.*; 'Drury to Szendrei, 11.5.1943', in *ibid.*; 'Szendrei to Duggan, 19.3.1944', in *ibid.*; 'Drury to Szendrei, 5.5.1944', in *ibid.*; 'Drury to Duggan, 11.5.1944', in *ibid.*; see also Katz, I. J., 'Sendrey, Alfred', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 23, edited by S. Sadie, Oxford 2001, 73. Henry Mancini was one of his students in Los Angeles; see *Im türkisenblauen Garten*, 178 f. The first volume appeared in 1951, the other two not until twenty years later.

21 Pamphlet 'Alfred Szendrei', undated, in NYPL MAD MssCol 922 Box 31/2.

22 'Szendrei to Duggan, 7.5.1944', in *ibid.*

What Four of the World's Great Musicians said of Dr. Alfred Szendrei

Arthur Nikisch (1919)

I can think of no one better qualified to take over the reins at our Leipzig Opera House than Alfred Szendrei . . .



Arnold Schoenberg (1929)

Dr. Alfred Szendrei's performance of my "GURRELIEDER" is among the greatest artistic satisfactions of my lifetime . . .



Dr. Otto Klemperer (1938)

One of the truly great conductors of the age.



Dr. Richard Strauss (1930)

If I want to hear my "Alp Symphony," "Death and Transfiguration," or "Zarathustra" better done than by Dr. Szendrei, then I have to conduct them myself!

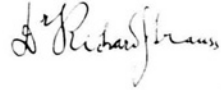


FIGURE 10 Extract from Alfred Szendrei's pamphlet, undated (NYPL MAD MssCol 922 Box 31/2)

ible, without distinction, for all refugees who arrived in New York during the Second World War. The Service was also the most important point of contact for migrants from Europe and between 1939 and 1945 helped around 35,000 people to find a place to stay and a livelihood. How important the NRS became is not only evident in the fact that this body collected around 2.6 million US dollars in the first six months of its existence, and thus almost as many donations as all US refugee aid organizations in the previous five years combined. The Service also gradually incorporated other relief organizations into its own structures, including the Emergency Committee. It saw itself as non-denominational, but helping Jewish refugees was the clear priority. The main task was to get them established in the United States as effectively as possible, ultimately giving rise to a network of 500 local organizational teams. The committee also sought to provide emergency financial aid, prepare migrants for the US-American labour market, including retraining measures, and support them in their everyday lives, which included active public relations.²³

23 See Lowenstein, S., 'The National Refugee Service', in M. N. Dobkowski (ed.), *Jewish American Voluntary Organizations*, New York 1986, 364–372; Palmier, J.-M., *Weimar in Exile: The*

In addition to children, doctors and Jewish clergy, the NRS also paid special attention to musicians. This was thanks to US-American composer Mark Brunswick, who had lived in Vienna between 1924 and 1938 and had returned to New York after the 'Anschluss' of Austria. Before the summer of the latter year was over, he had created the Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians (PCGAM), with supporters such as composer Irving Berlin and writer John Erskine, former president of New York's Juilliard School of Music. This New York-based committee joined the NRS and sought to support all professional musicians regardless of religion, origin or musical specialization. Most applicants were unknown musicians, but more prominent artists such as composer Ernst Krenek and conductor Kurt Adler were also helped by the committee. In the first year of its existence alone, it aided almost 650 musicians and provided almost 300 of them with opportunities to perform and teaching work, although fewer than 20 of them obtained permanent positions.²⁴

The committee's support was limited to a maximum of two years. Musicians who wanted to use its services had to prove that they had earned their money in the field of music for the previous five years and complete an audition. Competition was tough: the committee feared for its reputation. Retraining was recommended for candidates who did poorly, while those of intermediate ability were soon sent to the provinces. Only the best were considered fit for New York, but even they faced 'resettlement' if success eluded them in the metropolis. This strict approach had much to do with the refugees themselves. For one thing, the longer the war went on, the older the new arrivals in New York were and the more difficult to place in work. Furthermore, amateur musicians made up an ever-greater proportion of applicants. These chiefly comprised lawyers and doctors who were unable to work in the United States in their own field. The committee, moreover, concluded as early as August 1940 that the city was saturated and could no longer absorb migrant musicians.²⁵

Antifascist Emigration in Europe and America. Translated by David Fernbach. London and New York 2006, 487–489.

- 24 See PCGAM, 'Concise statistical report of first year's activity', undated (November 1939), in YIVO RG 248/238; PCGAM, 'Memorandum for Mr. Greenstein, 7.3.1939', in *ibid.*; PCGAM, 'Memorandum on the work of the PCGAM during the first 3 months of its existence', undated, in *ibid.*; PCGAM, 'Enumeration of activities, 14.2.1939', in *ibid.*; NRS, 'Organigramm, 15.12.1940', in *ibid.* 248/414. On Krenek, see also Maurer-Zenck, C., *Ernst Krenek. Ein Komponist im Exil*, Vienna 1980, 116–119. On Adler, see Urban, V., *Kurt Adler. Ein Leben für die Musik*, Regensburg 2009, 45–51.
- 25 'Jaspersen to Baruch, 20.5.1940', in YIVO RG 248/414; 'Jaspersen to Baruch, 12.8.1940', in *ibid.*

Against this background, concerts organized by the committee itself in cooperation with synagogues, women's clubs and other (mostly Jewish) aid organizations became all the more important. Musicians were explicitly supposed to use these opportunities to network and sound out professional opportunities. The concert programmes heralded the artists as 'Refugee Stars' and included advertisements under the heading 'Europe's Loss – Our Gain' that explained how to book concerts. Here, traditional American marketing was fused with the targeted popularization of what would now be called a 'welcoming culture'.²⁶

But integration was more difficult than such advertisements implied. The NRS's Social and Cultural Adjustment Division, with which the Placement Committee cooperated closely, had its hands full. This division organized meetings for refugees slated for settlement elsewhere in the United States. Intensive study of the country drew on books, photographs and films, while migrants were given an enticing introduction to the 'American way of life'. They also had access to a library in the main building of the NRS. The division viewed artists as particularly difficult to integrate, so an attempt was made to bring them together with like-minded people. Mothers received separate English lessons, there was a ticket exchange for cultural events, and public places and institutions that welcomed refugees and brought them into contact with the American people were advertised.²⁷

The committee was, however, mainly concerned with the resettlement of migrants within the United States, which was carried out via a number of different channels. First, Brunswick wrote regularly to musical institutions. These included symphony orchestras large and small to which he offered his clients, inviting their chief conductors to attend auditions in New York so they could assess the musicians in person. However, this canvassing met with little response. Whether Baltimore, Nashville or Chicago – very few orchestral representatives responded to these inquiries, and those who did, such as the managing director of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, highlighted the strict regulations of the local musicians' union. In San Francisco, one had to have lived in the city for a year to join the union, and the orchestra took no non-union musicians into its employ. Such regulations were rule rather than

26 See *ibid.*; concert programme "Refugee Night": A Night of Refugee Stars, 23.1.1939, in *ibid.* 248/931.

27 See 'Division for social and cultural adjustment, *Community Cues* nos. 3 to 8, September 1940 to May 1941, in *ibid.* 248/424.

exception in the 'locals' of the powerful American Federation of Musicians, which was at the height of its power at the time.²⁸

Nor was Brunswick's idea of placing refugees in teaching posts at African-American educational establishments well received. He was well aware of the explosiveness of this proposal, which is why his letter underlined blacks' contributions to the musical culture of the United States in the same breath as the German-Austrian tradition and concluded with marked ingenuousness: 'It has occurred to us that these two musical impulses might be of mutual benefit to each other.'²⁹ The institutions he contacted included such tradition-steeped establishments as the Hampton Institute in Virginia and Fisk University in Nashville. But he was met with a barrage of rejections, most of them justified with reference to a lack of posts, though in one case to skin colour.³⁰

Second, the network of local committees and so-called 'field workers' played a crucial role. Equipped with potted biographies, they undertook trips of several weeks to place as many musicians as possible across the country. Their portfolio was very broad. A list of eighteen musicians of December 1940 included organists alongside piano teachers and choirmasters, professionals with experience in cinema and entertainment as well as long-time orchestra musicians and accomplished jazz musicians, and some candidates even stated that they could work in all these fields.³¹

The success of these job placement efforts largely depended on the local conditions, as the experiences of Oskar Vogel and Kurt Stern in Evansville, Indiana, illustrate. In September 1939, Gaylord Browne, music school director and conductor of a small amateur orchestra, had asked the Placement Committee for young, unmarried, independent musicians for this Midwestern town; he wanted people also willing to work outside their traditional field of activity as a side-line. Browne had travelled to New York to get to know various musicians, and he opted for the two young violinists from Europe, who had gained their first professional experience with the Czech Radio Symphony

28 See 'Brunswick to Janssen, 1.5.1939', in *ibid.* 248/938; 'Warren to Brunswick, 3.5.1939', in *ibid.*; Burghauser too states that the union was the largest impediment he faced. See Burghauser, *Begegnungen*, 146. On the strength of the AFM, see Kraft, *Stage*, 137 f.; for an in-depth account, see Seltzer, *Music Matters*, 28–50.

29 'Brunswick to Taylor, 15.5.1939', in YIVO RG 248/948.

30 See for example 'Patterson to Brunswick, 2.6.1939', in *ibid.* 248/940.

31 See 'Jaspersen to Galkin, 31.12.1940', in *ibid.* 248/423; 'George Wolfe to Heads of Department, 16.1.1941', in *ibid.*

Orchestra (Vogel) and in Vienna (Stern). The idea was that they would take a job in Evansville and at the same time support the orchestra for free.³²

From the outset, however, tensions arose between the refugees and the music school director, who soon evaded his responsibilities. Local investigations revealed that Browne had treated the two musicians badly, not least because they had rapidly built good reputations in Evansville as fine performers, confronting local hero Browne with unwanted competition. Vogel also planned to open his own music school, having never worked in any field but music and apparently being physically incapable of manual work. Stern, on the other hand, worked in a factory canteen, which made Brunswick furious when he heard about it: the 'classical wrong job for a violinist is dish-washing. Not only is it not conducive to his prestige as a musician but far more important it is exceedingly harmful in a direct physical sense'.³³ After attempts to place Stern with the orchestra in Indianapolis proved unsuccessful, he eventually left the Midwest on his own initiative. Vogel, meanwhile, stayed in Evansville, but apparently failed to make a success of his music school.³⁴

The story of Oskar Vogel and Kurt Stern is a good reflection of the experiences of many musicians in the first few years of their stay in the United States. They underwent great difficulties as they attempted to make a living – despite support from relief institutions such as the Placement Committee. The latter's outstanding efforts remain unaffected by this judgment: by October 1940, almost 750 musicians had received help, at least to the extent that their files could be closed. This contrasted with just under 650 cases that the committee continued to pursue. These figures illustrate the great importance of the committee and concurrently raise doubts about previous estimates of the extent of musicians' migration from Europe to the United States, which assume just 1,500 migrants between 1933 and 1944; the figure is likely to have been significantly higher.³⁵

Finally, we should not overlook the fact that the wave of immigration occurred in the late stages of the New Deal, in whose framework the Works Progress Administration had been instrumental in driving the expansion of

32 See 'Browne to Brunswick, 30.9.1939', in *ibid.* 248/946; 'Browne to Brunswick, 12.4.1940', in *ibid.*

33 'Brunswick to Galkin, 26.3.1940', in *ibid.*; see also 'Blumenthal to Strauss, 16.5.1940', in *ibid.*

34 See 'Greenwald to Brunswick, 29.10.1940', in *ibid.*; 'Blumenthal to Brunswick, 17.2.1941', in *ibid.*

35 See Statistical Department, 'Report for month of September, 14.10.1940', in *ibid.* 248/920; estimate in Gay, 'Jews', 21; see also Heister, H.-W., 'Musik', in C.-D. Krohn (ed.), *Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration*, Darmstadt 1998, col. 1032–1049.

the American orchestral landscape since the mid-1930s.³⁶ Even if the committee's placement work achieved meagre results when it came to symphony orchestras, sooner or later these drew on the reservoir of additional musicians. As soon as the latter had managed to join a union, many doors opened to them in the American provinces, as in the case of musician couple Rosemarie and Günther Goldschmidt. After arriving in New York in June 1941, they initially kept their heads above water by cleaning, cooking and tailoring before, as fledgling union members, they obtained their first regular orchestral job in New Orleans for the 1942–43 season.³⁷

This trend was fuelled by the United States' entry into the war in December 1941, with mobilization leaving many vacant positions in musical life. Some musicians even managed to grab a job in New York, such as Hugo Burghauer, who became a bassoonist in the orchestra of the Metropolitan Opera in early 1942. Hence, the fact that Brunswick's committee was apparently dissolved the same year was no doubt due to more than the dwindling influx of new refugees. For musicians, sooner or later the prospects on the US-American job market improved, with respect to orchestral positions, university posts and in the field of chamber music, still a genuine gap in the US market.³⁸

Music as Avenue of Escape? Deportations

Nazi deportations were the extreme form of forced migration. Those affected were taken to ghettos, concentration camps and extermination camps, where

36 Brunswick asked the Works Project Music Program in July 1941 which cities would be suitable for the establishment of a symphony orchestra. See 'Brunswick to Foster, 22.7.1941', in YIVO RG 248/938. On the context, see Hart, P., *Orpheus in the New World: The Symphony Orchestras as an American Cultural Institution*, New York 1973, 351–353; Taylor, N., *American-Made: The Enduring Legacy of the WPA. When FDR Put the Nation to Work*, New York 2008, 282–290; also Gough, P., *Sounds of the New Deal: The Federal Music Project in the West*, Urbana, IL 2015.

37 See Goldsmith, *Symphony*, 304–309. Émigré music journalist Artur Holde had already come to a similar overall conclusion about the situation of immigrant musicians around the same time; see Fetthauer, S., "Die Lage der immigrierten Tonkünstler in U.S.A." Betrachtungen und Analysen des Musikkritikers Artur Holde im Aufbau', *Exilforschung. Ein internationales Jahrbuch* no. 26, 2008, 102–125.

38 See Josephson, 'Musicology'. The date and circumstances of the committee's dissolution are not documented, but it is missing from an NRS organizational chart of March 1943. See *Guide to the Records of the National Refugee Service 1934–1952*, Series IV, Subseries 5, URL: <http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=1865416>.

they had to perform forced labour, were exposed to physical and psychological violence and often fell victim to systematic mass murder. However, these places were not only characterized by violence and terror, but also by everyday routine, in as much as this was possible under Nazi rule.³⁹ Thus, as Shirli Gilbert has shown to impressive effect in her ground-breaking study on the role of music in ghetto and camp life, we need to expand our view of singing and music-making in these coercive settings beyond acts of heroic resistance. Music served various purposes, from calming down and deceiving newcomers through entertaining camp staff or ghetto residents to musicians' self-edification. Music was even used as an instrument of torture, in Buchenwald for example, where inmates were collectively subjected to punitive singing for long periods of time (*Dauerstrafsingen*) if one of their fellows had tried to escape.⁴⁰

It was the musicians themselves who profited most from the multifaceted demand for music in ghetto and camp, provided they were discovered as musicians and enlisted to perform. There are several reasons for this. First, it was psychologically beneficial that, regardless of whether they were professionals or amateurs, they could continue to make music and were thus partially or wholly exempt from normal forced labour. In addition to translators, overseers and administrative staff, they belonged to a small group of functionaries who were necessary to everyday life in ghettos and played a key role in keeping camps running smoothly. The remaining freedoms were far more extensive in the ghetto. A veritable cultural life took off in Warsaw, for example. At its apogee in the spring of 1941, Leszno Street was considered the Broadway of the ghetto, and more than sixty cafes competed for the best artists. A symphony orchestra was even formed in November 1940, which existed for more than eighteen months before it was banned. In the extermination camps in particular, meanwhile, many occasions, such as the arrival of new prisoners or roll calls, involved types of musical forced labour. But this was still work on familiar terrain that, to a certain degree, allowed musicians to reinterpret their tasks, transforming them imaginatively into artistic and playful forms.⁴¹

Second, such regular opportunities for distraction were only granted to musicians; in the extermination camps, ordinary inmates rarely came into

39 See Buggeln, M. and M. Wildt, 'Lager im Nationalsozialismus. Gemeinschaft und Zwang', in B. Greiner and A. Kramer (eds.), *Die Welt der Lager. Zur Erfolgsgeschichte einer Institution*, Hamburg 2013, 166–202, here 200 f.

40 Gilbert, *Holocaust*, 200. On punitive singing, see *ibid.*, 132 f.; see also Knapp, G., *Das Frauenorchester in Auschwitz. Musikalische Zwangsarbeit und ihre Bewältigung*, Hamburg 1996, 137–140.

41 See Gilbert, *Holocaust*, 30–32.

contact with musical performances. Making music triggered mechanisms of self-deception and self-forgetting: ‘When I played I forgot where I was’, recalled Coco Schumann of his time in the Theresienstadt ghetto. ‘The world seemed in order, the suffering of people around me disappeared – life was beautiful. [...] We knew everything and forgot everything the moment we played a few bars.’⁴² Such memories of the escapist effect of music-making abound. Cellist Marta Goldstein, who had been assigned to the women’s orchestra in Auschwitz, stated that she benefited greatly from running through solo concerts in her head: ‘You’re gone. It’s like a drug.’⁴³

Third, musicians who had been assigned to orchestras and bands were sometimes given far-reaching privileges in everyday camp life. Of all these formations, the women’s orchestra in Auschwitz-Birkenau probably received the most extensive preferential treatment after Alma Rosé had been put in charge of it. Having been discovered in the experimental medical block and assigned to the orchestra, Rosé quickly became a camp celebrity, partly because of her background.⁴⁴ Once she was in charge – contemporary witnesses painted a highly authoritarian picture of her personality – members of the women’s orchestra received numerous perks. For instance, they were allocated a barracks to rehearse in and provided with new, better instruments. Rosé herself was allowed to play a particularly valuable violin. In addition, these women musicians each had their own bed, which was an absolute exception. In general, the women lived in better hygienic conditions than ordinary inmates, not least because the ss camp personnel came into regular contact with them. Officially ranked as detail overseer (*Kommandoführerin*), until her sudden death in April 1944 Rosé managed to keep her musicians from the clutches of the ss, whether this meant avoiding the dreaded infirmary, from which few ever got out alive, or the gas chambers themselves. This protected status set these female musicians apart from the hundred-man orchestra in Auschwitz, which was subject to a high turnover due to continuous ‘selection’ (of prisoners for execution).⁴⁵

42 Schumann, *Ghetto Swinger*, 42.

43 Quoted in Knapp, *Frauenorchester*, 191; further examples in Gilbert, *Holocaust*, 192.

44 Alma Rosé was the daughter of Arnold Rosé, founder of the Rosé Quartet, and Justine Mahler, sister of Gustav Mahler.

45 See Knapp, G., ‘Alma Rosé’, in *Lebenswege von Musikerinnen im ‘Dritten Reich’ und im Exil*, edited by Arbeitsgruppe ‘Exilmusik’ am Musikwissenschaftlichen Institut der Universität Hamburg, Hamburg 2000, 199–225, here 208–217; Gilbert, *Holocaust*, 182. The circumstances of Rosé’s death are still unclear. She is said to have poisoned herself unintentionally or to have been poisoned by other women prisoners.

Overall, a musical background, professional or private, increased the chances of survival in the camp – but no more than this. Ghetto and concentration camp remained highly arbitrary systems. While Coco Schumann and his *Ghetto-Swingers* contributed to a promotional film about Theresienstadt in August 1944, four weeks later he and his colleagues received notice of deportation to Auschwitz. The women's orchestra in Birkenau was also dissolved in autumn 1944; its Jewish members were sent to Bergen-Belsen, while their non-Jewish counterparts were made to perform forced labour in the main camp.⁴⁶ Dealing psychologically with the task of musical forced labour was a highly individual matter, and not every musician could draw strength from it. The historical record includes reports stating that music-making caused extreme psychological stress among the doomed, as well as self-recrimination on the part of those who felt they had betrayed the other inmates as prisoner-functionaries and privileged victims.⁴⁷

Just like the flight into exile, the Holocaust tore holes in the music profession. Regardless of their special status in the camps, countless musicians perished there. Of those who survived and had lived in Germany before their deportation, very few stayed there or returned permanently. Coco Schumann belonged to this small group and was at first quite unsure what to make of his predicament: 'People felt relief and bewilderment at the same time. Even I stood around with mixed feelings when the *Stunde Null* struck (the "zero hour" of Nazi capitulation). I owned an instrument and didn't think about anything much, but just kept on playing.'⁴⁸ The rule, however, was permanent emigration, as in the case of cellist Marta Goldstein, who moved to England and pursued a successful career as an orchestral musician. Initially determined never to return, she travelled to Germany for the first time almost forty years later to visit a memorial.⁴⁹

Scattered by War

The Second World War caused even greater upheaval in the music profession than the horrors of displacement, persecution and extermination. Three fields

46 See Schumann, *Ghetto Swinger*, 47 f.; Knapp, *Frauenorchester*, 103–111.

47 See Knapp, *Frauenorchester*, 325 f.

48 Schumann, *Ghetto Swinger*, 68.

49 See Knapp, *Frauenorchester*, 195–198. Of 263 returnees identified by Pasdzierny, only 16 had been imprisoned in a concentration camp, and some returned only temporarily. See Pasdzierny, *Wiederaufnahme?*, 659–855.

of activity opened up for musicians, for which different agencies were responsible. The Wehrmacht wanted to recruit musicians, like all other professional groups, as soldiers, and to use them as military musicians to entertain the troops. In the occupied territories, on the other hand, civilian musicians were needed to help construct a 'German' musical culture. Finally, the apparatus of government in Berlin had to keep an eye on the mood of the soldiers in the field and of the war society at home. The longer the war lasted, the more difficult it became to meet the multifarious demands for music and military forces or to do both at the same time.

With the attack on Poland in early September 1939, countless musicians were conscripted into the Wehrmacht, though there are no precise statistics on this. In November 1940, around 300 composers were active at the front, which corresponded to 8.5 percent of the 3,500 composers registered with the Reich Chamber of Music. Extrapolated to the entire profession, between 10,000 and 12,500 conscripted civilian musicians were probably in the field at the beginning of the second year of the war.⁵⁰ This means that the conscription rate of musicians was well below the 22 percent of all male employees in uniform at the time.⁵¹

Among the more prominent musicians in the field was band leader Oskar Joost, who had made a career in the Nazi state as a party member. Appointed lieutenant (*Oberleutnant*) and company commander (*Kompaniechef*), he participated in the campaign in the west from January 1940 onwards, was wounded in the process and died of an infection in a Berlin field hospital in May 1941. As a dedicated participant in the war, Joost was quite happy to be incorporated into war propaganda. The periodical *Unterhaltungsmusik* thus published a greeting from the Western Front under his name, in which he described the events of the war in sensational terms and resorted to typical propaganda topics: the tribulations of deployment, which, he asserted, he was quite able to endure despite his forty-two years; the nervous strain that hits one particularly hard as a musician; the great sense of responsibility that he felt for his company; the heroic dimension of the war experience, along with

50 See Theodor Seeger, 'Ein Jahr Betreuung der feldgrauen Komponisten', *Mitteilungen der Fachschaft Komponisten* November 1940, 19; figure for composers in 'Rückblick auf das erste Arbeitsjahrzehnt der Reichsmusikkammer', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 11, 15 November 1943, 45. The variance depends on which total number of musicians is used as a basis, that of the RMK (about 145,000) or that of the Reich Statistics (116,000).

51 See Kroener, B. R. et al., *Wartime Administration, Economy, and Manpower Resources 1939-1941*. Translated by Derry Cook-Radmore. Edited by Bernhard R. Kroener, Rolf-Dieter Müller and Hans Umbreit. Oxford 2000, 927.

the awareness of playing a part in history; and last but not least, the certainty that victory was near and that peace would soon prevail.⁵²

Such field post propaganda, which was also published in the name of ordinary, unknown makers of music, was intended to convey to musicians that, like any other professional group, they had to make their contribution to the war. It was even claimed that artists and soldiers had a lot in common. An article in *Musik-Woche*, for example, asserted that soldiers and artists got on so well because both affirmed cheerfulness, in contrast to 'bourgeois' (*Spießler*), who had no sense of humour and were always grumbling. The 'elemental torrent of fighting and creating' had 'de-intellectualized' German art and its artists. The soldier brought about the freedom of the nation, while the artist gauged the freedom of the individual. In addition, both could 'barely grasp the accumulation of material things' and were profoundly humbled to be allowed to take part in the combat.⁵³ In view of the low rate of enlistment, such efforts to make armed service appealing to musicians clearly came to nothing.

The fact that musicians served at the front, however, also had a propagandistic value vis-à-vis society as a whole, because it made it clear that representatives of the fine arts were not being spared. Hence, the series *Konzert mit Werken feldgrauer Komponisten* ('Concert featuring works by composers in uniform'), which was broadcast on the radio immediately after the war began, was not only meant to suggest to this group of artists that their deployment was no career setback. Equally important was to anchor among listeners in the Reich the idea of a military 'National Community', to which even composers would cheerfully subordinate themselves.⁵⁴

The everyday life of a soldier was, however, quite different. A series of letters from almost twenty violinists to their teacher, the Berlin-based professor Gustav Havemann, reveals how far from enthusiastic these young men were about the war.⁵⁵ After they were called up, all these former students sought to join a military band, and most of them eventually succeeded. Kurt Eichler, who became concertmaster with the *Berliner Rundfunk* entertainment orchestra after the war, even made a career as a solo violinist in troop entertainment. His 'debut' at the Lille Opera in December 1940, which saw him perform Paganini's

52 'Der feldgraue Musiker grüßt die Kameraden der Heimatfront', *Die Unterhaltungsmusik* no. 2849, 25 July 1940, 685. On Joost, see also Kater, *Spiel*, 113–116.

53 Wulf Bley, 'Soldaten – Künstler – Kameraden', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 16, 19 April 1941, 150.

54 See Theodor Seeger, 'Ein Jahr Betreuung der feldgrauen Komponisten', *Mitteilungen der Fachschaft Komponisten* November 1940, 19; see also Jockwer, 'Unterhaltungsmusik', 182–184.

55 See *Beiträge*, 220–257.

Violin Concerto No. 1, was met with enthusiastic applause from the audience of soldiers; for Eichler, this was ‘the best day during this war!’⁵⁶ Another ex-student, Heinz Petersen, had evidently ended up in a fortunate position in his military band as well. Called simply the ‘Havemann student’ by his fellows, he had enough time every day to practice Dont *études* in order to keep his hand in.⁵⁷

Despite such preferential treatment, not a single one of these former music students liked being a soldier – and their enthusiasm waned further as the war dragged on. Some were transferred from the Western to the Eastern Front, while many saw their military bands dissolved and had to return to their company. Constantly being on the move was a concern for all these musician-soldiers: ‘I’ll probably have travelled the entire world before the war is over’, stated Eichler in despair, and others among this group also complained about the ceaseless movement and redeployment of troops. The moment they were called to arms, there was a fear of injury as well; these young musicians were particularly concerned about their hands. So it is not surprising that sooner or later all these former students reached out to Havemann in an attempt to be exempted from military service and obtain a secure job on the home front.⁵⁸ The fact that the violin professor enjoyed a certain cultural-political renown despite his expulsion from the RMK in July 1935 evidently made no difference. In any case, as the war continued, Havemann could do ever less to help them out: almost all of them had been required to hand over their instruments when they were sent to join their companies. Just one of them was able to take his violin to the front. In September 1942, stationed near Stalingrad, he wrote that he had recently practiced in a ravine under artillery fire: ‘If I didn’t have my violin with me, I would perish.’⁵⁹ In fact, no trope recurs in these musicians’ letters as often as the longing for a violin and the hope of being able to resume one’s studies with Havemann in the near future.⁶⁰

The lifeworld of musicians who went to war sometimes included imprisonment. In the prison camps of both the Allies and the Nazis, which differed profoundly from the cruel world of the concentration camps described above,

56 See *ibid.*, 234 f.; see also ‘Interview Kurt Eichler, März 1976’, in SLUB NL Havemann, Mscr.Dresd.App. 2475/B 539.

57 See *ibid.* 247; Jakob Dont’s *études* are still used in violin lessons today.

58 See *ibid.*, 243 and 256. See also Musikmeister Friedrich, ‘In der “grünen Hölle von Karelien”. Erlebnisse eines Musikkorps im Felde’, *DMMZ* no. 12, 20 June 1942, 97 f.

59 See *ibid.*, 257.

60 See *ibid.*, 239, 243, 246 and 249.



FIGURE 11 Revue *Rampenfieber*, POW Camp 72, Bedfordshire, October 1947 (TWS LTH ID 20213)

a lively cultural scene developed, and musicians were often granted privileges.⁶¹ As is well known, for German prisoners this experience extended well beyond the end of the war. The photograph from Camp 72 in Bedfordshire, UK, illustrates the professionalism with which the inmates set about their work. The coordinated setting, featuring musicians in black tuxedos and singers in white ones, as well as the sophisticated set, provide no hint that the revue *Rampenfieber* was an instance of prisoner-of-war theatre (figure 11).

In other British POW camps, too, a cultural life featuring music, theatre, intellectual presentations and sporting contests developed after the end of the war.⁶² Generally, the focus here was not so much on diversion as on re-education intended to promote democracy and the rule of law. Still, music played an important role. In 1946–47, a camp orchestra in the Egyptian city

61 On music in the Nazi's Kreuzburg internment camp, see Hilsley, W., *Musik hinterm Stacheldraht. Tagebuch eines internierten Musikers 1940–1945*, Potsdam 1999.

62 See for example Wilhelm Bonnie, 'Bericht über kulturelle Veranstaltungen deutscher Kriegsgefangener, Juni bis August 1945', in TWS LTH ID 20361.

of Fayed even began to operate on a seasonal basis.⁶³ Various conductors performed with the orchestra in the Army Educational Centre, including Curt Herold, whose background lay in the world of accordion music. Special concert programmes were printed and orchestra members adapted the repertoire to the available line-up. It ranged widely, from classics such as Beethoven and Antonio Vivaldi through British modernists like Leslie Bridgewater and John Foulds to rarities such as the Cuban Ernesto Lecuona. From the summer of 1947 onwards, Wagner too was included in the programme on a number of occasions, and a second ensemble was formed in the shape of a salon orchestra. Hence, the music on offer in the desert camp came to cover a broad aesthetic spectrum.⁶⁴

Culture vultures among prisoners in Soviet camps enjoyed fewer such opportunities. Nevertheless, under the most adverse circumstances – with an ‘orchestra’ consisting of a guitar, three violins and an accordion – Hans Schmalenberg, a former choir singer from Wuppertal who had been deported to the foothills of the Altai Mountains in western Siberia, brought sixteen different operas in abridged and adapted versions to the (non-existent) stage. In the labour camp, which was otherwise characterized by hunger and ill humour, according to Schmalenberg the prisoners responded to these highly improvised performances with gratitude and felt a sense of peace, ‘like little children who have been read a fairy tale by their mother or uncle’.⁶⁵ Schmalenberg’s report is no isolated case. Other camp inmates too spoke of the comforting impact or other feelings triggered by musical performances, which helped counteract the deadening effects of everyday camp life. There have probably been few occasions when musicians have received greater recognition and appreciation than when catering to such needful audiences.⁶⁶

Musicians typically encountered similarly appreciative audiences in the context of German troop support. These support services tied up vast resources, which is why their organization was constantly fought over. No less

63 See Held, R., *Kriegsgefangenschaft in Großbritannien. Deutsche Soldaten des Zweiten Weltkriegs in britischem Gewahrsam*, Munich 2008, 101–103 and 199–202; Fayed housed some of the 150,000 soldiers who had been taken prisoner as a result of the Axis surrender in Tunisia in May 1943.

64 See ‘Programme leaflet Army Educational Centre Fayid, 14.10.1946’, in TWS LTH ID 20315; ‘Programme leaflet Army Educational Centre Fayid, 9.12.1946’, in *ibid.* ID 20316; ‘Programme leaflet Army Education Centre Fayid, 30.6.1947’, in *ibid.* ID 20321; ‘Programme leaflet Salon Orchestra, Education Centre Fayid, 17.11.1947’, in *ibid.* ID 20345.

65 Hans Schmalenberg, ‘Freischütz in Sibirien, 11.5.1949’, in TWS LTH ID 20282.

66 See Hilger, A., *Deutsche Kriegsgefangene in der Sowjetunion, 1941–1956. Kriegsgefangenenpolitik, Lageralltag, und Erinnerung*, Essen 2008, 302–305.

than three powerful institutions of the Nazi state saw themselves as responsible for them: the Strength Through Joy organization, with the German Labour Front in the background, the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (*Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*) and, after a halting start, the Wehrmacht as well. As a result of the occupation of large parts of Northern and Central Europe, in late autumn 1940 the German armed forces recognized that the troops stationed there required some sort of diversion. Due to the institutional turf wars, the concept of troop support remained fuzzy and it was modified repeatedly over the course of the war. Despite repeated attempts at coordination, by the time it ended in September 1944 the various tasks had still not been clearly divided up and the financing remained a mess. On paper, at least, Strength Through Joy was chiefly concerned with traveling ensembles, while the Propaganda Ministry was dedicated to the stationary German-speaking theatres, which had almost doubled in number from just under 130 at the outbreak of war to more than 250 in March 1943. The Wehrmacht was responsible for coordination in both cases, but also used its own military bands for troop support.⁶⁷

Not least because of this polycratic organization, there are almost no reliable figures on the number of musicians involved. A total of 7,000 cultural workers were active in the summer of 1940, about twice as many two years later. However, music only made up part, and not even the largest part, of troop support, which, as in the First World War, was dominated by theatre.⁶⁸

Troop support work was a double-edged sword for musicians. On the one hand, in times of war, when they had become an even scarcer commodity, they received high fees, which repeatedly brought accusations of war profiteering. On the other hand, the longer the war dragged on, the more unpopular deployment at the front and in the occupied territories became, especially on the Eastern Front. Both aspects illustrate the remarkable room for manoeuvre available to civilian musicians: due to the rivalries involved, the Nazi power apparatus was long unable to get the salary explosion under control or enforce effective compulsory labour orders (*Dienstverpflichtung*) for artists. It was not until January 1944 that Goebbels and Hinkel issued a new directive on troop support, which effectively lowered fees, capping them at 800 reichsmarks per

67 See Hirt, A., 'Die deutsche Truppenbetreuung im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Konzeption, Organisation, Wirkung', *Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift* no. 59, 2000, 407–434, here 416–421; Vossler, *Propaganda*, 134; Steinweis, *Art*, 150; I am referring here to theatres operating throughout the year.

68 See Steinweis, *Art*, 149; Vossler, *Propaganda*, 288 f. On the activities of the KdF, see Baranowsky, *Consumerism*, 203–213.

month. Fees were to be kept in check by tying troop support engagements to compulsory military service. At the same time, the new arrangement released musicians with a civilian contract from conscription. Now, therefore, only freelance musicians could provide troop support. Behind this contradictory ordinance lay the widely held view that the First World War had been lost on the home front. This cultural-political variant of the stab-in-the-back myth made such a strong impact that the regime was still comprehensively supporting musical life in the Reich even in the fifth year of the war.⁶⁹ As a logical, albeit unintended consequence of the new regulations, musicians who had been working voluntarily in troop support and earning good money sought to re-engage with civilian musical life in the Reich at the beginning of 1944 in order to avoid conscription.⁷⁰

The fact that troop support suffered from a lack of supply had much to do with the fact that musicians abroad were also needed for other purposes, namely for propaganda and for the ceaseless construction of a 'German' musical life in certain occupied areas. For example, the Foreign Office for Music (*Auslandsstelle für Musik*), responsible for cultural propaganda, organized concerts featuring German artists in allied states and occupied territories under the direction of Hans Sellschopp. Between 1939 and 1942, the number of performances arranged by this body rose from just under 380 to 725 per year. It was chiefly prominent figures and ensembles that were employed in this context, such as pianists Wilhelm Kempff and Walter Gieseking, conductors Herbert von Karajan and Carl Schuricht, the *Gewandhaus* Chamber Orchestra and the Vienna Boys' Choir (*Wiener Sängerknaben*).⁷¹ The Foreign Office for Music, however, was just one of many propaganda bodies active in the field of music. As a result, a largely independent music policy was pursued in occupied France, and in this context the Berlin Philharmonic developed into a very busy travelling orchestra that gave over 200 concerts abroad, sometimes in cooperation with KdF and at other times with the Ministry of Propaganda.⁷²

69 For a thorough treatment of the complex effective history, see Barth, B., *Dolchstoßlegenden und politische Desintegration. Das Trauma der deutschen Niederlage im Ersten Weltkrieg 1914–1933*, Düsseldorf 2003.

70 See Hirt, 'Truppenbetreuung', 421–424; Vossler, *Propaganda*, 294 f.

71 See 'Auslandsstelle für Musik an RMVP, 2.10.1942', in BArch R 55/20596, fol. 97; 'Auslandsstelle für Musik an RMVP, 18.2.1943', in *ibid.*, fol. 121.

72 See Schwartz, M., 'Musikpolitik und Musikpropaganda im besetzten Frankreich', in W. Benz (ed.), *Kultur – Propaganda – Öffentlichkeit. Intentionen deutscher Besatzungspolitik und Reaktionen auf die Okkupation*, Berlin 1998, 55–78. Some of the Philharmonic guest performances are documented in Muck, P., *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester. Darstellung in Dokumenten*, Tutzing 1982, 150–181; see also Aster, *Reich's Orchestra*, 185–214.

In addition to cultural propaganda abroad, the occupied areas also tied up musical personnel. Advertisements for vacancies in Holland, Wartheland or Pomerania increasingly appeared in musical periodicals.⁷³ How desperately musicians were sought is evident in the fact that the communist Alfred Malige, who had been dismissed from the Leipzig Symphony Orchestra in the spring of 1933, was suddenly needed again. At the invitation of SA-Oberführer and director of the Katowice Opera House Otto Wartisch, Malige returned to orchestral work for the 1940–41 season; according to his own account, he was now a member of an ‘orchestra cobbled together out of elements from all over Germany’. This Silesian city, which had been incorporated directly into Reich territory after the invasion of September 1939, was home to a veritable gathering of outcasts: Malige came across an ‘old communist comrade in arms’ and other middle-aged musicians who, like himself, had ‘found no other position for political reasons’. The wind players included a number of quite excellent individuals who ‘had lost their post at leading orchestras due to drunkenness’.⁷⁴

In the conquered Polish territories in particular, such posts were intended to be permanent, as the General Plan East envisaged the settlement of the new provinces and the General Government. But there was a huge gap between vision and reality here. Governor General Hans Frank had been falling back on Polish musicians since the autumn of 1940, using them, among other things, to fill posts at the Warsaw City Theatre, though they had initially been banned from performing in concerts and operas. The newly won ‘living space’ (*Lebensraum*) suffered from a lack of German musicians who might have done these jobs. It is thus no coincidence that Malige ended up in Katowice, further to the west. Musical ‘Germanization’ was supposed to gradually expand eastwards, but it did not get very far.⁷⁵

There was, however, no lack of incentives to settle. Malige was offered a newly built apartment, which played a significant role in his decision to accept the position. In addition, his wife Leni Bach, who had previously played in his entertainment orchestra as an accordionist, was able to return to her original

73 See ‘Offene Stellen’, *Mitteilungen der Fachschaft Orchester* no. 6, 15 March 1942, 10; ‘Offene Stellen’, *ibid.* no. 24, 15 December 1942, 45.

74 Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 75. Even in Katowice, however, the music-making drunkards had little future to look forward to.

75 See Naliwajek-Mazurek, K., ‘Music and its Emotional Aspects during the Nazi Occupation of Poland’, in S. Zalfen and S. O. Müller (eds.), *Besatzungsmacht Musik. Zur Musik- und Emotionsgeschichte im Zeitalter der Weltkriege (1914–1949)*, Bielefeld 2012, 207–224, here 208–215.

profession as a secondary school teacher. According to Malige's own accounts, the two felt fairly comfortable in this new environment. He came to terms with the Nazi rulers, played for Wartisch on his birthday and took part in a varied range of evening events in the region organized by Strength Through Joy. In addition to her teaching, Malige's wife even found the time to advance her career as accordionist.⁷⁶ There is no doubt that the granting of such privileges in the occupied territories helped bolster approval for the Nazi regime, especially among musicians who had initially been persecuted as its opponents.⁷⁷

Managing Lack in the Reich

Conscription, engagements in troop support, tours for propaganda purposes and, last but not least, recruitment in areas of settlement had certain consequences for musical life in the Reich itself. Certainly, it was the Nazi regime's declared intention and a focus of its incessant propaganda that opera, concerts and musical entertainments would continue in wartime without restrictions. There were those who made fun of the United States or United Kingdom: the Metropolitan Opera ceased its activities and performances in London were unthinkable due to the bombing.⁷⁸ But beyond the propaganda, over the course of the war it became clear in Germany too that maintaining regular operations was an increasingly hard task.

First, as a result of the dwindling supply of musicians, wages and salaries rose in the Reich proper. This was most clearly noticeable with respect to symphony orchestras. One after the other, they were assigned to a higher

76 Malige supported his wife significantly by writing a solo concerto with orchestral accompaniment for her. It was premiered in January 1944 under Wartisch and was such a great success that Bach went on tour and gave more than thirty subsequent concerts, in Auschwitz among other places. See Edition Hohner, 'Broschüre zu Fred Malige', undated (after 1946), in SLUB NL Malige, Mscr.Dresd.App. 2090/136; Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 76a–78.

77 On this state of affairs, notwithstanding all justified criticism of the scope of his argument, see Aly, G., *Hitlers Volksstaat. Raub, Rassenkrieg und nationaler Sozialismus*, Frankfurt am Main 2005, esp. 36–39; for a critique, see Wildt, 'Volksstaat'.

78 See 'Fortführung des Konzertlebens', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 19, 1 October 1939, 57. Only popular dance events were subject to restrictions, depending on how the war was going, that were sometimes relaxed again later. See for example 'Lockerung des Tanzverbots', *ibid.* no. 8, 15 August 1940, 32. On London, see Fritz Stege, 'Kreuz und quer durch die Musik', *Die Unterhaltungsmusik* no. 2864, 7 November 1940, 1033 f. On New York, see Ernst Krienitz, 'Amerikas Oper schloß die Pforten', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 9, 5 May 1942, 1 f.

class within the system of employment regulations relating to cultural orchestras. A total of 13 orchestras ascended to a higher class in October 1942, 16 the following year, and a further 24 were to be upgraded by October 1944. This regrading involved every class, beginning with the special class, whose status Hitler adjudged personally and which grew to 9 orchestras, to the lowest class, V, in which, for example, the *Nordisches Grenzlandorchester Glogau* appeared for the first time in the autumn of 1943.⁷⁹

This wave of upgrading was due to the staff shortage, which increasingly gave musicians their pick of jobs. Municipal and state sponsors of orchestras tried to increase the attractiveness of their ensembles with the help of lucrative salaries. It is true that the RMK left no stone unturned in its attempts to more closely regulate the domestic musical labour market and prevent individuals from switching from one orchestra to another. In view of the shifts in salary classes, however, these efforts seem to have borne little fruit.⁸⁰ It played into the hands of many treasurers that the majority of orchestras shrank relatively quickly to a minimum complement of musicians, freeing up funds for increased wages for the remaining members.⁸¹ But the Reich's subsidies for cultural orchestras also rose during the war, from an annual figure of 1.4 million to almost 2 million reichsmarks in 1942. The Nazi regime, the states and the municipalities thus all pulled together when it came to learning the 'right' lessons from the defeat of 1918.⁸²

Second, the internal mobility of musicians, as well as their diverse uses during the war, led to another migratory movement: the influx of substitute workers, some of them from abroad. They were either hired on a voluntary basis or forcibly recruited by way of compulsory labour orders. As a rule, they came from allied or occupied countries such as Italy, Hungary and the Benelux countries. Substitutes from abroad were a welcome sight in the popular music field

79 See 'Aufstellung über die Eingruppierung der deutschen Kulturorchester, 1.6.1943', in BArch R 36/2384; 'Aufstellung über die Eingruppierung der deutschen Kulturorchester, 1.6.44', in *ibid.*; see also Steinweis, *Art*, 153.

80 After a warning issued by Raabe in March 1942 proved insufficient, a few months later a requirement for authorization was put in place, though this too made little difference. See 'Einsatz von Arbeitskräften der Kulturorchester', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 3, 15 March 1942, 9; 'Stellenwechsel genehmigungspflichtig', *Mitteilungen der Fachschaft Orchester* no. 11, 1 June 1942, 19.

81 See 'Oberbürgermeister Gelsenkirchen an Sondertreuhänder der Arbeit für die kulturschaffenden Berufe, 4.5.1943', in BArch R 36/2384.

82 See 'Aufstellung', undated (1940), in GStA PK I. HA Rep. 138/1509, fol. 14a; 'Gezahlte Reichszuschüsse an Orchester im Rechnungsjahr 1942', undated (1943), in *ibid.*, fol. 162. On other lessons the Nazi regime drew from the First World War, see also the relevant contributions in Krumeich, G. (ed.), *Nationalsozialismus und Erster Weltkrieg*, Essen 2010.

because they were often top-class musicians, such as Italian saxophonist Tullio Mobiglia. It is true that they had to observe certain aesthetic and performative guidelines. In addition to the ban on Jewish and African-American music, it was also imperative to refrain from 'any kind of effeminizing, unmanly music-making by chorus singers who, with falsettos, a whispered voice, and so on, place external effect above artistic content'. It has, however, been emphasized repeatedly that such prescriptions could scarcely be enforced in practice.⁸³

In symphony orchestras, German substitute staff were generally preferred to foreign workers. In the spring of 1944, there were just two foreigners among the 27 employees at the *Konstanzer Grenzlandtheater*, a French civilian and a female Belgian wartime substitute worker (*Kriegsaushilfe*). At the same point in time, foreigners' share in the Berlin City Orchestra was similarly low: 8 of the 70 musicians were non-Germans. Conversely, 6 permanent substitute workers played in Konstanz and 12 in Berlin; they were very young or already retired and in some cases had a completely different main job. In Konstanz, for example, a tax official known as a *Steuerobersekretär* supplemented the viola group, while a finance assistant in the city administration played second oboe.⁸⁴

Over the course of the war, symphony orchestras increasingly fell back on foreign workers. Prisoners of war also came the fore in this context. For example, more than 50 French camp inmates recommended by the French musicians' union were to be subject to compulsory labour orders placing them with German orchestras if they passed an audition.⁸⁵ It was of course easier and quicker to make use of voluntary recruitment, but there was obviously a lack of incentives in this context. In any case, at the beginning of 1944, the Propaganda Ministry pushed for substitute posts to be exempted from compulsory pension insurance payments in order to make them more attractive to foreigners. While the RMK protested against this proposal and the issue ultimately remained unresolved, it was clear once again that the Nazi regime would spare no effort to safeguard high-cultural music.⁸⁶

83 See 'Richtlinien für die Ausführung von Unterhaltungsmusik', *Amtliche Mitteilungen der RMK* no. 11, 15 November 1942, 45; 'Variété-Musik', *ibid.* no. 8, 15 August 1941, 28; Kater, *Spiel*, 219 f.; Muth, W., 'Wir hotten weiter. Erlebtes, Überliefertes, Hinterlassenes', in B. Polster (ed.), *'Swing Heil'. Jazz im Nationalsozialismus*, Berlin 1989, 201–210.

84 See 'Becker an Präsident RMK, 1.4.1944', in BArch R 56.II/55; 'Bestandsmeldung des Städtischen Orchesters Berlin', undated (1944), in *ibid.* R 55/20587, fol. 14.

85 See 'RMVP an Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, 26.8.1943', in *ibid.* R 55/200, fol. 178.

86 See 'Flügel an RMK, 18.2.1944', in *ibid.* R 56.II/29; 'Henrich an RMVP, 2.3.1944', in *ibid.*; 'RMVP an Bayerische Versicherungskammer, 28.3.1944', in *ibid.*

The increased use of foreign musicians was also necessary because, as in the First World War, there was a general tendency not to admit female musicians to orchestras and dance bands. Even a warning from the very top failed to make much impact. In January 1940, in a comparatively progressive lecture, Chamber President Raabe called on German symphony orchestras to finally end their resistance to the participation of women. Raabe did not even emphasize the war itself. Instead, he assumed that the expansion of military music in the course of rearmament alone would rapidly create vacant positions in civilian orchestras that could only be filled by female musicians. Raabe also cited other countries such as Switzerland as role models, which, he contended, had long been a step ahead when it came to women orchestral musicians, and he insisted on the performance principle: women musicians who could 'do something proficient' should not have to depend on getting married.⁸⁷

Regardless of this, Raabe made it clear that unemployed men always deserved priority. Ultimately, he remained captive to a patriarchal concept of the family, and it was this concept that his listeners had evidently internalized: Raabe's call for more female orchestral musicians had almost no practical consequences. Aside from harpists, very few women were admitted to symphony orchestras, even in wartime. Only in isolated cases did all-women orchestras form, such as the Original Glorias and the Accordeon Babies, who performed throughout the Reich and were also used for troop support.⁸⁸

Third, overall, the shortage of musicians as well as the tendency to fall back on German and foreign substitute workers reduced the quality of events. In symphony orchestras, this decline was so grave that in late 1942 Leipzig-based musicologist Eugen Schmitz provided tips in *Musik-Woche* on how to handle the 'age of the substitute musicians (*Aushilfsmusiker*)'. This Nazi Party member urged readers not to blame those who could do no better, but instead to simplify scores where possible and thus at least achieve a more acceptable musical experience despite a bad 'conscience vis-à-vis the original version'. According to Schmitz, it would be wrong for the substitute musician to 'become a convenient excuse for a decline in orchestral culture in general', an inexcusable trend even as a consequence of the war.⁸⁹ Just a few months earlier, the

87 Peter Raabe, 'Die Frau im musikalischen Leben', *Zeitschrift für Musik* no. 8, 1941, 501–508, quotation on 506.

88 See Friedel, 'Frauenensembles', 2–5.

89 Eugen Schmitz, 'Was dünkt euch um die Aushilfsmusiker?', *Die Musik-Woche* no. 24, 20 December 1942, 253.

Orchestra Division had already issued directives on how much one might legitimately interfere with compositions and change timbres in the event of staff shortages. Ultimately, this question was left up to the conductor, though he had 'to take into account everyday life during the war when it comes to fidelity to a given work and must not, therefore, proceed in too narrow-minded a fashion'.⁹⁰ When, after defeat at Stalingrad, Goebbels declared 'total war' in his infamous Sportpalast speech of February 1943, he once again assigned culture a special position: 'Theatres, cinemas and music halls remain fully operational.' This claim was not so much overtaken by events as inaccurate in the first place: shortages and declining quality were a reality throughout the Reich.⁹¹

Fourth and finally, because the ruling elite were fully aware of the gradual thinning out of the music profession, they implemented countermeasures and rescue operations. These were aimed at metropolises and provincial towns, at concerts and operas as well as variety shows and entertainment, and at entire ensembles as well as individual musicians. The key lifeline was known as *Uk-Stellung* (short for *Unabkömmlichstellung*), which meant that the Wehrmacht discharged a certain number of musicians to work on the home front. Entire establishments, such as the *Waldenburger Bergkapelle*, which had been reduced from 40 to 28 staff members and received 17 new musicians released from military service in 1941, were thus kept alive.⁹² Although the Wehrmacht High Command informed the Propaganda Ministry in the summer of 1943 that those born in 1923 or after were to be called up without exception, it remained possible for young musicians to be discharged to make music on the home front, but this had to be justified on a case-by-case basis. Orchestral musicians were thus classified as 'divinely gifted' (*gottbegnadet*) in the relevant assessments, more than a year before the infamous list known as the *Gottbegnadeten-Liste* was compiled. These included, for example, 20-year-old Weimar concertmaster Karl Heinz Lapp and Emil Ferstl, an 18-year-old trom-

90 'Kriegsbedingte Besetzungseinschränkungen', *Mitteilungen der Fachschaft Orchester* no. 17, 1 September 1942, 31. For the wind parts, for example, it was said that lead vocals were taboo, while careful substitution was permissible when it came to second and third vocals.

91 Goebbels, J., 'Rede im Berliner Sportpalast, 18.2.1943', in 100(o) *Schlüsseldokumente zur deutschen Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*, URL: https://www.100odokumente.de/index.html?c=dokument_de&dokument=0200_goe&object=pdf&l=de.

92 See 'Oberbürgermeister der Stadt Waldenburg an das Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, 30.1.1941', in BArch R 55/20588, fol. 253; 'Waldenburger Bergkapelle an RMVP, 6.2.1941', in *ibid.*, fol. 256; 'von Borries an Hein, 20.2.1941', in *ibid.*, fol. 261.

bonist with the Linz Bruckner Orchestra; they were considered 'indispensable' to the future of German cultural life.⁹³

Nazi cultural strategists went one step further. Over the course of the war, they formed three entirely new, large ensembles, namely the Bruckner Orchestra, the German Dance and Entertainment Orchestra (*Deutsches Tanz- und Unterhaltungsorchester* or DTUO) and the Staff Band (*Stabsmusikkorps*) of the *Waffen-SS* at the SS Headquarters in Berlin. As flagships in their different musical worlds, they were intended to demonstrate the vitality of German musical life. The Wehrmacht could do little to oppose these projects. The Staff Band replaced that of the *Leibstandarte 'Adolf Hitler'*; the latter was constantly deployed in front-line troop support in the early stages of the war. From 1941 onwards, the Staff Band grew from 65 to over 100 musicians and was used in the capital on every conceivable musical occasion. Its members could study at the Berlin Academy of Music and were provided with first-class instruments.⁹⁴ In the summer of 1943, at least 27 soldiers had to be exempted from military service to form the St. Florian Bruckner Orchestra, which also traded under the name of the 'Führer Orchestra' and was, therefore, made up of Germans alone; 16 of them were in fact called up again by the Wehrmacht.⁹⁵

The German Dance and Entertainment Orchestra was launched as early as the spring of 1942 at Goebbels's request. As a radio-based big band, from the outset it played almost exclusively for listeners at home and at the front. Goebbels envisaged it acquiring a reputation in the entertainment field similar to that of the Berlin Philharmonic in the realm of serious music. The best people from the leading Berlin theatres were thus transferred to the new ensemble. By autumn 1944, the DTUO had grown from 30 to over 50 musicians, including arrangers, with only two foreigners joining in addition to Hungarian director Barnabás von Géczy.⁹⁶

93 See 'Abteilung Personal an Leiter Abt. M, 4.6.1943', in BArch R 55/20588, fol. 35–40. On the *Gottbegnadeten-Liste*, see Haas, M., 'Die "Gottbegnadeten-Liste"' (BArch R 55/20252a), in J. Giannini et al. (eds.), *Eine Institution zwischen Repräsentation und Macht. Die Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien im Kulturleben des Nationalsozialismus*, Vienna 2014, 239–278; Rathkolb, *Führertreu*, 166–179.

94 See Bunge, *Musik*, 62–67.

95 See 'Leiter Personalabt. an Leiter Abt. M, 3.8.1943', in BArch R 55/20588, fol. 53; 'Leiter Abt. M an Leiter Personalabt., 13.8.1943', in *ibid.*, fol. 54. Karajan's proposal to staff the new orchestra with foreigners had failed to find favour with Goebbels; see 'Glasmeyer an Staatssekretär, 16.5.1944', in *ibid.* R 55/20587, fol. 79; 'Naumann an Leiter Abt. M, 18.5.1944', in *ibid.*, fol. 78.

96 See 'Hinkel an Reichsminister, 10.3.1942', in BArch 56.I/34, fol. 64–67; 'Präsident Reichskulturkammer an Deutschen Kurzwellensender, 10.3.1942', in *ibid.*, fol. 144; 'Aufstellung über Mitglieder der Deutschen Tanz- und Unterhaltungsorchester, 14.9.1944', in *ibid.*, fol. 5–8.

These prestige-generating musical outfits remained intact even after the official cessation of cultural and musical operations in September 1944, a policy that saw almost all cultural workers called up for military or labour service. After the first bombing raids on Berlin in the spring of 1943, the Staff Band had retreated, together with the SS headquarters, to Bad Saarow and was dissolved near Lübeck in April 1945.⁹⁷ From the beginning of its existence, the Bruckner Orchestra was one of the exclusive circle of nine special-class orchestras, which were the only ones permitted to stay together and, if possible, to keep playing. Finally, the German Dance and Entertainment Orchestra, which had relocated from Berlin to Prague in November 1943, was needed more than ever as a radio band when the lively concert and entertainment business collapsed and, as recordings show, it remained in existence until spring 1945.⁹⁸

Twilight of the Musicians?

The Nazi tyranny and the Second World War profoundly unsettled the music profession. The regime put unwanted musicians to flight, locked them up and sent them to their deaths. It despatched uniformed and civilian musicians all over Europe, thus further destabilizing the music business at home, and tried to compensate for this by using foreign musicians as a makeshift solution. These forced migrations, no matter how different they were, ultimately had a common effect: they did much to decimate the profession of performing musician in Germany. Shortly before the almost complete collapse of musical life, the Reich Chamber of Music counted just 35,000 musicians in August 1944. The true figure is likely to have been significantly smaller.⁹⁹ War, expulsion, and the policy of extermination thus accelerated a development which, albeit for entirely different reasons, had begun with the Great Depression of 1929–30.

Only a nuanced overview of all these movements of musicians can truly shed light on how lifeworlds in Germany and other countries changed during the Second World War – a topic that ultimately undergirds the profit-and-loss schema so central to exile research as well. Many musicians lost their lives,

97 See Bunge, *Musik*, 67.

98 See Prüfungsgebiet K, 'Betrifft: Orchester im totalen Kriegseinsatz, 11.10.1944', in GStA PK I. HA Rep. 138/1509, fol. 172. Besides the DTUO, 16 other entertainment orchestras were allowed to continue recording and performing; see also Jockwer, 'Unterhaltungsmusik', 506–508.

99 See Steinweis, *Art*, 169. RMK figures were always far higher than those of the Reich statistics. This figure also includes singers and music teachers.

and even more lost their homeland. A large portion of the profession experienced the practice of making music in unfamiliar, often terrible situations that placed a question mark over the established interpretations of their activities at the interstices of art, play and labour: in favoured destination countries such as the United States, even established artists were not initially welcomed with open arms. Priority was given to their pragmatic placement as workers, whether or not the work was related to music. Only in the medium term did musicians' migration make a musical impact in the country, with the provinces benefiting in particular. In the concentration camps, the opportunity to play music developed into a kind of survival technique for many musicians. There, but also in the prisoner-of-war camps and at the front, making music as a form of distracting amusement was of great importance beyond its role as art and labour.

In Germany itself, the successive abandonment of the broad mass of musicians during the war spelt salvation for the artistic *crème de la crème*. Due to the notorious concern for the home front and the ensuing special treatment of high-quality orchestras and bands, particularly talented musicians were spared the ravages of war to a greater extent than in other countries involved in the war such as the United States, where capable musicians, regardless of their ability, enjoyed no special professional status and were conscripted without distinction.¹⁰⁰ In general, during the war the Nazi state propagated the image of the musician as artist far more vigorously than ever before, and the world of popular music in particular was valorized in Germany in unprecedented fashion.¹⁰¹

On the whole and from a global perspective, despite the many forced migrations and countless victims of the Nazi tyranny, it would be wrong to reduce the effects of the Second World War to a kind of twilight of the musicians, because musical life withered only for a short time. In the medium term, the migrations of the 1930s and 1940s made a major contribution to the further spread of various musical styles, including classical music and jazz, especially in the transatlantic world, and thus to stabilizing existing musical worlds or to building new ones. Regardless of technological developments, musicians remained key agents of musical globalization because they were better able to pass on technical, interpretative and performative knowledge than any other actor. For example, while the world of chamber music in the United States

100 See Fauser, *War*, 18–32, esp. 18 f. Nevertheless, musicians also had advantages in the US army: they were rarely deployed at the front.

101 See also Rathkolb, *Führertreu*, 163–169.

only really blossomed after 1945 with the help of immigrants, GI clubs in West Germany became key sites of socialization for the first generation of German pop musicians.

The Day of the Orchestral Musician: Ascent and Exit in West Germany

‘The desire to retrieve a sense of normality is one very human response to catastrophe; human and fanciful’, remarked Dutch writer Ian Buruma in his global panorama of the end of the Second World War, because ‘the world could not possibly be the same. Too much had happened, too much had changed, too many people, even entire societies, had been uprooted’.¹ This was particularly true of occupied Germany, where the four victorious powers laid the foundations for new social orders.

Under these conditions, musical life played a key role in satisfying the longing for ‘normality’, for an encounter with the familiar and cherished in the midst of the turmoil of the immediate post-war period. While no trumpets sounded to mark the fall of the Nazi dictatorship, the first public performances were held just a few weeks after the end of the war on 8 May 1945. The Berlin Philharmonic gave its last concert in wartime Berlin, long since devastated by bombing raids, in mid-April 1945; its first performance in occupied Germany took place in the Titania-Palast, in the Berlin district of Steglitz, just eighteen days after the surrender.² Jewish jazz guitarist Coco Schumann, who had been a member of the *Ghetto-Swinger* in Theresienstadt just a few months earlier, recalled that upon his return to Berlin in July people were ‘addicted’ to dancing and entertainment as a means of forgetting the war: ‘All of the clubs and jazz cellars I grew up with had been reduced to ash and rubble; everywhere people were improvising. One club after another opened its doors again.’³

Improvisation was not only prevalent in the jazz and dance scene. The ‘rubble concert’ (*Trümmerkonzert*) spread rapidly as a performance format in its own right and even more as a symbol implying refuge in noble ‘German’ cultural values at the moment of defeat, an interpretation of the end of the war

1 Buruma, I., *Year Zero: A History of 1945*. London 2013, 7 f.

2 See Hartmann, E., *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null. Erinnerungen an die Zeit des Untergangs der alten Philharmonie vor 50 Jahren*, Berlin 1996, 27–40.

3 Schumann, *Ghetto Swinger*, 68. For a nuanced account, see Schildt, A. and D. Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte – 1945 bis zur Gegenwart*, Bonn 2009, 28 f.

dear to the majority of Germans well into the era of West Germany.⁴ Music also served in substantial part as a means of communication that helped 'normalize' everyday relationships with the occupiers. James Last, who had just turned sixteen, stated that he came into contact with American dance music for the first time when he was asked to play songs from so-called 'hit kits' (as the British called their collections of sheet music for popular songs) at sight on the piano in an improvised GI club in his hometown of Bremen; he later recorded some of these himself.⁵

Nothing informs the historiography of 'zero hour' and the post-war period as much as the question of caesuras and continuities. This also applies to the music history literature on this period, not least because the occupying powers, above all the United States, went to great lengths to reform and democratize musical life. These efforts were reflected in the denazification of prominent musicians, which was strictly pursued initially, and in the promotion of contemporary music. But the tenor of the scholarly literature is that they were largely in vain, at least in the high-cultural realm, which was the main focus of democratically minded music reformers. Resistance to their reformist zeal was motivated to a large degree by the politics of the past. As an outstanding cultural asset that supposedly transcended Nazism, according to the prevailing view among the musicians concerned, as well as in the musical public sphere, 'German' music, its composers and performers, had a key role to play in cultural reconstruction.⁶

In the long term, the casual dissemination of US-American popular music had a far greater cultural impact, not only in the kind of clubs and bars frequented by the occupiers in which James Last got his first engagement, but also via radio, which was initially under Allied control. Yet even here there was a certain element of continuity, at least for performing musicians, such as Coco Schumann, who picked up his guitar and 'just kept on playing'.⁷

In view of these multiple cultural continuities, changes in the immediate post-war period seem more difficult to grasp. Once again, however, it depends where we direct our gaze. Celia Applegate has pointed out that even the failure

4 On the mythos of the rubble concerts, see Pasdzierny, *Wiederaufnahme?*, 32 f. On the public mood at the moment of defeat, see Stargardt, N., *The German War: A Nation under Arms, 1939–1945*. London 2015, 545–564.

5 Last and Macho, *Leben*, 35 f.

6 See Monod, D., *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945–1953*, Chapel Hill, NC 2005; Pasdzierny, *Wiederaufnahme?*, 27–34; Schildt and Siegfried, *Kulturgeschichte*, 83 f.

7 See Schumann, *Ghetto Swinger*, 68. On radio, see Schildt and Siegfried, *Kulturgeschichte*, 29–31.

of American music policy had an impact. With reference to the resumption of the Bayreuth Festival in 1951, she has argued that the focus on musical traditions by no means ruled out reformist developments.⁸ The further one looks beyond the actual occupation period to the 1950s, the more such ambivalent dynamics can in fact be traced – especially in musicians' working world.

Building on this insight, rather than seeking to identify continuities and ruptures and weigh up their relative importance, the present chapter investigates the legacy of Nazi music policy in early West Germany and the ways in which musicians put it to productive use. As contradictory as the elements inherited from the Nazi regime turned out to be and despite the unreflecting way in which they were sometimes embraced, musicians managed to use them productively during the first fifteen post-war years and improved their socio-economic position considerably. Around 1960, this was evident in increasingly effective forms of professional organization, the favourable development of collective wage agreements and the labour market and, last but not least, the recognition of performers' rights within copyright, which generated additional income for musicians. All these factors have much to do with legal, cultural policy and staffing continuities with the Nazi era that in some cases extend even further back in time.

Three main phases can be distinguished, which I present one after the other: the disordered but rapidly flourishing music business of the first few post-war years was followed – after the currency reform of June 1948 – by a phase of socio-economic disillusionment that instigated the repositioning of the organized profession with the breakaway of the German Orchestra Union (*Deutsche Orchestervereinigung* or DOV). Bolstered by the economic miracle as well as by musical and technological developments, the music profession consolidated from around 1953 onwards. Finally, a fourth section shows that in early West Germany social advancement went hand in hand with a musical exit: across genres, the heyday of the orchestral musician had begun, while many freelance musicians laid down their instruments and switched to a new career.

Flourishing Musicians in a Time of Rubble

Nazism first neglected musicians and then, in the course of the war, placed excessive demands on them. The profession was turned upside down. After the

⁸ See Applegate, C., 'Saving Music: Enduring Experiences of Culture', *History and Memory* no. 17, 2005, 217–237, here 227–231.

war was over, it was some time before the forced migrations it had triggered came to an end. Many musicians did not return to Germany, either because they had died in the war or, like the vast majority of Jewish exiles, because they did not wish to return. Others, such as prisoners of war, were not allowed to return, in some cases until the mid-1950s.⁹

Finally, the so-called expellees (*Heimatvertriebene*) came involuntarily because they had to leave the former Eastern territories of the German Empire, the Sudetenland and the settlement areas in South-Eastern Europe. In terms of both demography and music, the immigration of these displaced migrants became extremely important, because the eight million or so people who ended up in West Germany by 1950 brought their own musical culture with them. What is more, among them were 5,000 musicians and 1,800 music teachers. The expellees thus made up more than 16 percent of the around 31,000 musicians in the country at the time and roughly the same proportion of its 11,000 music teachers.¹⁰

Especially in Bavaria, Sudeten Germans and other expellee musicians attracted attention fairly soon after the end of the war. In a retrospective penned in the late 1950s, Sudeten German composer Heinrich Simbriger wrote: 'The musical effects of their influx are noticeable at every turn. Wherever they went, musical associations and music-making communities emerged, from singing and playing groups to the string quartet and symphony orchestra.' Specifically, Simbriger was referring to the Bamberg Symphony Orchestra (*Bamberger Symphoniker*), founded in 1946, which was made up in part of former musicians from the German Philharmonic in Prague and members of orchestras in Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) and Silesia. Not far from Bamberg, the former Teplitz (Teplice) Spa Orchestra (*Teplitzer Kurorchester*) also found a new home in Forchheim, Upper Franconia. Finally, a higher

9 The final 10,000 German soldiers were only released after Adenauer's state visit to the Soviet Union in September 1955; see Loth, W., 'States and the Changing Equations of Power', in *Global Interdependence: The World after 1945*, edited by Akira Iriye, Cambridge 2014, 11–200, here 82. On re-migration, see Pasdzierny, *Wiederaufnahme?*

10 See *Die berufliche und soziale Gliederung der Bevölkerung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland nach der Zählung vom 13.9.1950* II, no. 1: *Die Erwerbspersonen nach Berufen, Stellung im Beruf und Wirtschaftszweigen* (=Statistik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, vol. 37), edited by Statistisches Bundesamt Wiesbaden, Stuttgart 1953, 60 f. *Die berufliche und soziale Gliederung* no. 3, 29 and 158; see also tables D and F in the appendix. On the expellees' folk music, see Präger, U., 'Musik', in S. Scholz et al. (eds.), *Die Erinnerung an Flucht und Vertreibung. Ein Handbuch der Medien und Praktiken*, Paderborn 2015, 283–295.

profile was achieved by the Koeckert Quartet centred on first violin Rudolf Koeckert; all four members were from the Sudetenland.¹¹

In contrast to the expellee musicians, who had to find an entirely new home (and place of work) in an unfamiliar environment, the majority of musicians tried to return to their old sites of activity after the war or if applicable to stay in them. During one of his first exploratory walks through the ruins of Berlin, Coco Schumann encountered many of his old friends in the Ronny-Bar, who 'played as if nothing had happened'.¹² James Last, who had returned with great difficulty to Bremen from the Military Music School in Bückeburg, first had to wait for his musician friends to return from the prison camps before he could play before the GIs.¹³ Concert pianist Maria Bergmann, originally from Wiesbaden and deployed during the war as a soloist in spa concerts in Silesia and then in labour service (*Arbeitsdienst*), was able to perform again in her hometown for the first time in autumn 1945 with the permission of the American military government. She was subsequently in great demand, playing in prisoner-of-war camps as well as on the radio and at house concerts.¹⁴ Not everyone made such rapid progress. Violinist Alfred Malige was initially unable to return to his Leipzig orchestra because it was only re-established in June 1946. He was hired in the interim by the Göttingen Theatre Orchestra (*Göttinger Theaterorchester*), an engagement he owed partly to the help of a former colleague from Katowice.¹⁵

Being able to return home was one thing, being permitted to play again quite another. The end of the war went hand in hand with an occupation regime that sought to put in place a new elite under the heading of 'denazification'. The Allies' plan for musical life was that dyed-in-the-wool Nazis and artists who were close to the Nazi state were to be banned from practising their profession and replaced by more suitable individuals. Overall, however, denazification, which the American occupiers in particular pursued zealously, affected just the tip of the iceberg. Influential event organizers along with prominent composers, conductors and soloists were the initial focus, and Furtwängler was to set a warning example. Conversely, only half of the twenty or so Nazi party members in the Berlin Philharmonic of all things, which had

11 Simbriger, H., 'Musik und Musikalität', in E. Lemberg and F. Edding (eds.), *Die Vertriebenen in Westdeutschland*, vol. 3, Kiel 1959, 356–365, here 363.

12 Schumann, *Ghetto Swinger*, 65.

13 See Last and Macho, *Leben*, 36–38.

14 See Bergmann, M., *Ein Leben für Musik und Funk. Maria Bergmann erinnert sich*, Potsdam 1996, 41–45.

15 See Malige, *Musikantenleben*, 87–91.

represented the Nazi regime musically like no other as the 'Reichsorchester', were suspended, with three of them later being rehabilitated; two other musicians were barred from their profession for other reasons. Almost all of them soon found work in the other sectors of Berlin, which was divided into four occupation zones.¹⁶

What could be achieved in Berlin by switching districts applied on a larger scale to post-war Germany as a whole. American zeal was limited by the simple fact that the other three occupying powers applied more flexible standards to denazification or failed to consistently implement their policies. In Baden-Baden, the relevant *Bureau de la spectacle et de la musique* took stock after three years, soberly admitting that denazification among cultural workers had been far more difficult than in other professional groups. However, the French occupiers also set greater store by a constructive cultural policy. Performances by French musicians were not only intended to augment the sparse range of musical events on offer and lend the occupation additional legitimacy, but also to foster neighbourly understanding. Societal 're-education' in musical life thus took on more subtle features in the west and south-west than in the south.¹⁷ But in the north and east too, for different reasons, the rules were less strict than in the early days of the US-American zone. These inconsistent approaches gave professional musicians a certain room for manoeuvre and contributed to the softening of the US-Americans' strict practices soon after.

The rapidly spreading insight that implementing the rules consistently would take a vast amount of time and effort further accelerated the adoption of a more flexible approach. The turning point came with the Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism (*Gesetz über die Befreiung vom Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus*) of March 1946, which placed the task of denazification in the hands of German tribunals (*Spruchkammer*) that focussed less on formal assessment criteria such as office and Nazi Party affiliation and more on individual thought and action. In addition, the US-Americans halved their staff by January 1947 from 10,000 to 5,000. In Bavaria, these reforms resulted in the majority of the tribunals' proceedings being discontinued. These bodies resembled a gigantic 'hangers-on factory' (*Mitläuferfabrik*), to cite Lutz Niethammer's description, in which less serious cases were

16 See Aster, *Reich's Orchestra*, 224–227. On the case of Furtwängler, see Monod, *Americans*, 130–136.

17 See Linsenmann, A., *Musik als politischer Faktor. Konzepte, Institutionen und Praxis französischer Umerziehungs- und Kulturpolitik in Deutschland, 1945–1949/50*, Tübingen 2010, 115–131 and 251–257.

dealt with first and weightier ones were processed with little fuss and without much public awareness.¹⁸

The case of conductor Franz Adam is paradigmatic in this regard. Adam had been the conductor of the National Socialist Reich Orchestra for thirteen years, which pursued the Nazi cultural-political agenda at the grassroots as a travelling orchestra in rural areas, in factories and for the KdF. He was a member of both the party and the SA, a senator in the Reich Chamber of Culture and an honorary member of its Presidential Council. In his denazification trial, which took place in Munich in the summer of 1948, Adam presented himself as a good-natured, apolitical orchestral patriarch who had often stood up for his musicians in the face of opposition in the party and thus ensured the orchestra's survival. Adam also produced numerous sworn statements from third parties intended to exonerate him. They confirmed, for example, that he had shown no interest in obtaining the SA sports badge and had in fact been 'an outright opponent of the party'.¹⁹ The tribunal finally classified Adam as less incriminated (*minderbelastet*). He was given credit for accepting non-party members into the orchestra and 'above all, he was a great musician. [...] He was an artist and knew nothing of politics'. He was supposedly also 'a thoroughly impoverished human wreck dependent on the support of his wife, an actress'.²⁰ The following year, Adam became bandmaster at the American armed forces' EUCOM Band Training School in Dachau, where they were very satisfied with his work; he was employed there until the school closed in August 1953.²¹

The fact that Adam found a new job with the American military of all things is not without irony and reveals the short-lived and ultimately futile nature of efforts to replace musical personnel on a large scale. They were short-lived because, as soon as they were able to do so, the state governments reversed music policy decisions made under the auspices of denazification. For example, conductors Hans Rosbaud and Georg Solti in Munich had to make way for local heroes Eugen Jochum and Hans Knappertsbusch, who had had close ties to the Nazis, just as sixteen orchestra members previously

18 See Niethammer, L., *Die Mitläuferfabrik. Die Entnazifizierung am Beispiel Bayerns*, Berlin 1982, 541–550; Monod, *Americans*, 137–152.

19 Karl Kienlechner, 'Eidesstattliche Erklärung, 14.7.1948', in BSB Ana 559 NL Adam, C.1.16; Friedrich Bodamer, 'Eidesstattliche Erklärung, 17.7.1948', in *ibid.*; Franz Adam, 'Lebenslauf des Unterzeichneten, 8.7.1948', in *ibid.*

20 Spruchkammer München I, 'Spruch gegen Franz Adam, 10.8.1948', in *ibid.*

21 See 7701 EUCOM Band Training School, 'Leistungsbewertung für einheimisches Personal: Franz Adam, 14.9.1949', in *ibid.*, C.1.17; Office of the Director of Training, 'Letter of Appreciation, 31.8.1953', in *ibid.*

dismissed by the American occupation administration found employment at the Stuttgart National Theatre (*Stuttgarter Staatstheater*).²² Finally, the entire effort had been futile because good musicians had become a rarity and the available personnel was urgently needed – a fact also evident in Adam's post-war career.

Everyday working life in the 'time of rubble' was undoubtedly arduous and full of privations. Maria Bergmann recalled being hired to play Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 3 in Koblenz in 1946. It took her seven hours by train to get there from her home in Wiesbaden and she had to walk at certain points during the journey, which was far from easy since she had to lug the orchestral material with her; in Koblenz it had been destroyed during the war. James Last first had to get hold of an instrument before he could get down to business. The double bass his former teacher finally lent him soon fell victim to the charged atmosphere in the US-American club, where the GIs sometimes liked to fire into the ceiling and smash up instruments.²³

But the energy released by the end of the war clearly predominated. 'Everything was so adventure-filled, so exhilarating, once it was behind me and I could feel reasonably content', wrote Bergmann. 'I was young – twenty-seven years old – and felt: life is starting again.'²⁴ Musicians, especially when they played for the occupying powers, were paid in cigarettes and chocolate, and in the eastern occupation zone also in vodka and potatoes. These were valuable goods and stable currencies on the flourishing black market of the first post-war years, with which staple foods such as butter, bread, milk and flour were relatively easy to procure.²⁵

In addition to the population's thirst for culture and the lucrative opportunities to perform before Allied troops, musicians also benefited from the radio broadcasting system, seized by the victorious powers in some cases before the war was over. They assigned radio a central role in re-education, which is why the resumption of regularized broadcasting was a top priority in all occupation zones. Music did rather well out of this. As soon as 18 May, the Russian radio station in Berlin broadcast a live public concert by the orchestra of the Municipal Opera (*Städtische Oper*). In Munich, meanwhile, it was not until the beginning of July that the Philharmonic reopened the broadcasting season.²⁶

22 See Monod, *Americans*, 163 f. and 171–180.

23 See Bergmann, *Musik und Funk*, 43. Last and Macho, *Leben*, 37 f.

24 *Ibid.*, 43–45.

25 See Kuhn, *Jahre*, 54 f.; Schumann, *Ghetto Swinger*, 70; Last and Macho, *Leben*, 36; Bergmann, *Musik und Funk*, 45.

26 See Koch, H.-J. and H. Glaser, *Ganz Ohr. Eine Kulturgeschichte des Radios in Deutschland*, Cologne 2005, 159–163.

The radio stations became major employers of musicians in the first few years of the post-war period. Maria Bergmann, James Last and Coco Schumann all stated that they were involved at an early stage in building up the *Südwestdeutscher Rundfunk* (SWF), *Radio Bremen*, the RIAS and the *Berliner Rundfunk*. In the West, the establishment of the ultimately six stations as independent public institutions was a protracted process and their official foundation had to wait until 1948–49, but by that point key personnel and music policy decisions had already been made.²⁷ The procedure for filling vacancies was often still quite provisional. In the course of 1946, Bergmann managed to obtain the position of resident pianist at SWF in the song accompaniment and chamber music department following an unsolicited application that was originally for a single broadcast. Last ended up in the dance orchestra at *Radio Bremen* after responding to a simple cardboard advertisement that he spotted at Bremen railway station. It merely stated: 'Musicians wanted.'²⁸

But the broadcasters too were remarkably proactive. Conductor Werner Schmidt-Boelcke, who had been director of light music at British-run Radio Hamburg since July 1945, and his colleague Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt, who was responsible for its symphony orchestra, made a special trip to Putlos in eastern Holstein with a view to recruiting musicians held there as prisoners of war to play in the new orchestras they had been tasked with establishing. The yield was impressive: the thirty musicians who were signed up included the former solo bassist of the 'Prague Symphony Orchestra' and the concertmaster of Radio Breslau.²⁹

The more than three years between the end of the war and the currency reform were full of privation, dynamic and highly contingent for the music profession. Amid the everyday struggle for survival undreamt-of job opportunities sometimes came up. For the majority of musicians, denazification played only a subordinate role in this context; from the outset, radio was far more important to them. The astonishing boomtime for musicians in the midst of the 'time of rubble', criticized by one contemporary economist as an 'illusory bloom bred in the swamp of inflation', was possible in large part because music consumption was a cheap pleasure, other things were largely unavail-

27 See *ibid.*, 186–201.

28 See Last and Macho, *Leben*, 38–40; Bergmann, *Musik und Funk*, 47.

29 See Bockstiegel, *Schmidt-Boelcke*, 132–134. This is almost certainly a reference to the German Philharmonic Prague (*Deutsche Philharmonie Prag*).

able and tickets rarely found their way onto the black market.³⁰ The currency reform brought this to a provisional end. Listening to music became significantly more expensive because organizers suddenly had to shell out hard cash for musical services.

Orchestral Revolution amid the Job Crisis

The currency reform of June 1948 in the western zones was based on an appreciable devaluation of the reichsmark. While accounts receivable and accounts payable were converted from reichsmarks to deutschmarks at a ratio of ten to one, an even worse exchange rate of ten to 0.65 applied to cash and savings. Meanwhile, current liabilities such as wages, pensions and rents remained stable. As a result, the money supply diminished significantly; among the winners were those with material assets. The currency reform was combined with the abolition of goods rationing, so the shelves filled quickly, and many products were available again after a long absence. The currency reform deepened the rift with the Soviet occupation zone, where a reform was implemented just a few days later to introduce a new currency.³¹

The reform in the west initially had devastating effects on West German musical and theatrical life. In the first year, around 350 privately run theatres went bankrupt due to lack of audience. The plight of one expellee dance musician in Aachen was by no means an isolated case. Having been employed by the same restaurant since October 1946, he complained that now he only had work on Sundays instead of three days a week as before. He blamed the currency reform; he was also concerned that he might be paid at the union rate, that is, 3 deutschmarks an hour, which would mean a cut of almost 30 per cent.³² Some ensembles managed to slip under the protective umbrella of the public sector, such as the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra (*Stuttgarter Kammerorchester*). Others, already dependent on government subsidies, suddenly needed significantly higher subventions. The subsidy received by the Berlin

30 Materne, G., 'Die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Probleme des Musikers', Dissertation Wirtschafts-Hochschule Mannheim 1953, 121. On everyday life prior to the reform, see Reichardt, S. and M. Zierenberg, *Damals nach dem Krieg. Eine Geschichte Deutschlands 1945 bis 1949*, Munich 2008, 70–93.

31 See Spoerer, M. and J. Streb, *Neue deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 2013, 217 f.; Reichardt and Zierenberg, *Damals*, 123–126.

32 See Schriftleitung, 'Notsehrei eines unständig beschäftigten Kollegen', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 4, 15 April 1949, 47.

Philharmonic, for example, soared from 350,000 reichsmarks to 1.1 million deutschmarks between 1947 and 1950. Yet this kind of preservative measure was the exception as the municipalities in particular struggled to cope with the currency reform. In the American occupation zone, orchestral musicians' salaries fell by an average of 12 percent in the 1948–49 season.³³

Alluding to the dismantling of industries by the victorious powers, the term 'cultural dismantlement' suddenly became popular. In Osnabrück, the city government decided to jettison the 38-musician municipal orchestra in the middle of the season; it took a court to declare the mass termination null and void. Other orchestras, in Flensburg for example, were also threatened with dissolution or were the subject of planned mergers, such as the ensembles in Düsseldorf and Oberhausen.³⁴ Overall, the number of unemployed musicians rose to 15,000, a rate of almost 50 percent. In addition, it was estimated that the demand for private music lessons fell by almost two thirds. For comparison: the average unemployment rate had rarely exceeded 10 percent since the currency reform.³⁵ For those working in the arts, the economic miracle began with a major employment crisis that was highly reminiscent of the Weimar era. The frantic, ultimately futile establishment of an Emergency Society for German art (*Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Kunst*) in August 1949 is another manifestation of this dire state of affairs.³⁶

In this context, the restructuring of musical interest groups was all the more urgent. In 1950, the German Stage Association (*Deutscher Bühnenverein*) was re-established. It took even longer for the German Musicians' Union to reappear. This was due, first, to the hesitant behaviour of the occupying powers, which limited such organizations to the zone or state level. Until the adoption of the Basic Law in May 1949, the only way for associations in different zones to come together was in committees. Second, organizational sectionalism and the tendency to take an overly independent line spread once

33 See Monod, *Americans*, 180–186.

34 See 'Kulturorchesterprozeß Osnabrück', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 8, 15 August 1949, 116–118; 'Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Kunst', *ibid.* no. 4, 15 April 1950, 61; DGB Gewerkschaft Kunst, 'Gegen Kultur-Demontage – Für Erhaltung der Kultur-Tradition', *ibid.*, 61 f.; E. W. Böhme, '30 Jahre Städtisches Orchester Flensburg', *ibid.*, 65.

35 Figures in H. Erpf, 'Die Lage des Orchestermusikers', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 8, 15 August 1951, 114. Materne also gives a figure of 50 percent around 1953, though on the assumption of just 25,200 musicians. See Materne, 'Probleme', 118; see also table D in the appendix.

36 The Emergency Society, headed by Stage Association President Gustav Gründgens, emulated its science-focused Weimar predecessor. See Schöndienst, E., *Geschichte des Deutschen Bühnenvereins seit 1945. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Theaters*, Darmstadt 1981, 103–111.

again among musicians in the immediate post-war years.³⁷ It was not until April 1951 that the German Musicians' Union South and the branch in the British zone fused at a conference in Königswinter. Both had previously worked together under the umbrella of the Union of Art (*Gewerkschaft Kunst*) within the German Trade Union Confederation, and the new union remained loyal to the former body.³⁸

The agenda of the newly formed union featured some long-familiar topics. Top of the list, once again, were complaints about unqualified or unauthorized competition on the free labour market and demands for governmental protection for musicians. In Hamburg, the local branch of the Musicians' Union took this matter into its own hands. At the beginning of 1948, it carried out a so-called professional adjustment (*Berufsbereinigung*), which gained a quasi-official status because representatives of the Labour Office and Cultural Authority (*Kulturbehörde*) were present on the Examining Board (*Prüfungsausschuss*). Amateurs and moonlighting musicians were invited to audition. The Allies provided additional backing for this procedure by tying the award of short-term employment contracts to the approval of the labour offices. The Examining Board failed 95 percent of examinees in 1948 and issued them with performance bans; the remaining 5 percent might 'be able to progress towards advanced studies on the basis of sound training'.³⁹

The Hamburg strategy, which was praised as exemplary within the union, was strongly reminiscent of the initial approach to controlling the musical labour market adopted by the Reich Chamber of Music under the Nazi regime. Inspired by the events in Hamburg, union President Arthur Scheffler went one step further and called for an ID card for all professional musicians to be issued by the Labour Office. Only card holders would have access to a planned music exchange, which would enjoy a monopoly on job placement. The RMK's organizational authoritarianism remained palpable in this proposal, which soon met with great scepticism among political representatives, who raised con-

37 Rud. Bauer, 'Von der "Organisation" und ihrem "Organ"', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 8, 15 August 1950, 149 f.

38 See 'Gründung der Gewerkschaft "Kunst"', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 10, 15 October 1949, 165; 'Um den Zusammenschluß der Musikverbände in den Westzonen', *ibid.*; Schöndienst, *Geschichte des Deutschen Bühnenvereins seit 1945*, 83–90.

39 Arthur Pohl, 'Rückblick für das Jahr 1948 des Fachprüfungsausschusses in Hamburg', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 2, 15 February 1949, 22 f.; 'Berufsbereinigung durch das Arbeitsamt', *ibid.*

cerns about its compatibility with the freedom of occupation enshrined in the constitution.⁴⁰

Another recurring theme was criticism of the growing mechanization of musical life. '99 percent of the music currently on offer comes from recordings', complained music functionary Hermann Voss. He lamented a 'musical oversaturation, which makes people more and more insensitive to music'. The prevailing view among professional musicians was that – in addition to part-time musicians and 'dilettantes' – radio, records and tapes were contributing significantly to the death of the profession. These media were said to foster music consumers' retreat into the private sphere. Even more lamentably, coffee house musicians were being replaced en masse by recordings and radio or even specially organized record concerts. This criticism culminated in the demand for a general ban on the playing of recorded media in public, though this was never to be met.⁴¹

A third issue that increasingly preoccupied the profession following the currency reform was the recruitment of young talent. Even more serious than the loss of many musicians in the war – from a professional standpoint – were the consequences of the Nazis' failure to promote the next generation of musicians, though few ever addressed this topic explicitly. General Secretary Erdmann Werner Böhme placed the issue of up-and-coming talent on the agenda of the first meeting of the Musicians' Union in the British Zone, held in Hamburg in September 1948. Böhme reported on his experiences as an examiner in the local Expert Committee on Professional Adjustment (*Fachausschuss zur Berufsbereinigung*) and blamed the 'dismal' standards in evidence on the turmoil of the immediate post-war period. While young people had got by until the currency reform due to 'the lack of discrimination typical of the hedonism

40 See Arthur Scheffler, 'Noch einmal: Arbeitsvermittlung für Musiker', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 1, 15 January 1949, 1 f.; 'Niederschrift über die Ergebnisse der Besprechung über die Musikervermittlung am 25.1.1951', *ibid.* no. 3, 15 March 1951, 38.

41 Hermann Voss, "'Technisierung der Musik'. Gedanken zur Urheberrechtsreform', *Das Orchester* nos. 3–4, July–August 1953, 65–68. See also 'Die mechanische Konkurrenz verdrängt den lebenden Künstler von seinen Arbeitsplätzen', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 1, 15 January 1951, 2; 'Niederschrift über die Ergebnisse der Besprechung über die Musikervermittlung am 25.1.1951', *ibid.* no. 3, 15 March 1951, 38. While live music in coffee houses had already declined sharply by the early 1950s, it took until the end of the decade for dance halls to use recorded music on a large scale. See Nathaus, K., "Moderne Tanzmusik" für die Mitte der Gesellschaft. Diskotheken und Diskjockeys in Westdeutschland, 1960–1978', in B. Mrozek et al. (eds.), *Poppesgeschichte*, vol. 2: *Historische Fallstudien 1958–1988*, Bielefeld 2014, 155–179, here 156–158. Pubs occupied an intermediate position: in 1954, only 3,000 had a jukebox, but by 1960, about 50,000 did. See Siegfried, *Time*, 96.

of the last three years', as Böhme saw it they had developed false ideas about their abilities and now faced the prospect of unemployment.

According to Böhme, then, both the artistic and social standards of young musicians had reached a low point. His catalogue of proposed countermeasures was correspondingly long. Among other things, demand planning was required for cultural orchestras and in line with this an effort must be made to influence the choice of main instrument at educational institutes. It was vital, he underlined, to enshrine a minimum training period of three years, to be concluded with certification as a professional musician. In addition, he went on, a higher standard of general education was vital, while popular, wind, jazz and dance music must be included in school curricula.⁴²

While Böhme focused on musicians of all genres, the debate subsequently narrowed to symphony orchestras. Notwithstanding the 15,000 unemployed musicians, orchestras had increasing problems filling vacancies. Various arguments were put forward for this paradoxical situation. Hermann Erpf, former head of the Folkwangschule Essen, blamed a declining interest in art music, citing the jobs section in *Der Berufsmusiker* as evidence. According to Erpf, this contained just a few requests for orchestral positions, but a substantially greater number for entertainment bands.⁴³ However, this finding, it was asserted elsewhere, was partly a matter of artistic level. Many musicians were supposedly unable to meet the demands of the orchestra, either because of indolence or due to 'limitations on musical or even intellectual ability'.⁴⁴

The paradoxical situation on the musical labour market reflected the profession's progressive separation into different musical worlds after the war. Fewer and fewer musicians could or even wanted to work for a symphony orchestra. The more significant dividing line within the profession, however, was between permanently employed orchestral musicians of any musical genre and freelance musicians. To a certain extent, this divide correlated with technical aptitude, as this was higher among the former. Hence, the distinguishing criterion of employment status rather than the contrast between serious and popular music was also crucial to the founding of the German Orchestra Union in the spring of 1953, which remains the largest and most influential union in German musical life.

42 See Böhme, E. W., *Unser Nachwuchs. Wege der Ausbildung zum Berufsmusiker*, Aachen 1949, 4.

43 See 'Die Lage des Orchestermusikers', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 8, 15 August 1951, 114 f.

44 See Kurt Jeimke, 'Zur Lage des Orchestermusikers: Der Nachwuchs', *ibid.* no. 10, 15 October 1951, 146.

The DOV's breakaway from the Musicians' Union was preceded by the familiar personal power struggles. At their centre stood lawyer Hermann Voss, who had started out as a legal advisor for the Musicians' Union in the British zone and continued to work in the same role after the unification of April 1951. Voss was anything but an unknown quantity. Born in 1910, he completed his legal studies in Kiel in 1933 and joined the Nazi Party. Four years later, he began his cultural policy career at the Reich Chamber of Music, initially as a consultant in its legal department in Berlin and soon afterwards as head of the legal office (*Rechtsstellenleiter*) in the RMK's Rhineland regional division. Voss remained there until he was temporarily called up for military service in the Reich District (*Reichsgau*) of Danzig-West Prussia in May 1940. Only a few weeks later, he was noticed by Wolfgang Diewerge, regional cultural administrator (*Landeskulturwalter*), who procured his assistance in setting up the regional division of the RMK in the newly established Reich district.⁴⁵

Under Diewerge, in 1941 Voss rose to the position of deputy head of the Reich Propaganda Office (*Reichspropagandaamt*) in Danzig and was given responsibility, among other things, for establishing the Danzig-West Prussia State Theatre (*Landesbühne Danzig-Westpreußen*) and the Cultural Association of the Lands of the Teutonic Order (*Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland*). Voss also played an important role in the run-up to the show trial – which was ultimately called off – of Herschel Grynszpan, who carried out an assassination attempt on German diplomat Ernst vom Rath in Paris on 7 November 1938.⁴⁶

Voss was not only a lawyer willingly in service to the Nazi cultural and propaganda apparatus, but also an outstanding expert in the field of labour law. For better or worse, the agencies he worked for were left in no doubt about this. To the RMK, his special legal knowledge was worth a tidy monthly fee

45 See 'Lebenslauf Voss, 20.11.1940', in BArch R 55/24689, fol. 18.

46 See 'Landeskulturwalter Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreußen an Präsidenten der RMK, 30.7.1940', in BArch R 55/24689, fol. 342; 'Präsident Reichskulturkammer an Landeskulturwalter Gau Hamburg, 22.10.1940', in *ibid.*, fol. 276; 'Voss an von Gregory', in *ibid.*, R 55/22490, fol. 81–83; 'Diewerge an Leiter der Personalabteilung, 9.1.1942', in *ibid.*, fol. 28; 'Diewerge an Leiter der Personalabteilung, 13.5.1942', in *ibid.*, fol. 63; Grynszpan acted in protest against the so-called Poland Campaign (*Polenaktion*), in the course of which 17,000 Polish Jews had been forcibly deported. The Nazi state used his deed as a pretext for the pogroms that took place two days later. As an experienced manager of anti-Semitic show trials, Diewerge was also entrusted with this case and tasked Voss with preparing for it. The trial collapsed after Grynszpan threatened to testify that he had had sexual contact with vom Rath. See Heiber, H., 'Der Fall Grünspan', *VfZ* no. 5, 1957, 134–172, here 146–150.

of 75 reichsmarks, for which he had to write expert reports and explanatory articles.⁴⁷ Voss was also happy to use his knowledge to his own benefit. Even as a legal officer, he demanded additional pay; later he requested promotions, which he justified with reference to his impending marriage. Even if his personally motivated initiatives were usually unsuccessful, Voss's tremendous flair for labour law was already becoming manifest in the early stages of his career.⁴⁸

Voss approached his work at the Musicians' Union with the same kind of single-minded determination. With the help of influential officials Heinrich Emmel and Rudolf Irmisch, both orchestra musicians and members of the union's executive committee, he quickly built up a position of power that he used unilaterally to the benefit of orchestral musicians.⁴⁹ The result was his dismissal without notice in August 1952. The reason given was that Voss had gained the allegiance of orchestral musicians 'in order to continue his corrosive activities, of which we were already quite aware, until he achieves his ultimate goal of ending the unity of the German Musicians' Union'.⁵⁰ Voss countered that orchestral musicians in the union had been neglected and, as he put it some years later, had felt 'organizationally outvoted' by a 'vast number of unemployed musicians'.⁵¹

Voss's interpretation was not entirely convincing. In previous years, orchestra musicians had certainly complained to the union and the DGB that too little was being done for them.⁵² However, just a few weeks before Voss's dismissal, Emmel of all people had denied that they were subject to general neglect. Instead, somewhat peeved, he stated that Voss not only demanded greater consideration for orchestras, but also – as in his time at the RMK – for his own services, in the form of a more spacious private apartment and more office space.⁵³ In court (Voss had sued), his dismissal was in any case

47 See 'Voss an Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung, 18.5.1942', in BArch R 55/22940, fol. 69; 'RA Barts an Voss, 30.9.1942', in *ibid.*, fol. 80; Personalabteilung, 'Vermerk, 5.7.1944', in *ibid.*, fol. 152.

48 See 'Voss an Präsidenten der RMK, 14.3.1938', in BArch R 55/24689, fol. 600; 'Voss an Präsidenten der RMK, 1.7.1938', in *ibid.*, fol. 664; 'Voss an Personalabteilung, 4.2.1944', in *ibid.* R 55/22940, fol. 144; Personalabteilung, 'Vermerk, 18.4.1944', in *ibid.*, fol. 147.

49 See 'RDO – redivivus', *Der Musiker* no. 11, 15 November 1952, 141 f.

50 'DMV Verbandssekretariat an DGB Bundesvorstand, 15.10.1952', in AdsD 5/DGBS000167.

51 'During an Raeder, 19.6.1958', in AdsD 5/DGBS000162.

52 See 'DMV Hauptverwaltung an DGB Bundesvorstand, 23.8.1950', in *ibid.*

53 'DMV Verbandssekretariat an Mitglieder der Kulturorchester, 20.10.1952', in *ibid.* 5/DGBS 000075.

confirmed; the verdict stated that his divisive conduct exuded an air of premeditation.⁵⁴

There were, however, other reasons for the forced schism, which can be found in the opaque business conduct of the Musicians' Union and its Deputy General Secretary Karl Baumann. Born in 1904, the trained pianist had worked as a freelance musician before the war and was active in bands dedicated to popular music. After the war, he became president of the Musicians' Union South (*Musikerverband Süd*) in Munich, before being elected full-time deputy general secretary of the unified union in 1951.⁵⁵ The liquidation of the old zone-based union had already brought Baumann accusations of personal enrichment. In the new union, he and General Secretary Joseph Lahaye then cloaked running costs in a veil of secrecy and concealed the scale of contributions made by orchestra musicians. There thus seemed good reason to suspect that the DEMUV had fallen into the hands of corrupt functionaries who identified exclusively with freelance musicians like themselves and had little interest in the concerns of their orchestral brethren.⁵⁶

Just two months after Voss was kicked out, a 'Provisional Working Committee' (*provisorischer Arbeitsausschuss*) invited orchestral musicians in the Musicians' Union to Düsseldorf to set up the German Orchestra Union (*Deutsche Orchestervereinigung*).⁵⁷ Almost 120 delegates from just under 70 orchestras came to the restaurant with the suggestive name of *Wolfsschlucht* (Wolf's Gorge). Irmisch and Emmel, violating all the rules of the unionist art, initially resigned as members of the Musicians' Union executive committee. They then had to account for the aforementioned incidents. In the end, a coup took place *in absentia*: after the union executive committee failed to appear as invited, a working committee was set up under Voss's chairmanship. Within a few minutes, a provisional statute on the establishment of the DOV was presented, which was adopted unanimously. The revolution had succeeded.⁵⁸

In the months that followed, the two unions launched aggressive campaigns to recruit orchestra members throughout Germany, while doing everything in their power to outdo each other. Only a few days after the events in the *Wolfsschlucht*, the Musicians' Union disseminated its view of things to all symphony and radio orchestras. In addition, it accused Voss of waging a 'holy war'

54 See 'RDO – redivivus', *Der Musiker* no. 11, 15 November 1952, 141 f.

55 See Dr. FW, 'Karl Baumann 60 Jahre', *Der Musiker* January 1964, 10 f.

56 See DOV, 'Protokoll Versammlung, 14.10.1952', in ArDOV GEN 1, 8–12.

57 See 'Provisorischer Arbeitsausschuss Sektion-Orchester an Vorstände Opern- u. Sinfonieorchester u. a., 3.10.1952', in ArDOV DEMUV II.

58 DOV, 'Protokoll Versammlung, 14.10.1952', in ArDOV GEN 1, 12–18, quotation on 12.

against his old employer and assailed him, together with the renegades Emmel and Irmisch, for having staged the founding conference of the DOV with the aid of Nazi propaganda methods.⁵⁹ The Orchestra Union, meanwhile, tried to prevent wavering colleagues and those loyal to the Musicians' Union from paying membership fees until the minutes of that event were available for perusal. The DOV also produced leaflets explicitly aimed at restaurant musicians, which informed them that their membership fees would be used to pay the salaries of the fifteen full-time Musicians' Union staff rather than helping to support the many unemployed musicians.⁶⁰

Amid this mudslinging, Irmisch and Emmel achieved a major coup by gaining the support of Hermann Becker, former head of the Musicians' Union's orchestral division in the Weimar Republic and subsequently employed by the RMK. Becker enjoyed a good reputation as a respectable functionary, and this choice of personnel was intended to engender trust among long-standing members of the Musicians' Union who had always been sceptical about break-aways. This was also a conscious attempt to weaken the competition, which wanted him in the new post of orchestra secretary.⁶¹ Becker himself went along with this duplicitous strategy and failed to inform the Musicians' Union that he had long since given the DOV his word until his election in December 1952.⁶² In the first few weeks with his new employer, Becker visited more than fifteen orchestras throughout the republic in an attempt to win them over to the new interest group.⁶³

All these measures rapidly took effect. As early as February 1953, the DOV had around 2,500 members, and regionally it already had a greater presence than the old union everywhere except Bavaria. By the end of the decade, its membership had doubled to over 5,000.⁶⁴ This corresponded to a degree of organization of more than 90 percent: according to its statutes, only musicians who could provide 'proof of artistic activity' were authorized to join. What this meant was not a practical audition but evidence of type of employment:

59 'RDO – redivivus', *Der Musiker* no. 11, 15 November 1952, 141 f.; 'DMV Verbandssekretariat an Mitglieder der Kulturorchester, 20.10.1952', in *ibid.* 5/DGBS000075.

60 See 'An die Herren Mitglieder des Arbeitsausschusses, 31.10.1952', in ArDOV GEN 1 DelV 1952–54; 'Emmel und Irmisch an Voss, 30.10.1952', in *ibid.*

61 See 'Emmel an Voss, 12.11.1952', in *ibid.*

62 See 'Auf die zahlreichen Rundschreiben und Druckschriften der DOV', *Der Musiker Sonderdruck*, undated (December 1952), in ArDOV Demuv II.

63 See 'Protokoll der Präsidiumssitzung der DOV, 2.3.1955', in ArDOV GEN 1.

64 See 'Protokoll der Delegiertenversammlung der DOV, 3.2.1953', in ArDOV GEN 1 DelV 1952–54, 3; 'Organisation', *VN DOV* May 1960, 11.

a (permanent) position at a municipal or national orchestra, a theatre, a radio station, a conservatoire, in the record industry or in film.⁶⁵

Thus, although members of cultural orchestras uncontestedly set the tone in the DOV, employees from other branches of musical life also gathered under its roof. Singers in radio choirs found a place there, as did members of the many entertainment bands at the radio broadcasters. Kurt Edelhagen, who, along with his orchestra, had a contract with *Südwestfunk* for a time, signed up, as did the Hans Bund Orchestra at the WDR and the dance orchestra of *Hessischer Rundfunk*.⁶⁶ The emergence of the DOV did not primarily divide the music profession into musicians dedicated to serious and popular music, but rather into salaried and freelance musicians or, to put it another way, into winners and losers.

Money, Money, Money: Wage Agreements and Royalties

The founding of the German Orchestra Union marked a turning point for the music profession: in the course of the 1950s, the new body managed to significantly improve the socio-economic position of orchestral musicians but also of musicians in general. First, in 1956 Voss and Emmel procured a new version of the Employment Regulations for Cultural Orchestras (*Tarifordnung für Kulturorchester* or TOK) of 1938 in the face of stubborn resistance from the Stage Association; among other things, the new regulations aligned the remuneration of orchestral musicians with that of civil servants. Second, through legal action, Voss ensured recognition of performers' rights for musicians of all stripes in the face of opposition from the radio broadcasters on the one hand and the international record industry on the other. This also amounted to a triumph over the Musicians' Union, which had allied itself in a dubious way with the record companies and embezzled royalties in the process. These developments culminated in the establishment of the Society for the Exploitation of Performers' Rights (*Gesellschaft zur Verwertung von Leistungsschutzrechten* or GVL) in 1959, which henceforth distributed royalties to professional musicians.

65 'Protokoll der Präsidiumssitzung der DOV, 2.3.1955', in *ArDOV GEN 1*, 37. See also Hermann Voss, 'Deutsche Orchestervereinigung', *Das Orchester* no. 1, May 1953, 1 f. At the end of 1959, only about 180 orchestra musicians and fewer than 50 radio orchestra musicians had declined to join the DOV. See 'Organisationsangelegenheiten', *VN DOV* Dec. 1959, 15.

66 See 'Mitgliederzugang bei der DOV', *VN DOV* Dec. 1958, 31 f. On the membership of Edelhagen's orchestra in the DOV, see 'Sonstiges', *ibid.* Feb. 1956, 6.

After the war, the Employment Regulations for Cultural Orchestras, which the Reich Chamber of Music had enacted in 1938, initially continued to apply. The municipal and national funders of orchestras, however, transferred responsibility for collective bargaining back to the Stage Association. As a result, orchestral musicians were caught between two stools: they were considered public sector employees, but they had to enter into their social partnership separately with the Stage Association. This entailed a certain potential for conflict, because this employer had got used to concluding individual contracts with its artistic staff outside of collective agreements. Orchestral musicians did in fact fear that their new social partner would instigate a lapse into working conditions long believed overcome, featuring annual contracts devoid of protection against wrongful dismissal and annual auditions.⁶⁷

In the face of this menacing scenario, Voss, an ardent advocate of the idea of the cultural orchestra, used all his legal expertise to repel the efforts of the Stage Association and defend the core of the TOK. The first attack on this core was the Stage Association's proposal to place orchestras in lower pay classes. As we saw earlier, many orchestras had been reclassified upwards within the TOK during the war. Due to inflation, this trend continued, on a smaller scale, until the currency reform. As a result of the sudden shortage of money, at the behest of the federal states and municipalities the Stage Association tried to enlist support for its cause by foregrounding economic efficiency. The illegality of this procedure was obvious to Voss, because according to the Employment Regulations economic considerations could play no role in classifications. All that mattered in this context were artistic aspects and the legal entity's cultural significance, and there was in any case no legal basis for a downgrading – regardless of whether the upgrading had been effected before or after May 1945, to cite Voss's legal viewpoint.⁶⁸

Until the split in the Musicians' Union of autumn 1952, not a single downgrading had been carried out because the first accord between the Stage Association and the Musicians' Union of November 1949, negotiated by Voss himself, provided for the approval of both parties to the collective bargaining agreement. The legal advisor was only willing to sign up to temporary deviations from the agreement in individual cases. Shortly after the schism, however, the Musicians' Union pulled out and in January 1953 agreed the

67 See 'Protokoll der Delegiertenversammlung der DOV, 3.2.1953', in ArDOV GEN 1 DelV 1952–54, 23; *Schöndienst, Geschichte des Deutschen Bühnenvereins seit 1945*, 134–137.

68 See 'Scheffler u. Lahaye an die Herren Orchestervorstände der Kulturorchester, 25.8.1948', in ArDOV gen 312 DEMUV I.

so-called Würzburg Resolution (*Würzburger Beschluss*) with the Stage Association. This provided for the local orchestra to be downgraded by one class due to the considerable war damage it had suffered and without prejudice to its considerable artistic achievements. Würzburg thus set a precedent that put the Orchestra Association on high alert.⁶⁹

The Stage Association subsequently tried to capitalize on the Würzburg Resolution and demote other orchestras. In Hagen and apparently in Coburg as well, where the Musicians' Union still set the tone in the local orchestras, its proposal bore fruit. When it came to the DOV, however, the Stage Association continued to encounter unyielding opposition. Voss conceded to the social partner that downward reclassification was possible if the funder's cultural significance or the orchestra's artistic level were to decline – but what municipality or state would ever voluntarily make such a claim about itself or its orchestra?⁷⁰ Thus, for the time being, it proved possible to preserve the independence of orchestra financing from economic and social developments and thus to defend an essential feature of the cultural orchestra idea.

But Voss wanted to do more than just preserve the core. He and the DOV were keen to give the cultural orchestra idea a stronger legal basis and thus further distinguish the ensembles covered by this label from other formations. The scope of work duties provided an opportunity to do so. In the Employment Regulations of 1938, these were defined in a fairly general way as 'participation in all orchestral events, provided that the musician can be expected to carry out the work involved for artistic reasons'.⁷¹ In view of the depleted public coffers after the war, it became common practice in some places to hire out symphony orchestras to third-party organizers. In the 1949–50 season, for example, the orchestra in Mönchengladbach had to perform at a company jubilee, two carnival events and in the garden of a restaurant without receiving additional remuneration.⁷² This practice was a thorn in the side of orchestral musicians for both financial and artistic reasons. Voss's exemplary interpretation of the Employment Regulations, in which he relied in part on the *Mitteilungen der Fachschaft Orchester in der Reichsmusikkammer* ('Transactions of the Orchestra Division of the Reich Chamber of Music'), demonstrated

69 See Schöndienst, *Geschichte des Deutschen Bühnenvereins seit 1945*, 136 f.; 'Protokoll der Delegiertenversammlung der DOV, 3.2.1953', in *ArDOV GEN 1 DelV 1952–54*, 5–12.

70 See Gerhard Naumann, 'Offener Brief an den Hauptvorstand des Deutschen Musikerverbandes', *VN DOV* Jan. 1956, 12–14.

71 See 'Tarifordnung für die deutschen Kulturorchester', *Reichsarbeitsblatt* VI, no. 14, 1938, here 597.

72 See Landesarbeitsgericht Düsseldorf, 'Urteil, 22.12.1950', *VN DOV* Oct. 1956, 8.

that hiring out cultural orchestras was neither in line with the intentions of the Nazi legislature nor compatible with musicians' self-image. But it was not until the summer of 1956 that a court echoed this view.⁷³

The regulation that was then included in the new version of the TOK, known as the 'Freiburg Collective Agreement' (*Freiburger Tarifvertrag*), in October of the same year, limited work duties to events and guest performances by employers as well as those occasions that served their 'representative cultural' function: acts of state, receptions, official funerals and the like. Voss noted with satisfaction that a solution had been found 'that is in harmony with the cultural policy mission of the federal states and municipalities'. This would have been impaired 'if the maintenance of cultural orchestras for commercial purposes had been encouraged'.⁷⁴ Through this new regulation, cultural orchestras in small and medium-sized cities in particular made a great leap forward in their efforts to set themselves apart from other musical worlds.

Orchestral musicians' conscious effort to link themselves with the state was no coincidence, because ultimately they wanted full recognition as public service employees – and thus more money. Because the cultural orchestras did not have a social partnership with the Federation of Municipal Employers' Associations (*Vereinigung der kommunalen Arbeitgeberverbände*) or the Collective Bargaining Community of the Federal States (*Tarifgemeinschaft der Länder*), but had to make do with the Stage Association, they were initially denied the public sector cost-of-living allowances granted in the early 1950s. The Stage Association saw withholding these as a means of offsetting what it viewed as unjustified upgradings. Considerable sums of money were at stake. The allowances of 1951 and 1953 each amounted to between 15 and 20 percent of salaries. They were by no means pure wage increases in the context of the economic miracle but were granted to offset rising living costs and the long-term decline in wages – with the year 1927 serving as benchmark.⁷⁵

For the DOV, the Stage Association's conduct was wholly unacceptable. In some places, such as Munich, the National Orchestra threatened a closed strike. This was testimony to remarkable solidarity, especially since the pay gap in orchestras had increased further due to the Stage Association's rejectionist attitude: those musicians who had started their jobs as civil servants

73 See 'Pflichtenkreis der Kulturorchestermittglieder, hier: Begriff der Veranstaltungen des Orchesters', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 7, 15 July 1951, 98 f.; Landesarbeitsgericht Frankfurt, 'Urteil, 11.7.1956', *VN DOV* Sep. 1956, 2.

74 Hermann Voss, 'Tarifgestaltung und Kulturpolitik', *Das Orchester* no. 2, 1957, 34 f.

75 See Heinrich Rodemer, 'Die Vergütungs- und Tarifsituation der deutschen Kulturorchester', *Das Orchester* no. 6, 1956, 161 f.; Schöndienst, *Geschichte des Deutschen Bühnenvereins seit 1945*, 148 f.

before 1938 automatically received the allowance.⁷⁶ Even within the Stage Association, its tough approach was thoroughly controversial, such that some of its state-level branches granted the first allowance after a year's delay. Nevertheless, its leading figures subsequently hardened their stance. When the association decided on the second cost-of-living allowance, it was unwilling even to take part in talks. All signs pointed to conflict.⁷⁷

Only heavy pressure from the employers' associations of the federal states and municipalities, which threatened to take charge of orchestras themselves, prompted the Stage Association to relent. Also significant was a lawsuit brought by the DOV – which it ultimately dropped – to the effect that its adversary was not competent to engage in collective bargaining, which temporarily brought the Stage Association to the brink of ruin. It was probably more than just a conceit when Voss described himself as the 'most-hated man for the functionaries of the Stage Association'. At the end of 1955, the Stage Association accepted a salary increase of 45 percent in total.⁷⁸

This was not enough for the DOV. Its aim was to ensure that henceforth orchestral musicians were automatically treated in the same way as public sector employees in terms of remuneration. This was 'the vital question for German orchestras', Voss declared to the assembly of delegates in the summer of 1956.⁷⁹ The breakthrough came with another court case. In the autumn of the same year, the 'vital question' was thus resolved through the Freiburg Collective Agreement, the remuneration of cultural orchestras being pegged 'effectively' to the pay of federal civil servants. The allowance had in the meantime risen to a total of 55 percent of salaries, which meant that from then on TOK wages, depending on the classification, ranged from 310 to 556 deutschmarks rather than the previous 200 to 359 deutschmarks in the lowest remuneration class (V) and from 543 to 905 deutschmarks instead of the previous 350 to 584 deutschmarks in the special class, excluding position and residential allowances. The 'wage peace' with the Stage Association was thus re-established, and the majority of orchestra musicians received remuneration congruent with the upper grade (*gehobener Dienst*) of the civil service.⁸⁰

76 See 'Teuerungszulagen', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 7, 15 July 1951, 97 f.

77 On the employer side, see Schöndienst, *Geschichte des Deutschen Bühnenvereins seit 1945*, 138–152.

78 See *ibid.*

79 Hermann Voss, 'Situationsbericht des Geschäftsführers', *VN DOV* July/Aug. 1956, 7–9, here 8.

80 See 'Deutsche Orchestervereinigung gewinnt Gleichbehandlungsprozeß', *VN DOV* Feb. 1956, 2; 'Tarifvertrag zwischen dem Deutschen Bühnenverein und den unterzeichneten

In the eyes of Voss and the DOV, the Employment Regulations for Cultural Orchestras enacted in 1938 were completed through the Freiburg Collective Agreement of autumn 1956. As long as it worked to the advantage of musicians, throughout this dispute the DOV had no reservations about relying on the legal interpretations and practices of the Reich Chamber of Music. At one point, Hermann Becker even contacted the former head of the RMK's Orchestral Division, Hermann Henrich, who was now working as a musical director in Frankfurt an der Oder, to ask his advice on a controversial question of legal interpretation.⁸¹ The insouciance with which Voss and his comrades-in-arms drew productively on the legacy of Nazi music policy to benefit the profession had much to do with the fact that virtually nothing had changed in ideas about what a cultural orchestra ought to do and how it should be treated.⁸²

In addition to the improved position of orchestral musicians with respect to collective bargaining (which, as it happens, was achieved far more easily when it came to the radio broadcasters), over the course of the 1950s the DOV also enabled musicians to benefit from performers' rights for the first time. Once again, a lot of money was at stake, and this time not just for orchestra members, but in principle for all musicians. They were to gain a share of royalties previously divided mainly between the record industry and composers through so-called related rights, which were derived from the technical innovations of radio and records. The basic idea was that related rights would facilitate the recognition and financial compensation of musicians' contribution to every public reproduction.⁸³

First, the DOV raised claims to compensation for recorded concerts or those broadcast live on the radio, to be granted by the broadcasters. This issue had already been subject to lively discussion in the interwar period, though ultimately without result.⁸⁴ Second, performing musicians in the record industry

Arbeitnehmerorganisationen, 6.10.1956', *ibid.* Oct. 1956, 2–5, quotation on 3; F. W. Willecke, 'Zur Besoldung der städtischen und staatlichen Kulturorchester', *ibid.* Feb. 1956, 38–40; 'Tarifordnung für die deutschen Kulturorchester', *Reichsarbeitsblatt* VI, no. 14, 1938, here 600; only the two lowest classes, IV and V, remained in the middle service (*mittlerer Dienst*) grade.

81 See 'Henrich an Becker, 10.8.1947', in *ArDOV* SOND 4.

82 See also the reprint of what Voss calls an 'authentic interpretation' in connection with a position allowance that was not granted: 'Auszug aus den amtlichen Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer für Orchestermusiker und Kapellmeister', *vN DOV* July/Aug. 1957, 10.

83 On this complex material, see Movsessian, V. and F. Seifert, *Einführung in das Urheberrecht der Musik*, Wilhelmshaven 1982; see also Frith, S. and L. Marshall, 'Making Sense of Copyright', in Frith, S. and L. Marshall (eds.), *Music and Copyright*, Edinburgh 2004, 1–18.

84 For a detailed account, see Dommann, *Authors*, 105–110.

sought to contest copyright and broadcasting rights with respect to records. Hitherto, in the context of recordings they had ceded these rights to the record companies without further ado. In 1956, Voss estimated that the radio stations paid about 600,000 deutschmarks a year to the latter for the right to broadcast, while he identified the public playing of records as a future market worth millions.⁸⁵

Compared to the record industry, the specific conflict with the national radio broadcasters began later and came to an end more quickly. Voss did what he did best: he took them to court. The trigger was provided by broadcaster *Freies Berlin*, which had recorded a performance of *The Marriage of Figaro* by the Berlin Municipal Opera (*Städtische Oper Berlin*) in December 1955 without asking the orchestra members for permission, let alone providing them with financial compensation. The recording was then transmitted not only in Berlin, but also from other radio stations.⁸⁶ The competent Higher Regional Court of Berlin (*Kammergericht*) then returned a remarkable verdict. It made it clear that sound recordings made against the wishes of the performer were an infringement of personal rights. And it underpinned the recognition of copyright for performing musicians with a concept of musical performance as an egalitarian total work of art (*Gesamtkunstwerk*), an idea that had been advocated here and there during the Weimar period but failed to gain traction: ‘Orchestra members are not mere “adjuncts” (*Gehilfen*) to conductors obliged to follow his orders’, the court ruled. ‘The performance is the collective artistic achievement of the orchestra, conductor and soloists. Each of them is a performer [...] and is therefore to be regarded as a contributor to the [...] tape recording’.⁸⁷ Little wonder, then, that Voss described this ruling and the Freiburg Collective Agreement as the ‘most important events’ for the profession since 1945.⁸⁸

The confrontation with the record industry and the practical administration and distribution of the funds turned out to be far more protracted and complex. Both aspects were closely linked because the Musicians’ Union had already created facts on the ground at the national and international level. In the national sphere, the DEMUV, together with the Association of German Stage Professionals (*Genossenschaft Deutscher Bühnenangehöriger*), had set up

85 See Hermann Voss, ‘Situationsbericht des Geschäftsführers’, *VN DOV* July/Aug. 1956, 7–9, here 9. Ultimately, the key issue was gaining equality with composers, who had benefited from the exploitation of mechanical rights since 1911. See chapter 7.

86 See Landgericht Berlin, ‘Teilurteil, 8.7.1957’, *VN DOV* Sep. 1957, 2–9, here 3.

87 *Ibid.*, 2; on the Weimar Republic, see chapter 8.

88 Hermann Voss, ‘Das Berliner Urteil’, *VN DOV* Sep. 1957, 10.

the Central Administration for Reproductive and Creative Artists' Recording and Image Rights (*Zentralverwaltung der Ton- und Bildträgerrechte nachschaffender und gestaltender Künstler*) in the spring of 1951 to administer the rights of musicians.⁸⁹ At the international level, the Musicians' Union was involved in an agreement that provided the Central Administration with funds on a serious scale for the first time from 1955 onwards. The agreement between the *Fédération Internationale des Musiciens* (FIM) and the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) of March 1954 stipulated that 25 percent of the revenue received annually by record companies from broadcasters for the use of records in radio programmes should go to the musicians' unions for distribution to their members. In return, the unions refrained from pursuing more far-reaching claims and also undertook not to use these payments against the interests of the IFPI.⁹⁰

The DOV was deliberately left out of these developments. When it was formally constituted in 1953, its members decided to turn their backs on the Central Administration and take the administering of rights into their own hands. The body thus stayed away from the *Fédération* as well. In addition to the fundamental rift with the Musicians' Union, different views on the use of the anticipated revenue were key here. The DOV, which included radio orchestras of all stripes, pleaded for individual payments to those musicians who were actually involved in recordings. The Musicians' Union, meanwhile, took its lead from the solidarity-based model embraced by its British and American counterparts, envisaging the establishment of a social fund that would provide support for unemployed musicians.⁹¹

89 This outsourcing had to do with the fact that the DEMUV itself was not an incorporated society (*rechtsfähiger Verein*).

90 See 'Vertrag zur Durchführung des FIM/IFPI-Abkommens (Abschrift), 13.6.1955', in ArDOV DEMUV Schallplattengelder; 'Bericht über die Verhandlung mit den Vertretern des Deutschen Musikerverbandes und der Zentralverwaltung, 9.3.1956', in *ibid.* Zentralverwaltung VII; Internationale Musiker-Föderation, 'Tätigkeitsbericht des Vorstands über die 2. ordentliche Amtsperiode 1953–1956', in IISH Int 3726/42 fol, here 8. In addition to the DEMUV, signatories included trade unions from Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Ireland and Austria. On the industry side, all the important German record companies, *Deutsche Grammophon*, *Teldec*, *Telefunken* and *Philips*, signed up.

91 See Hermann Voss, 'Die Entwicklung im Berufsrecht des Musikers seit 1945', *Der Berufsmusiker* no. 4, 15 April 1951, 54–58; 'Protokoll der Delegiertenversammlung der DOV, 3.2.1953', in ArDOV GEN 1 DelV 1952–54, 31–35; on the United Kingdom and the United States, see Williamson, J., 'Cooperation and Conflict: The British Musicians' Union, Musical Labour and Copyright in the UK', *MusiCultures* no. 41, 2014, 73–92, here 83 f.; Kraft, *Stage*, 158–160.

In practice, however, the top brass at the Musicians' Union showed precious little solidarity. An embezzlement scandal broke over the revenue generated by records. Contrary to the provisions in the international agreement, the Musicians' Union failed to pass the money on to the musicians entitled to it in the Central Administration, instead using it for union purposes. A new property in a prime location in Düsseldorf, for example, was acquired for 265,000 deutschmarks and, due to the union's lack of legal capacity, was registered as owned by three full-time members of the executive committee. The money was also used to cover the extremely high salary costs of the union staff.⁹² Of the approximately 1.2 million deutschmarks that the Musicians' Union received from the record industry between 1955 and 1957, together with interest, the intended beneficiaries saw not a penny. When this large-scale embezzlement – which the DGB had tolerated – came to light, the DOV pulled out all the stops to finally put an end to the activities of corrupt union officials. In late 1957, the orchestral body went to court in an attempt to have the Musicians' Union stripped of the ability to engage in wage negotiations on the basis that it had made itself dependent on the employers.⁹³

As a result, the funds arising from recordings were frozen. Negotiations, which were protracted at times, ensued between the various parties before a *modus vivendi* emerged. First, the DOV ensured, from a position of strength, that organizational responsibilities were clearly set out. When called upon to do so, the Musicians' Union agreed not to seek to represent cultural orchestras; the DOV thus secured a monopoly of representation.⁹⁴

Second, the Musicians' Union was kicked out of the DGB several times, its non-transparent financial conduct having barely improved even after the scandal. Only a 1964 court ruling definitively brought the tradition-steeped union back into the fold of the Trade Union Federation, where it subsequently led a shadowy existence. In addition to the financial scandal, the union had virtually ceased to represent the interests of professional musicians in an effective way.

92 See 'Voss an Fischer, Irmisch u. a., 27.10.1957', in ArDOV DEMUV Schallplattengelder; 'Bernbacher an Düring, 22.2.1958', in *ibid.*; 'Präsidium DOV an DGB Bundesvorstand, 20.12.1959', in *ibid.*; 'Runge an Arbeitsgericht Düsseldorf, 4.3.1958', in AdsD 5/DGBS000162; DMV, 'Haushaltsplan 1959/60 (handschriftliche Version)', in *ibid.* 5/DGBS000075; wages increased by up to 87.5 percent.

93 See 'Das FIM/IFPI-Abkommen vom 11. März 1954', VN DOV May 1958, 18–23. On the DGB's toleration, see 'Voss an die Delegierten der DOV, 13.4.1959', in ArDOV DEMUV Schallplattengelder.

94 See 'Düring an Raeder, 19.6.1958', in AdsD 5/DGBS000162; DGB, 'Vertraulich – Zusammenfassung der Ereignisse um den Deutschen Musikerverband, 27.12.1962', in *ibid.* 5/DGBS000172, here 4.

The fact that ‘Wehrmacht bands’ had performed in North Rhine-Westphalia, as the executive committee complained in October 1960, was anything but in keeping with the times, and the same went for the election of Kurt Paul as president, a non-musician unable even to read notes. The union thus destroyed itself and became a laughingstock internationally.⁹⁵

Third, the principle of individual remuneration for claims based on performers’ rights prevailed and their administration was placed in new organizational hands: in 1959, the DOV and the German branch of the IFPI jointly founded the Society for the Exploitation of Performers’ Rights.⁹⁶ It initially competed with the Central Administration. However, because the vast majority of musicians who made records or performed on the radio joined the GVL and, as a result of a collection agreement with the Society for Musical Performing and Mechanical Reproduction Rights (*Gesellschaft für musikalische Aufführungs- und mechanische Vervielfältigungsrechte* or GEMA), it was able to demonstrate more efficient management, the days of the Central Administration were numbered. By mutual agreement of all those involved, it was dissolved at the end of 1963 and a social fund was – after all – set up using the remaining funds.⁹⁷

The first figures presented by the GVL confirmed Voss’s assessment of performers’ rights as a market with a rosy future: while the society had collected 280,000 deutschmarks in 1958, the estimates for 1962 were over 500,000 deutschmarks. These were exclusively funds transferred by radio stations for record broadcasts. After the Federal Court of Justice (*Bundesgerichtshof*) had ruled in May 1960 that musicians were also entitled to remuneration for the public reproduction of recorded music, the DOV and the record industry shared the fees incurred between them. Two thirds of the performer’s share went to orchestra and choir members, one third to conductors and soloists.⁹⁸

95 See ‘Protokoll der Hauptvorstandssitzung des DMV, 31.10.–2.11.1960’, in AdsD 5/DGGBS 00075. This is why many international colleagues did not want to elect Paul to the FIM executive committee in 1959; see ‘Protokoll der Hauptvorstandssitzung, 10.–12.6.1959’, in *ibid.*

96 See ‘Ausschüttung der Schallplatten-Sendevergütung 1958 durch die “Gesellschaft zur Verwertung von Leistungsschutzrechten mbH”’, *VN DOV* July/Aug. 1960, 22 f.

97 See ‘Genossenschaft Deutscher Bühnenangehöriger an alle Lokalverbände der GDBA, 19.6.1962’, in ArDOV Zentralverwaltung VII; ‘Voss an die Gesellschaft zur Verwertung von Leistungsschutzrechten, 31.12.1962’, in *ibid.*; ‘Voss an die Herren Mitglieder des Präsidiums, 17.1.1963’, in *ibid.* Zentralverwaltung VIII; ‘Zentralverwaltung der Ton- und Bildträgerrechte ausübender Künstler an Voss, 10.12.1963’, in *ibid.* The remaining members were admitted to the GVL. The (new) GEMA succeeded the STAGMA in 1947.

98 See ‘Gesellschaft zur Verwertung von Leistungsschutzrechten mbH’, *Das Orchester* no. 3 1962, 82 f.

Admittedly, the sums garnered by the GVL around 1960 were vanishingly small compared to the millions collected by the GEMA during the same period. The most an individual could receive through the GVL at the time was just 2,117 deutschmarks per year.⁹⁹ Much more important, however, was the fundamental recognition of performers' rights. The protection obtained through the courts went far beyond that granted by the International Convention for the Protection of Performers, Producers of Phonograms and Broadcasting Organizations (*Internationales Abkommen über den Schutz der ausübenden Künstler, der Hersteller von Tonträgern und der Sendeunternehmen*), signed in Rome in October 1961. Furthermore, an amendment to national copyright regulations five years later enshrined performance protection in law. 'This means that performing artists in the Federal Republic of Germany are in a significantly better position than in the rest of the world', summed up the long-serving director general of the GEMA, Erich Schulze, with little enthusiasm.¹⁰⁰ He was certainly right. The chagrin expressed here by an advocate for composers only goes to show that – in addition to improving the material lot of performing musicians – Voss and the DOV had greatly enhanced their prestige.

Winners and Losers

With their salaries pegged to those of civil servants and their entitlement to royalties, orchestra members, along with all musicians who recorded music, experienced their very own economic miracle in the course of the 1950s. The rest of the profession, meanwhile, had less and less to smile about. The bifurcation of the labour market into permanent and non-permanent employment became entrenched. In particular, it was now much more difficult to move from an insecure to secure position, which is why what economists call a labour market shakeout set in: many musicians who had performed mainly in restaurants and other entertainment settings inevitably left their traditional field of work because – not least due to technological developments – opportunities to earn money had virtually dried up. Between 1950 and 1961, the

99 See *ibid.* On the GEMA, see Nathaus, K., 'From Dance Bands to Radio and Records: Pop Music Promotion in West Germany and the Decline of the Schlager Genre, 1945–1964', *Popular Music History* no. 6, 2011, 287–306, here 294 f.

100 Schulze, E., *Urheberrecht in der Musik*, Berlin 1981, 31–39, quotation on 37 f. In the United States, for example, there was no legally enshrined performance protection at all before 1994; see Frith and Marshall, 'Sense', 9.

profession thus shrank by more than a quarter, from around 31,000 to just under 22,000 musicians.¹⁰¹

Among musicians dedicated to popular music, the main group affected here, generational issues and aesthetic developments played a key role. Theo Freitag, already an old-school figure in the Weimar period, complained bitterly about older entertainment musicians' poor prospects on the job market and about the clueless musical youth who knew nothing of Reger or Bruckner and instead indulged in the 'excesses of modern jazz'.¹⁰² Towards the end of the decade, this older subset of entertainment musicians had to put up with harsh criticism even in the in-house periodical of the Musicians' Union. An article in *Der Musiker* claimed that their willingness to form ensembles left much to be desired, that they were picky about engagements and that in general they were 'far from keen on rehearsing'. It was inexcusable, the piece continued, that the wardrobe of those in long-term unemployment was not always 'up to scratch'. It was, therefore, no surprise if a band of well-dressed, charming Italians was hired rather than a German outfit 'whose members' grouchiness is evident from afar'. Last but not least, these musicians ought to finally grasp that the public's taste had changed. The article concluded by recommending that, rather than complaining about mechanization, moonlighting musicians and foreign competition, they ought to revamp themselves.¹⁰³ Many took this literally and switched careers; sometimes the Labour Office helped them along by withdrawing its financial support.¹⁰⁴

The field of dance and popular music was now increasingly occupied by a younger generation of freelance musicians. They were more open-minded musically, more versatile and, last but not least, embraced a different professional ethos. This was geared towards the proverbial 'wine, women and song', and in some cases no doubt prefigured the 1970s hit 'Sex & Drugs & Rock & Roll'.¹⁰⁵ Pub musician Tom Wohlert performed for seven-hour stints both in

101 See Materne, 'Probleme', 124 f.; see also table D in the appendix.

102 Theo Freitag, 'Die Not des alten Musikers', *Der Artist* no. 13, 5 July 1950, 4 f.

103 'Ensemble-Musiker – kein Beruf mehr?', *Der Musiker* no. 3, Sep. 1959.

104 In a case study of Münster, 7 out of 8 musicians born before 1933 who were interviewed changed their professional field in the course of the 1950s. See Schepers, J., *Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusiker im 20. Jahrhundert. Ihre Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen in der Stadt Münster*, Münster 1996, 12–18; see also 'Arbeitsämter contra Berufsmusiker', *Der Musiker* no. 5, Nov. 1959; Materne, 'Probleme', 125.

105 This professional ethos was certainly not new – we need only think of Teddy Stauffer or Peter Kreuder – but it became vital to survival in the free market of the 1950s. See Stauffer, T., *Forever Is a Hell of a Long Time: An Autobiography*. Chicago 1976; Kreuder, *Puppen*.

a brothel, where he provided ‘mood music and wham-bam music (*Hauruckmusik*); and in a staid dance café in Bad Wildungen where the music sent ‘schmalz running down the walls’. Working in this demanding yet hedonistic lifeworld was clearly a labour of love for this musician.¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile, Michael Naura, head of a jazz quintet of the same name, described his everyday working life as follows:

From eight to around four [o’clock]. Playing jazz, that is, mostly improvised music. [...] But we enjoyed it. That had a lot to do with the fact that we were very young. I actually wonder how we endured it – in physical terms. I did it for seven years [...]: seven years playing jazz for eight hours, day in, day out. Even back then it was impossible without certain stimulants.¹⁰⁷

In general, however, the most influential musicians with a focus on popular music assembled in the radio stations’ dance and entertainment orchestras. Here, too, one of the legacies of Nazism was put to productive use. The close liaison between radio and popular music was largely down to Goebbels, who increasingly incorporated this genre into radio broadcasts over the course of the war. This intimate connection with radio had a major impact on the subsequent development of this musical world and thus on the entertainment musician’s professional profile as well.¹⁰⁸

The radio broadcasters were transformed after the war. The Western occupying powers insisted on breaking with the tradition of government-affiliated broadcasting, which dated back to the Weimar period, in the face of sometimes fierce resistance from German state governments and political parties, and on largely protecting radio from political interference. The Allies were less interested in how musical content, especially in the dance and popular music departments, was managed in the detail. This issue lay outside of their self-defined mission of guiding a post-dictatorial society back onto democratic paths.¹⁰⁹

Radio was lavishly funded due to its status as a fee-financed public service. The first result of this was a remarkable number of well-paid, secure jobs for

106 See Wohlert, T., *Musiker, Macher, Machos, Mafiosi. Vom Amateurmusiker in die Kölner Studio-Szene der 60er bis 90er Jahre*, Norderstedt 2010, 33–36.

107 Quoted in Zahn, R. von, *Jazz in Köln seit 1945. Konzertkultur und Kellerkunst*, Cologne 1997, here 57.

108 See Koch, H.-J., *Wunschkonzert. Unterhaltungsmusik und Propaganda im Rundfunk des Dritten Reichs*, Graz 2006, 45–51.

109 See Koch and Glaser, *Ohr*, 186–206.

entertainment musicians. In 1951, there were already more than eighty permanent positions at the NWDR's Cologne broadcasting station alone, divided between three orchestras. Second, these institutions pursued a programming policy of their own – much of it free of overt Allied ideological influences. With few exceptions, this policy made no room for the development of popular music, at least until the mid-1950s.¹¹⁰

Institutional continuities went hand in hand with personal ones. The Radio Berlin Dance Orchestra (*Radio Berlin Tanzorchester*) was founded just a few weeks after the end of the war, featuring the same arrangers, including Georg Haentzschel, Horst Kudritzki and Walter Leschetitzky, who had previously written adaptations for the German Dance and Entertainment Orchestra (*Deutsches Tanz- und Unterhaltungsorchester* or DTUO). Its former trombonist, Willy Berking, built up the radio orchestra at *Hessischer Rundfunk*, while the former head of the entertainment orchestra at *Deutschlandsender*, Hans Bund, was put in charge of the small orchestra at *Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk*.¹¹¹ The Cologne Dance and Entertainment Orchestra (*Kölner Tanz- und Unterhaltungsorchester*), which was founded in 1947 by former DTUO violinist, Adalbert Luczkowski, was also funded by the NWDR. In the shape of violinist Gustav Linnartz, this ensemble included at least one other former member of the most important entertainment orchestra in Nazi Germany.¹¹²

Luczkowski's 1950s repertoire included numerous hits by composers and arrangers who had made careers during the Nazi era, from Peter Kreuder through Theo Mackeben and Gerhard Winkler to Franz Grothe. Another, newer source were songs and adaptations by radio editors, who secured considerable additional income through the royalties incurred, a practice sharply criticized under the heading of the 'hit mafia' but subject to only a few serious countermeasures.¹¹³ Under these general conditions, most of the entertainment orchestras on the radio failed to drive the development of music. Even the Kurt Edelhagen Orchestra, one of the most prominent jazz bands in Germany, which was first employed by the SWF, then signed a contract with the

110 See 'Bericht über Prüfungen beim NWDR Köln vom 16.3.–22.3.1951 und vom 2.4.1951–7.4.1951', in HARWDR Justitiariat no. 10598. On the stagnancy of popular music, see also Jockwer, 'Unterhaltungsmusik', 563.

111 See Jockwer, 'Unterhaltungsmusik', 509.

112 See 'Bericht über Prüfungen beim NWDR Köln vom 16.3.–22.3.1951 und vom 2.4.1951–7.4.1951, Anlage VI', in HARWDR Justitiariat no. 10598; 'Aufstellung über Gefolgschaftsmitglieder der Deutschen Tanz- und Unterhaltungsorchester GmbH, 14.9.1944', in BArch R 56.I/34, fol. 5–8.

113 See for example the case of Kurt Feltz at the NWDR in Nathaus, 'Dance Bands', 295 f.

WDR in 1957 with a mostly new line-up, mainly had to record hits, medleys and other dance music in its work for radio and television.¹¹⁴

The heavy focus on hits at the radio stations should not, however, be confused with qualitative mediocrity. On the contrary, the well-paid jobs attracted outstanding musicians. Many big names worked for a time at a radio orchestra, from James Last to Albert Mangelsdorff and from Kurt Edelhagen to Helmut Zacharias. The high standards of the ensembles were also reflected in the fact that the record companies permanently installed themselves in the same locations as the broadcasting corporations: *Telefunken* opened an office near *Bayerischer Rundfunk* in Munich, *Electrola*, *Ariola* and *Polydor* moved to Cologne, and *Deutsche Grammophon* regularly made a beeline for the N(W)DR in Hamburg. This cooperation went so far that the record companies, at least in the early days, often rented the radio stations' studios and produced their recordings there.¹¹⁵

Nothing could have been more natural than to make use of their excellent, well-rehearsed ensembles. The musicians' additional earnings, however, quickly became a bone of contention within the broadcasters. Secondary employment was subject to a duty of disclosure, to which Luczkowski's orchestral musicians, for example, took a rather lax approach. Sometimes they even reported sick to their boss in order to participate in lucrative recordings. In addition, the hiring out of the entire orchestra grew rampant for a time. Occasionally, Luczkowski and his band sat in the studio for *Electrola* for up to ten days a month, eliciting sharp protests from director Hanns Hartmann, who feared a loss of quality in their regular work.¹¹⁶

This interleaving of public service radio, its salaried musicians and the record industry not only hampered musical development, but also slowed down the evolution of an independent studio scene. This only took off in the 1960s and at a slow pace. As late as 1973 in Cologne, the so-called studio mafia around conductor Ferdy Klein drew its brass players from Kurt Edelhagen's band, which was closely linked with the radio, and its strings mainly from the Gürzenich Orchestra. A practice of 'whoever has will be given more' continued

114 See Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 89–93. Edelhagen's orchestra was in a special position because he alone was the broadcasters' contractual partner, rather than the individual musicians. However, he also had to give his musicians contracts, some of them of many years' duration, in order to keep them; see Holzt-Edelhagen, J., *Das Orchester Kurt Edelhagen*, Frankfurt am Main 1990, 49–51.

115 See 'Hartmann an Electrola, 6.2.1951', in HARWDR Intendanz no. 4265; Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 9.

116 See 'Hartmann an Luczkowski, 30.3.1955', in *ibid.* no. 4275; 'Luczkowski an Hartmann, 18.10.1954', in *ibid.*; 'Hartmann an Luczkowski, 20.10.1953', in *ibid.*; 'Hartmann an Keuser, 27.1.1959', in *ibid.*

to pertain in this field, which is why the full-time studio musician remained a relatively rare phenomenon.¹¹⁷

More than anything else, the music profession was moulded by radio stations and orchestral musicians in the 1950s – both in the classical music world and with respect to dance and popular music. There were other similarities between these worlds. First, a kind of white-collar mentality could be observed in both cases. Notorious in this context is Theodor W. Adorno's stinging criticism from the eighth of his 'Twelve Theoretical Lectures', which he gave in the winter semester of 1961–62 at the Goethe University in Frankfurt:

What an orchestra musician has to do – they call it 'going on duty' – bears no relation, in terms of musical-intellectual significance and of individual satisfaction, to the Utopia which everyone once yearned for. The routine performance, the triteness or low quality of most of the individual performances vanishing in a tutti, finally the often merely fictitious superiority of the conductor – all that brings about surfeit: 'I just hate music.'¹¹⁸

Adorno undoubtedly had the cultural orchestras in mind, but *Der Spiegel* sang from a similar hymn sheet when it mocked the 'radio pensioners' in the broadcasting stations' entertainment orchestras. James Last and Tom Wohler also recounted bad experiences with their salaried colleagues, who behaved rather snootily towards them, made a rather uninspired impression musically and generally acted like veritable 'music officials'.¹¹⁹

Second, in the shape of the jazz scene, a distinct musical world established itself for the first time alongside its classical counterpart, one that aspired to be completely different from the latter and yet became so structurally similar to it: the jazz cellar as a special venue; critics who concentrated exclusively on this genre, discussed concerts in dedicated jazz periodicals such as *Jazz-Podium*, launched in 1952, and sought to demarcate jazz from other genres; numerous jazz clubs and associations that united under the umbrella of the nationwide

117 See Wohler, *Musiker*, 81 f.; Kuhn, *Jahre*, 80. The first studio company in Cologne apart from the big record companies was Studio Cornet, founded by former Polydor and Electrola producer Heinz Gietz in 1970; see Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 162 f.

118 Adorno, T. W., *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*. Translated by E. B. Ashton. New York: Continuum, 1989, 114 f. Translation modified.

119 'Rundfunk-Rentner', *Der Spiegel* no. 23, 5 June 1957, 62. Wohler reports that at a guest concert by the WDR Radio Orchestra, the seating had to be changed because the concertmaster claimed to be sitting uncomfortably; see Wohler, *Musiker*, 77 f. See also Last and Macho, *Leben*, 52.

German Jazz Federation (*Deutsche Jazz Föderation*) from 1950 onwards and organized an annual jazz festival beginning in 1953; and, finally, the establishment of dedicated courses at German conservatoires. All of this pointed towards the formation of a closed system.¹²⁰

Admittedly, this nascent musical world remained more open in a variety of ways than its classical counterpart during the same period. Amateur musicians who came to the jam session for the love of playing or devoted themselves to more traditional jazz styles, such as New Orleans or Dixieland, in permanent formations were important pillars of the jazz scene. Conversely, as we have seen, many professionals did not play jazz exclusively. A music world that lived in substantial part from record collectors talking shop was simply too small for the initiatives launched to ensure professional training for jazz musicians to take effect immediately. The jazz course launched in 1957 at the Cologne Conservatoire (*Kölner Musikhochschule*), which was initially firmly in the hands of Edelhagen and his band, was not to have a noticeable impact on the scene until the 1980s. Ultimately, jam sessions took place not just in smoky basements, but sometimes in large concert halls as well, as in the legendary series *Jazz at the Philharmonic* arranged by US-American impresario Norman Granz. Perhaps more than elsewhere, in Germany in the 1950s it was quite apparent how much the classical music world was the inspiration behind diverse efforts to academicize jazz and transform it into art music.¹²¹

Third, both music worlds remained largely male domains. Leipzig jazz pianist Jutta Hipp, who had already achieved renown at the first jazz festival organized by the German Jazz Federation in Frankfurt in 1953 and then played with the great figures of the scene, is one of the few exceptions. However, she emigrated to the United States just two years later. Hipp achieved great successes there for a short time before turning her back on jazz and becoming a doll seamstress. And even the most talented and successful German jazz singer of the day, Inge Brandenburg, had to endure repeated career setbacks and struggled to get her foot in the door at radio stations and record companies. The fact that women were markedly underrepresented in this musical world – the 1961 professional statistics listed just 116 women musicians – apparently had a deterrent effect. By the mid-1960s, still only around 10 percent of girls

120 See Poiger, U. G., *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany*, Berkeley 2000, 146–150; Lange, *Jazz in Deutschland*, 151–161.

121 See *ibid.*; Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 17, 24, 49, 59 and 94 f.

who learned a musical instrument opted for guitar or drums, while over 40 percent chose piano or violin.¹²²

The situation in the symphony orchestras remained largely unchanged. The proportion of women was 3 percent in 1960, and some top orchestras such as the Berlin Philharmonic still had no female musicians at all. Ten years later, in 1970, the figure had only increased to just over 4 percent. Hermann Voss took this development as an opportunity to question the benefits of women in orchestras; their natural role as mothers supposedly threatened these ensembles' artistic continuity. He acknowledged no failure on the part of the profession, let alone discrimination at auditions. Instead, he saw the slight increase in the proportion of women in orchestras as an alarming sign that the orchestral profession had lost its economic appeal.¹²³

These structural similarities contrasted with major differences, which were far more important to the reputation of these different musical worlds. The approach to colleagues from other countries, for instance, diverged considerably. Partly due to the Allied occupation, after the war popular music received its most important stimuli from the United States. As part of Jazz at the Philharmonic, stars such as Oscar Peterson, Ella Fitzgerald, Dizzy Gillespie, Benny Goodman and many others filled concert halls all over Germany in the 1950s. Concert organizers Horst Lippmann and Fritz Rau, who later became extremely influential, learned their trade on these tours and made valuable contacts; these benefited them greatly when, after 1960, they began to bring the *crème de la crème* of blues music to Germany and, later, bands such as The Rolling Stones and The Doors.¹²⁴

Local German jazz scenes also drew some inspiration from the European jazz metropolis of Paris. Jazz clubs established themselves in Cologne, Düsseldorf, Munich and other cities, emulating the Parisian existentialists' haunt,

122 See Breitwieser, T., 'Jutta Hipp. First Lady of German Jazz', in G. Wendt (ed.), *Die Jazz-Frauen*, Hamburg 1992, 52–62; Boettcher, M., *Sing! Inge, Sing! Der zerbrochene Traum der Inge Brandenburg*, Berlin 2016, 61 f.; *Jugend, Bildung und Freizeit. Dritte Untersuchung zur Situation der Deutschen Jugend im Bundesgebiet, durchgeführt vom EMNID-Institut für Sozialforschung*, edited by V. Graf Blücher, n. p. 1967, 29. The statistics relate to the category 'restaurants and the hotel industry'; see *Volks- und Berufszählung vom 6. Juni 1961*, no. 13: *Erwerbspersonen in beruflicher Gliederung*, edited by Statistisches Bundesamt Wiesbaden, Stuttgart 1968, 328 and 371.

123 Hermann Voss, 'Frauen im Orchester', *Das Orchester* no. 3, 1970, 101–103; see also Rempe, M., 'Bedrohte Musikkultur? Zur Zukunft der Orchestermusiker in der frühen Bundesrepublik', in F. Rehlinghaus and U. Teichmann (eds.), *Vergangene Zukünfte von Arbeit. Aussichten, Ängste und Aneignungen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Bonn 2019, 61–80, here 72.

124 See 'In der Philharmonie', *Der Spiegel* no. 9, 25 February 1953, 30 f.; Rau, F., *50 Jahre Backstage. Erinnerungen eines Konzertveranstalters*, Heidelberg 2006, 23–25 and 42–51.

Tabou, and not only with regard to this pub's name but also its musical ambitions. Most important of all, however, was the great interest in playing with musicians from abroad, which was evident in the classic jam session in the jazz cellar as well as in the best big bands on the radio. In the late 1950s, the Kurt Edelhagen Orchestra, with members from seven different countries, was one of the most international bands ever heard in Germany. Here artistic recognition was paired with cultural openness. As the opening act for Bill Haley on his riotous tour of Germany in 1958, Edelhagen's orchestra helped popularize rock 'n' roll. And even in the hit-making business there was plenty of experimentation with the strange and 'exotic'. This was reflected in both lyrics and vocals: (female) singers who sang with a slight accent, such as Caterina Valente, had their finest hour during this period.¹²⁵

Among orchestral musicians, on the other hand, colleagues from abroad were unwelcome, and the same was generally true of anything new or foreign. The DOV saw itself as the 'custodian of tradition', viewing the works of Beethoven, Brahms and Bruckner as an elementary constituent of German cultural orchestras. Aesthetic Germanomania (*Deuschtümelei*), which dated back to the nineteenth century but continued to make an impact during the Nazi era without much conscious awareness on the part of musicians, was joined by a defensive attitude towards labour market policy. In April 1957, for example, Voss alerted the federal government and the Convention of Municipal Authorities that there was 'already significant foreign infiltration of German theatrical and musical life'.¹²⁶ Considered in light of the 88 non-German musicians employed by the 94 cultural orchestras in Germany around that time, this was an extraordinary claim.¹²⁷

The Orchestra Union took a particularly hard line on a group of musicians who had fled in the wake of the Hungarian uprising of 1956 and settled in Marl, Westphalia, as the *Philharmonia Hungarica*. In late 1958, Voss warned the State Labour Office in Düsseldorf against allowing these musicians, who had since been stranded in Austria, to enter the country, as the DOV would in any case refuse to approve a work permit out of 'consideration for the interests of German orchestras'.¹²⁸ It was in fact only in the summer of the same year that

125 Grotum, T., 'Die Bill-Haley-Tournee 1958. "Rock 'n' Roll Panic" in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', in B. Mrozek et al. (eds.), *Popgeschichte*, vol. 2: *Historische Fallstudien 1958–1988*, Bielefeld 2014, 19–40, here 15; on the hit, see Schildt and Siegfried, *Kulturgeschichte*, 108 f.

126 'Voss an Bundesministerium für Arbeit, 30.4.1957', *VN DOV* May 1957, 16.

127 See the table in *Musikberufe und ihr Nachwuchs. Statistische Erhebungen des Deutschen Musikrates*, edited by H. Saß and W. Wiora, Mainz 1962, 123.

128 'Voss an Landesarbeitsamt Düsseldorf, 24.11.1958', *VN DOV* Dec. 1958, 29.

employment opportunities for non-German artists had been restricted by the Ministry of Labour and tied, among other things, to a hearing by the competent social partners.¹²⁹ In this case, the DOV's resistance was of no avail, but even after the first concerts, in March 1959, by the refugee orchestral musicians – who received funds from the Rockefeller Foundation and the federal government in addition to municipal subsidies – the Orchestra Union made life difficult for them.¹³⁰ And Marl was not an isolated case. A few years later, a call was issued to all orchestra musicians to collate and send in material on guest performances by foreign orchestras in Germany; especially in small towns, these were said to pose an increasing 'threat to the local and long-established cultivation of music'.¹³¹

This personnel-focused and aesthetic Germanomania contributed to a paradox: the professional image of the classical orchestral musician lost some of its appeal just as it was shining more brightly than ever in social and economic terms. It is true that there were other reasons for the much-lamented shortage of young talent: the economic miracle, which opened up more lucrative career paths, the reintroduction of compulsory military service and the low birth rate due to the war. But the main argument put forward by the DOV, namely that the shortage of up-and-coming musicians was due to orchestra musicians still being paid too little, failed to address the real problem. For much of the post-war generation, the classical music world made an old-fashioned and stuffy impression compared to jazz, blues and beat music. It was certainly no coincidence that the number of students studying violin, viola and horn at conservatoires declined, all instruments that played no role in the popular musical genres. At the same time, the electric guitar came onto the market. It exercised great appeal to young people, initiated the transition to the age of rock and pop and ultimately put the seal on the estrangement between the worlds of popular and classical music.¹³²

129 See 'Arbeitserlaubnispflicht für ausländische Künstler', *ibid.* July/Aug. 1958, 11–13; see also Rempe, 'Globalisierung', 214 f.

130 See 'DOV an Bundespressechef Felix von Eckhardt', undated, *ibid.* June 1959, 13 f.; 'Philharmonia Hungarica an Das Orchester, 14.6.1960', *ibid.* July/Aug. 1960, 21.

131 'Gastspiele ausländischer Orchester und Solisten in der Bundesrepublik und in West-Berlin', *ibid.* March 1962, 16.

132 See Karl H. Wörner, 'Orchesternachwuchs – Problem Nr. 1', *Das Orchester* no. 10, 1957, 279 f. In the case of violin, enrolment fell from 674 to 530 between 1953 and 1960, even though the number of training institutes increased from 23 to 33 during the same period; see Deutscher Musikrat, *Gefahren für das deutsche Musikleben und Wege zu ihrer Überwindung*, Hamburg 1964, 43. On the fascination exercised by the electric guitar, see Siegfried, D., "'... Als explodierte gerade ein Elektrizitätswerk". Klang und Revolte in der Bundesrepublik um 1968', *ZF/SCH* no. 8, 2011, 239–259, here 249 f.

Thus, the instrument-based divergence between classical and popular music, which had begun in the Weimar Republic, did not make its full impact on professional training until the early decades of West Germany. It was not long before the German Music Council (*Deutscher Musikrat*), founded in 1953, which was the German section of the International Music Council and a self-appointed 'top organization', sounded the alarm. 'Threats to German Musical Life and Ways of Overcoming Them' was the fittingly dramatic title of the memorandum submitted by this body to federal, state and local governments in 1964. The thrust of this document was that it was vital to revive the cultivation of classical music through government policies on schools and teacher training, amateur music and professional training, and not least on professional practice and international relations. From now on, the priority was to save Germany's reputation – supposedly seriously at risk – as the 'promised land' of music.¹³³

At the Crossroads

In 1962, on the tenth anniversary of the DOV, the alarm bells had already begun to ring. 'At the moment, Germany is still leading the way and unequalled in its orchestral culture', contended Hermann Voss, but he immediately added that music was 'all that the people of "poets and thinkers" have left of their pre-eminence in the fields of art and science'. The union's manager, virtually anticipating the memorandum issued by the Music Council, left no doubt that, unlike in the past, this 'global renown' was no longer a matter of course.¹³⁴ Towards the end of the same year, the Beatles made another guest appearance at Hamburg's Star Club before an exuberant and enthusiastic audience. They also played 'Roll Over Beethoven' there for the first time, a cover of the song by American rock 'n' roll legend Chuck Berry.¹³⁵

133 See Deutscher Musikrat, *Gefahren*; Applegate and Potter, 'Identity'. One of the first practical measures was the holding of the Youth Making Music (*Jugend musiziert*) competition in 1963–64, in which 3,300 young people took part; on this and on the foundation of the Music Council, see Sass, H., 'Der Weg des Deutschen Musikrates zu seiner nationalen und internationalen Wirksamkeit. Die ersten 20 Jahre', in Sass, H. and A. Eckhardt (eds.), *40 Jahre Deutscher Musikrat. Auftrag und Verwirklichung*, Regensburg 1993, 21–32, here 29.

134 Voss, H., 'Ansprache, 14.6.1962', in *Schwindende Geltung der deutschen Musikkultur. Eine Denkschrift zur Situation des musikalischen Bildungswesens und der Musikpflege in Deutschland*, edited by DOV and Deutscher Komponistenverband, n. p. 1962, 52.

135 As documented by the record *The Beatles Live! at the Star-Club in Hamburg, Germany 1962*. See Gottfridsson, H. O., *The Beatles: From Cavern to Star-Club*, Stockholm 1997, 156 and 379–383.

There can be no doubt that around 1960 the worlds of classical and popular music were further apart than ever before. The former was in crisis while the latter was on the upswing and well on the way to emancipating itself from the dominant art music. Unlike in the past, moreover, representatives of high culture ignored popular music. The Music Council memorandum made no mention at all of hits, jazz, rock 'n' roll or beat music and thus left one of the main causes of its own crisis unspoken. The leading organization in German musical life was in denial about the fact that young people were drawn to these musical genres, and it certainly felt no responsibility for this area of musical life. The council thus hardened the institutional hostility between a publicly funded, state-sponsored art music sector and a largely privately organized popular music business.¹³⁶

The profession of performing musicians was also at a crossroads around 1960, not least because of the divergent development of instruments. The serious and popular halves of the next musical generation were to have far less to do with each other professionally than those setting the tone around this time. For the time being, however, it was not this dividing line that chiefly characterized the profession. Instead, the key point of contrast was the type of employment relationship, combined with the way in which musicians perceived their work itself at the intersection of art, play and labour.

Beyond aesthetics, then, four types of musicians can be identified after 1945: first, the non-autonomous permanent employees who carried out their 'duties' in symphony and entertainment orchestras as routinely as other workers clocked in at the factory; second, the partly non-autonomous, partly autonomous permanent employees who, in addition to their work in the orchestra or other firm engagements, also pursued their own projects, sometimes in a different musical genre, in which they could achieve a greater degree of artistic self-realization; third, freelance musicians who consciously forwent a permanent position and thus had the greatest leeway to combine art, play and labour in their musical activities; and fourth and finally, freelance musicians of necessity or, more simply, the unemployed. While the fourth type largely exited the profession in the course of the 1950s, the same period was the first two types' finest hour. The purposely freelance musicians, if they did not already belong to the thin stratum of stars, almost always worked in subcultural scenes while speculating on the prospect of being discovered one day.¹³⁷

136 See Deutscher Musikrat, *Gefahren*, 9.

137 On the first two types, see also Erd, 'Organisationsprobleme', 144 f. On the intersection between the second and third types, see the contemporary text by Becker, H. S., 'The

The strong position of salaried orchestra musicians, across genres, was ultimately due in part to various legacies of Nazism. In terms of personnel, Hermann Voss determined the fate of orchestral musicians like no one else in that era, improving their socio-economic position through collective bargaining and by enforcing performers' rights. Institutionally, popular music in West Germany remained closely linked to radio and its public service broadcasters. The resulting entertainment orchestras also exhibited continuities of personnel, while concurrently ensuring their musicians a privileged position compared to their freelance colleagues.

In addition to war, expulsion and extermination, the profession's music-policy neglect under Nazism also contributed to a significant easing of labour market conditions after 1945, before persistent failures in the traditional education system culminated in the crisis discourse of the early 1960s. In terms of aesthetics, finally, cultural nationalism persisted, and popular music remained under the influence of the public service broadcasters. For the German bourgeoisie and especially for musicians employed in cultural orchestras, classical music advanced to the status of patriotic lifeline and cultural haven, while the radio stations acted as musical gatekeepers. Of course, the roots of these aesthetic dispositions stretch further back in time. But the opportunity to move beyond them was squandered.

Professional Dance Musician and its Audience', *The American Journal of Sociology* no. 57, 1951, 136–144; see also Rempe, *Orchesterlandschaft*.

Conclusion: Musicians' Lives as Creative Work

In his 1966 memoir-like book *The Business of Music: Reflections of a Music Publisher*, Ernst Roth commented on the social position of performing musicians in the past: 'The ordinary musician was a proletarian, badly educated and badly paid.' In contrast, he underlined 'the commanding position they now hold in the musical hierarchy. Growing professionalism and, in its train, growing perfection have given them a sense of purpose and pride such as they never knew before'. Without them, Roth was sure, the entire music business would grind to a halt: 'In the face of technological progress there grew up in some quarters the fear that the live musician might eventually become dispensable, but the very opposite has happened: there are more professional musicians than ever before, they are more urgently needed and they are more proficient.'¹

Roth not only had top talent in Germany in mind. He meant the entire group of performing musicians: 'star conductors, singers, instrumentalists, down to the humblest musicians in the humblest dance-band' in 'most countries'. Having covered a lot of ground during his life, Roth was in a position to know. Born in 1896 in Prague, where he had also grown up, he began his work as a music publisher in Vienna before anti-Jewish policies forced him to flee to the United Kingdom following the 'Anschluss' of Austria in March 1938. In London, he first worked for Boosey & Hawkes, a renowned music publisher where he quickly rose to a management position. There he was tasked, among other things, with acquiring international rights, and he also helped set up branches in Paris and Bonn when the war was over.²

Roth's explanation for the ascent of the music profession was short and crisp: the key was union organization. Musicians had 'fixed minimum wages and maximum working-hours; they strike to enforce their demands and generally like to emulate other workers in their industries'. The publisher conceded that this seemed disconcerting because 'enthusiasm [for music] should be above timetables and collective bargaining'. But Roth also showed understanding for this approach. The 'greed' for ever more music, he believed, would destroy performing musicians if they failed to defend themselves.³

1 Roth, E., *The Business of Music: Reflections of a Music Publisher*, New York 1969, 47.

2 See Fetthauer, S., 'Ernst Roth', in *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, edited by C. Maurer-Zenck and P. Petersen, Hamburg 2006, URL: www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001407.

3 Roth, E., *Musik als Kunst und Ware. Betrachtungen und Begegnungen eines Musikverlegers*, Zurich 1966, 55f.

Looking back over the analysis of musicians' lives in Germany presented in this book, certain aspects of Roth's description sound familiar: the once poor pay and inadequate education, adaptation to changing technologies and the narrative of social advancement in general. Other elements, meanwhile, are jarring. In reality, ordinary dance bands struggled in West Germany, very few performers identified with industrial workers, and strikes had ceased to be relevant at least since the aftermath of the currency reform. Roth had spotlighted the broad contours of the musical landscape and, on the basis of his extensive experience with lifeworlds in different countries, drew an eclectic portrait of the music profession that makes it seem more powerful than it really was.

In contrast – in what I hope to be a more nuanced way – I now summarize my main findings in the form of ten key propositions, placing what we have learned in an international context that throws the contours of musicians' lives in Germany into sharp relief.⁴ The history of the music profession, one of relative advancement, provides a number of insights that shed new light on the structures of German musical life. Significant among them is the recognition that a quite specific self-conception became broadly established among musicians in Germany, one located at the crossroads of art, play and labour. I conclude the book by making certain inferences from this finding about future research on the history of creative work.

1. Musicians in Germany operated within a fairly unprofessional field until 1850. In this respect, they were not much different from their colleagues in the rest of Europe or in the United States. On both sides of the Atlantic, and here Ernst Roth was quite right, musicians came mainly from the lower social classes, precisely because this field of work had yet to develop the unambiguous hallmarks of a profession. There were no clear educational trajectories, few opportunities for lucrative jobs and even fewer for secure positions, while –

4 International contextualization should not be confused with a systematic comparison of countries, which is neither my goal in this book nor achievable within its framework. Geographically, this contextualization is geared towards the current state of research, with the United States and United Kingdom in particular being well studied, along with France and the GDR to a somewhat lesser extent. Where possible, I supplement this focus, which also makes sense in terms of the history of transfers, with insights from other countries. See also Levsen, S. and C. Torp, 'Die Bundesrepublik und der Vergleich', in Levsen, S. and C. Torp (eds.), *Wo liegt die Bundesrepublik? Vergleichende Perspektiven auf die westdeutsche Geschichte*, Göttingen 2014, 9–28, here esp. 17–19; for a more critical take, see Patel, K. K., 'Ex comparatione lux: Fazit', in S. Levsen and C. Torp (eds.), *Wo liegt die Bundesrepublik? Vergleichende Perspektiven auf die westdeutsche Geschichte*, Göttingen 2014, 295–313.

almost everywhere – there was an absence of bespoke professional organizations. Women, meanwhile, had virtually no opportunities to work as performing musicians.

It was only after around 1850 that the lives of musicians began to change enduringly due to advancing industrialization, growing migratory movements, the commercialization of musical life, the rise of nationalism and imperialism, and, not least, technological developments. Wherever these phenomena could be observed, fundamentally similar problems and challenges arose for the profession, though the response could differ substantially.

The development of the education system provided us with our first insight into the generally slow pace of musicians' professionalization after 1850. Despite all the advances in this area, in the nineteenth century, instrumental training in both Germany and the rest of Europe remained a fairly informal affair. In Europe around 1800, a higher education in music could be obtained only in Paris and Prague. The founding of the Leipzig Conservatoire in 1843 then acted as a catalyst that triggered numerous imitations. This was due in substantial part to the many international students who received lessons there and, after returning home, established institutes themselves.⁵ Hence, the development of the system of musical education, especially in the Anglophone countries, was closely linked to what was happening in Germany. Its appeal as a hub for the education of foreign students lasted into the late nineteenth century: Paris aside, the leading instrumental teachers of the time taught in Leipzig, Berlin and Munich. However, this should not obscure the fact that only a tiny fraction of German musicians was trained at these renowned institutes. In Germany, as in other countries, it was mostly private tuition, music lessons, private conservatoires and, last but not least, the armed forces that structured the educational market until the First World War, a market that was largely devoid of legal regulation.

II. Such market-like structures not only shaped the system of musical education. The law of supply and demand also determined the everyday working lives of musicians in the German Empire. The associated debate within the musical public sphere on 'musicians' plight' (*Musikerelend*), which intensified

5 The most famous institute still in existence today is the Oberlin Conservatory of Music in Ohio, which was established in 1865 by former Leipzig student John Paul Morgan. See Wasserloos, *Konservatorium*, 82–84. The Kneller Hall Military School of Music, which began teaching in 1857, was considered the most renowned British educational establishment. Although it had no connection to Leipzig, it was initially headed by German emigrant Henry Schallehn. See Rempe, 'Cultural Brokers'.

around 1900, resembled a lament of several stanzas, its themes unfair military competition, badly paid odd jobs and arduous seasonal work that even such distinguished institutions as court orchestras, especially the smaller ones, could not always evade. In Germany as elsewhere, during this period secure permanent positions were limited to a few larger court orchestras and a small number of municipal orchestras.

Hence, the German labour market was not fundamentally different from that in France, the United Kingdom or the United States, where the music scene in the nineteenth century was overwhelmingly populated by seasonally employed, freelance musicians and those occasional performers who did other work in addition to making music. The UK and the US did not subsidize musical institutions, while even France did so only on a very modest scale. There were hardly any permanent positions, and even in the main musical metropolises, musicians were often dependent on patrons and musical entrepreneurs.⁶

The fairly negligible differences between individual countries are also evident in the high rate of mobility among musicians from Germany in the final third of the nineteenth century. Even after 1871, they continued to migrate to the UK and the US, but also to Russia and Scandinavia, precisely because musical life in the German Empire was structured every bit as much by the rules of the market as in other parts of the world – and to a far greater degree than is often assumed. The unique German orchestral landscape, which until recently was to be designated as intangible world cultural heritage by UNESCO, thus emerged from these market structures. By no means was it exclusively the product, as has often been claimed, of a nebulous, longstanding musical tradition of aristocratic patronage and bourgeois passion for music.⁷

III. This is also apparent in the fact that musicians did not let their precarious work situation stop them from making sustained efforts to build up

6 See Weber, W., 'The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700–1914', in Weber, W. (ed.), *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, Bloomington, IN 2004, 3–24; Chimènes, M., *Mécènes et musiciens: du salon au concert à Paris sous la IIIe République*, Paris 2004; Pasler, J., *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France*, Berkeley 2009; McVeigh, S., 'A Free Trade in Music: London during the Long 19th Century in a European Perspective', *JMEH* no. 5, 2007, 67–94; Russell, D., 'Musicians in the English Provincial City: Manchester, c. 1860–1914', in C. Bashford and L. Langley (eds.), *Music and British Culture, 1785–1914*, Oxford 2000, 233–253; Spitzer, J., 'The Ubiquity and Diversity of Nineteenth-Century American Orchestras', in Spitzer, J. (ed.), *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*, Chicago 2012, 19–23.

7 The German Commission for UNESCO withdrew the application because a rejection of the intergovernmental committee was on the horizon.

this orchestral landscape. Certainly, nobility and bourgeoisie also played an important role in this process: ideologically, the profuse musical discourse of the educated middle class had a great impact. From the late eighteenth century onwards, this discourse never tired of emphasizing the uniqueness and greater validity of autonomous music, especially by German composers. In other countries, thanks in part to German migrant musicians, very similar aesthetic hierarchies gained traction, but without becoming as dominant as in Germany.⁸ The large symphony orchestras founded by German princes, meanwhile, provided an object lesson in what a permanently employed musician's life might look like – an ideal devoid of real-world instantiations in other countries into the twentieth century.

In Germany, however, from the final third of the nineteenth century onwards, this ideal was not only sporadically emulated by municipal administrations with an affinity for culture, but also inspired musicians themselves to take action. Their lobbying for better working conditions and for private or partially subsidized orchestras to be placed in municipal hands, which became more intense around 1900, has been largely overlooked so far. Even before the First World War, these efforts fell on increasingly fertile soil among the urban bourgeoisie, despite a degree of hesitancy. This finding places a question mark over the idea that the educated middle class played the major role in the development of orchestras. Carl Dahlhaus had already described this stratum as 'resistant to expert musical knowledge' and ultimately captive to a purely emotional aesthetic. The present study also suggests that there was less bourgeois commitment to sustained municipal support for music than has been generally assumed.⁹

iv. If musicians' lobbying from below in pursuit of their interests has been underestimated, then the same is true of the role of military music. Due to its own unprecedented expansion after 1871, it made a significant contribution to the extensive reservoir of musicians out of which the diverse orchestral landscape was ultimately formed. Here, too, we can discern a feature specific to the German Empire in both qualitative and quantitative terms. Around 1880, it already had 360 military bands, about 160 more than France; the UK had less than half as many at 175, Spain 94 and the US just 46. By 1914, the number of such bands in the German Empire had grown to almost 600, while it remained

8 On the United States, see Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*; on France, see Pasler, *Citizen*, 82–93.

9 Dahlhaus, C., 'Das deutsche Bildungsbürgertum und die Musik', in R. Koselleck (ed.), *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2: *Bildungsgüter und Bildungswissen*, Stuttgart 1990, 220–236, here 232.

stable in France and possibly even declined in the UK.¹⁰ In short, due to the expansion of military music, Germany produced many more musicians than other countries, partly because this career path and the concomitant granting of a *Zivilversorgungsschein*, which guaranteed holders a government job, held much appeal for the lower classes.

The qualitative dimension of German military music was just as important. Ever since Wieprecht's reforms, it had stretched its musical feelers far beyond marching music, and under the German Empire it even seriously sought to produce art music. The musicians were trained accordingly. Military music thus fulfilled key educational functions, prepared musician-soldiers for every conceivable assignment in later civilian musical life, and concurrently helped popularize bourgeois music discourse among the less educated classes. It was civil musicians that paid the price. By 1914, they had achieved no more than a few minor victories against the military competition.

v. Analysis of musicians' lifeworlds shows that the highly subsidized German cultural state came to full bloom during the Weimar Republic and not before. Crucially, this occurred before the advent of Nazism. This insight, which at first glance seems surprising given the economic crisis by which the republic was gripped, is not only backed up by a doubling in the number of publicly operated orchestras to almost 100 in the course of the 1920s. Also crucial here are the consequences of the First World War, in which civilian musicians became war profiteers due to the increased demand for music at both front and home front. They attained greater social recognition, which they continued to enjoy under the republic. This had much to do with the fact that, at the moment of defeat, music, especially German art music, became a powerful symbol of national greatness, one revered, across party lines, by all camps in the fragmented republic.

Overall, then, musicians were the recipients of a remarkable democratization dividend. Whether we think of politicians' promises of continuity or pledges to cultivate musical traditions, proposals for cultural policy reforms or the development of radio broadcasting; instrumentalists invariably benefited because existing orchestras were taken into public hands and new ones were established. The inflationary crises of the early Weimar Republic did not hinder the continuous expansion of subsidized musical life in Germany. It

10 See Kalkbrenner, A., *Die Organisation der Militärmusikchöre aller Länder*, Hannover 1884, 193; Raucoules, A., *De la musique et des militaires*, Paris 2008, 31 f.; Herbert, T. and H. Barlow, *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 2013, 65; here a figure of 140 British military bands is given for 1894.

took the global economic crisis to halt this expansion of the cultural state, something that no other country at the time even came close to emulating.

VI. Nazi music policy gave decisive impetus to the specialization of the music profession, that is, to the rise of the 'entertainment musician' and 'orchestral musician', and thus helped advance the institutional separation of serious and popular music in Germany. While the Nazis did comparatively little to expand the orchestral landscape – other than by incorporating and occupying territory – they were responsible for the aesthetic that ties symphony orchestras exclusively to high-cultural music. Through the abolition of civil servant status, the Employment Regulations for Cultural Orchestras (*Tarifordnung für Kulturorchester* or TOK) worsened the position of future orchestra musicians and serve as an example of the way in which the well-being of civil musicians as a whole took a back seat to military music in the Nazi state. This was also linked to the construction of a social and aesthetic hierarchy, one that placed orchestral musicians undisputedly at the top of the profession.

But the process of musical specialization had begun well before 1933. It also had other driving forces, such as the development of popular music. With the rise of jazz, for example, an import from the United States that conquered all of Europe in the course of the First World War, for the first time certain musical instruments such as the drum set and the banjo gained popularity that were only used to a limited extent or not at all in symphony orchestras. At first, however, jazz did not displace older forms of popular music, either in Germany or other European countries. Instead, it ushered in a phase of the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous in which popular music split into a more progressive and a more traditional branch. From a purely technical point of view, the latter branch remained far more similar to the art music world than did jazz and subsequent musical genres, which relied on new instruments, learning by doing and improvisation, while generally placing greater emphasis on the performative.

It must also be recognized that Nazi music policy explicitly sought to stymie this musical evolution. The measures taken against jazz and the efforts made to foster high-quality 'German' popular music, which were informed by notions of a unified musical culture sustained by the entire *Volksgemeinschaft* or 'National Community', were consciously intended to thwart any further separation of musical worlds. Last but not least, in musical life as elsewhere, the regime prioritized policies targeting Jews and opponents of the regime. And yet in the long term, it was the professional and aesthetic hierarchization of musical life inscribed in the cultural orchestra concept that made the greatest impact on musicians' lives in Germany. This development stands out in com-

parison to the experimentalist 1920s, when, despite the expansion of the cultural state, art and popular music drew on one another in a diverse range of ways and professional grey areas such as silent film flourished. Ultimately, the TOK fortified the educated middle class's traditional claim – dating back to the nineteenth century – to musical hegemony and, with this backward-looking focus, contributed to the ambivalence of Nazi modernism.¹¹

The long-term effects of this policy can be seen in the newly founded German Orchestra Union's post-1945 embrace of these regulations and in the way it used them productively to the benefit of its clientele. While the concept of an orchestral culture subsidized with public funds had been an axiomatic feature of German musical life since the Weimar Republic, the DOV cemented the cultural orchestra idea and thus serious music's unequivocal claim to leadership as well as reinforcing its clear boundary with the world of popular music. This tradition lived on in East Germany as well, though its orchestral landscape was much diminished in the course of the 1950s and 1960s due to rationalization and the TOK itself was not adopted. Nonetheless, with seventy-five state-funded orchestras, the GDR was still able to claim the highest density of orchestras in the world relative to its population, much to the chagrin of some West German music officials. If we also factor in the ruling socialist elite's sometimes rigorous measures to curtail jazz and other Western influences in the field of popular music, the music policy legacy of Nazism had an even more enduring impact in the GDR.¹²

Hence, from an international comparative perspective, the highly subsidized cultural orchestra landscape, including the underlying desire for aesthetic distinction, developed into a unique characteristic of Germany's musical lifeworld. Government subsidies for orchestras in other Western countries were only granted from the 1930s onwards, and they merely complemented entrepreneurial and civil society-based models of orchestral funding.¹³ In the United States, such public funds served as a limited form of job creation under the New Deal, while in the UK and France fully subsidized orchestras first emerged with the expansion of the public radio broadcasters. These countries' orchestral landscapes certainly grew over the course of the twentieth century, but this happened on a much smaller scale than in Germany. The political eco-

11 For a summary, see Bavaj, *Ambivalenz*, 153–163.

12 See Allmendinger, J. et al., 'Life and Work in Symphony Orchestras', *The Musical Quarterly* no. 80, 1996, 194–219, here 196 f.; Prieberg, F. K., *Musik im anderen Deutschland*, Cologne 1968, 321–325 and 338 f.; Poiger, *Jazz*, 150–167.

13 One exception was the Concertgebouworkest, Amsterdam, which gained municipal support in 1910 and came under government control seven years later. See Borris, S., *Die großen Orchester. Eine Kulturgeschichte*, Hamburg 1969, 273 f.

nomies of the Anglophone countries, moreover, were more market-oriented and conditions of employment were correspondingly insecure.¹⁴ In the United States, to take just one example, this had changed little even by the 1960s. Hellmut Stern, a German Jew who had fled to China from the Nazis in 1938 at the age of ten, could tell you a thing or two about that. He reached the United States in late 1956 via a circuitous route and found a seasonal job with the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra for eight months a year; longer, let alone permanent positions were still the absolute exception in the United States at the time.¹⁵

Due to the far greater market dependency of US-American and British orchestras, the aesthetic gap also remained much narrower in the US and UK than in Germany. The term and concept of the cultural orchestra, then, was never to find its way into musicians' lifeworld in these countries. Their reservations about popular music were significantly less pronounced than those of German orchestral musicians. Hellmut Stern experienced this too in St. Louis and drew his own conclusions: when a concert featuring 'pop artist' Paul Anka, as Stern called the teen heartthrob, was in the offing, he had a creeping sensation of being in the wrong place. In 1961, he returned to Germany and joined the Berlin Philharmonic.¹⁶

VII. In the United States, Stern had played with women as a matter of course. In Berlin, in contrast, he encountered an all-male orchestra.¹⁷ The professional world of music in Germany did in fact long remain a man's world, and the increase in the number of women in symphony orchestras and in other music ensembles began much later than in the UK or US. Until the final quarter of the nineteenth century, female musicians had almost always faced resistance when they wished to perform in public, the only exceptions being outstanding soloists. The dominant conception of women's role provided for female musicians playing certain instruments, such as harp and piano, and limited music-making to the private milieu as mere play. Only a career as a music teacher was increasingly accepted in all countries. But according to prevailing notions of gender, women musicians did not belong on stage. In line

14 See Hart, *Orpheus*, 351 f.; Ehrlich, *Profession*, 207 f. and 227 f.; Chimènes, *République*, 510 f.

15 In 1965, four symphony orchestras granted annual contracts. It was not until a year later, when the Ford Foundation donated 85 million US dollars, that a larger number of orchestra musicians gained the prospect of permanent positions. See Seltzer, *Music Matters*, 102 f.

16 See Stern, H., *Saitensprünge. Erinnerungen eines leidenschaftlichen Kosmopoliten*, Berlin 2007, 194 f.

17 It was not until 1982 that the first woman was admitted. See Trümpi, *Political Orchestra*, 82.

with this, all-women ensembles, of the kind that emerged in growing numbers around the turn of the century, had a poor reputation, especially in middle-class circles.

In contrast to the UK, where female musicians began to fight for the right to perform after 1900 and soon achieved their first successes, there were no signs of such struggles in the German Empire. On the other side of the English Channel, the First World War served many women as a springboard for a career on stage or in the orchestra pit; in Germany, despite large numbers of vacancies, women musicians continued to be left out in the cold.¹⁸ And even during the era of the Weimar Republic, despite advances in the field of political rights, there were very few improvements in professional equality within musical life, while in the United States women musicians were increasingly admitted at least to smaller symphony orchestras. In addition, numerous all-female symphony orchestras put up serious competition for their male colleagues in the US, and women increasingly found employment in the cinema, chiefly as pianists and organists.¹⁹

There was a range of reasons for the ongoing gender-based exclusion in Germany. Due to the presence of military music, there was far more intense competition on the musical labour market than in other countries. Then there was the far from friendly, male-dominated working environment. Both factors made the prospect of a career as an orchestral musician look anything but rosy for women. Furthermore, during the First World War and after, male civilian musicians had no compunction about protecting their territory, newly conquered from military musicians, against new competition from women. It is hardly surprising that the Nazi state tended to make the situation of female musicians worse still. What is remarkable is that even the pop music revolution did little to change gender relations within the profession. On the contrary, the world of popular music initially saw the consolidation of entrenched gender roles, with male stars on stage and female fans on the dance floor, though this trend was also observable in the pop hubs of the United Kingdom and the United States.²⁰

18 See Ehrlich, *Profession*, 188 f.

19 See Ammer, C., *Unsung: A History of Women in American Music*, Portland 2001, 118–127; Kraft, *Stage*, 45.

20 See Poiger, U. G., 'Popkultur und Geschlechternormen. Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit in der Bonner Republik', in B. Mrozek and A. Geisthövel (eds.), *Popgeschichte*, vol. 1: *Konzepte und Methoden*, Bielefeld 2014, 57–78; Cohen, S., 'Men Making a Scene: Rock Music and the Production of Gender', in S. Whiteley (ed.), *Sexing the Groove: Popular Music and Gender*, London 1997, 17–36.

Thus, from an international perspective, German symphony orchestras in particular continued to go their own way after 1945: even in the wake of the crisis triggered by the dearth of young talent, which began in the 1950s, the hiring of women increased only very haltingly. Essentially, then, an exclusionary, 'fraternal' alliance among men perpetuated the tradition of male orchestras in Germany across all political systems. How effectively this alliance defended its bastion into the 1980s is once again even more evident in East Germany, where women were more integrated into the labour market in every conceivable occupational field than in West Germany – except in orchestras. In 1990, they made up just 13 percent of large symphony orchestras in both east and west, and no more than a fifth of smaller orchestras. Though there was resistance to be overcome in the Anglophone countries too, female instrumentalists were much further ahead there.²¹

VIII. Ultimately, a form of interest group prevailed in Germany that advocated exclusively on behalf of salaried musicians and was firmly in the hands of orchestral musicians dedicated to art music. In this respect, too, the profession took a different path than its counterparts in the UK, France and the US. When the organization of the profession began in the final third of the nineteenth century, however, it was the similarities between all four countries that initially stood out. Wherever professional associations were founded during that period, the main objective was greater regulation of the labour market, which was perceived as distorted due to military music and the rampant mobility and migration of musicians.²²

21 In the UK, 26 percent of staff in large orchestras and 38 percent in smaller orchestras were women; in the US, the figures were 24 and 52 percent respectively. See Allmendinger et al., 'Symphony', 207–209. For the essentials on the GDR and an equally critical view of the notion of a more progressive gender order there, see Budde, G., *Frauen der Intelligenz. Akademikerinnen in der DDR 1945–1975*, Göttingen 2003; on developments in the United States, see also Seltzer, *Music Matters*, 211–219.

22 See David-Guillou, A., 'Early Musicians' Unions in Britain, France, and the United States: On the Possibilities of Transnational Militant Transfers in an International Industry', *Labour History* no. 74, 2009, 288–304. On France, see Fauquet, J.-M., 'Le début du syndicalisme musical en France. L'art et l'action', in H. Dufourt and Fauquet, J.-M. (eds.), *La musique: Du théorique au politique*, Paris 1991, 219–261; on Portugal, see Silva, M. D., 'Are Musicians "Ordinary Workers"? Labor Organization and the Question of "Artistic Value" in the First Years of the Portuguese Musicians' Class Association: 1909–1913', *Popular Music and Society* no. 40, 2017, 518–538. In the AFM, the latter problem even extended to the free movement of US-American musicians. For a time, they were only allowed to play at venues outside their place of residence if they handed over part of their fee to the local union branch. This effectively compensated local colleagues for the loss of a potential engagement. See Seltzer, *Music Matters*, 19–21.

Like professional organizations in other countries, the General German Musicians' Union struggled from the outset with internal conflicts and break-aways – engendered by the tensions inherent in musical activities located at the intersection of art, play and labour. Whether it was the aesthetically like-minded getting together on an exclusive basis, professional musicians seeking to differentiate themselves from laypeople, or all those who performed music banding together to form organizations: all these types of association and the corresponding conflicts between various bodies were general phenomena within the profession, while the debate on whether musicians should look to make their voices heard through 'red' (striking) or 'yellow' (business-friendly) associations was similarly ubiquitous.²³

Yet in Germany and elsewhere, at least after the First World War, the models that initially prevailed were inclusive, admitting musicians of all kinds, using industrial action to assert their interests and pursuing no particular aesthetic agenda.²⁴ This again underlines the point that the specialization of musicians into different musical styles and the division of the profession into contrasting musical worlds was not yet far advanced in the interwar period. This lack of differentiation was due, on the one hand, to the structural constraints of the labour market and, on the other, to the exceptional boom in silent films, in which the musical skills required ultimately spanned the categories of serious and popular music. Silent film cinemas were in fact probably the largest employer of musicians in the 1920s both in Germany and globally.²⁵

Against this background, the fact that orchestral musicians in Germany nonetheless eventually split off to form their own organization undoubtedly reflected the expansion of the cultural state in the 1920s and the introduction of the Employment Regulations for Cultural Orchestras under Nazism. But it was not the separation between the serious and popular music worlds that was ultimately decisive to their going it alone but the hostility between freelance and permanently employed musicians. After 1945, the newly formed German Musicians' Union became bogged down in outdated debates, prompting permanently employed instrumentalists of all genres to abandon solidarity with

23 See Grégoire, M., 'Closing the Market as the Only Protection? Trade Unions and the Labor Market in the French Performing Arts Industry from 1919 to 1937', *Sociologie du travail* vol. 52S, 2010, e40–e63.

24 Austria is an exception. Its *Musikerverband* conducted aptitude tests from 1926 onwards and there was also a League of Non-Professional Musicians (*Bund der Nichtberufsmusiker*). See Schinko, 'Musikerberuf', 154 f.

25 In the United States, half of all full-time musicians were employed by cinemas, while in the UK cinemas' share of all payments for musical work was at times as high as 80 percent. See Kraft, *Stage*, 33; Ehrlich, *Profession*, 199.

their freelance colleagues and found their own, exclusive organization in the shape of the German Orchestra Union. The rivalry with the Musicians' Union soon worked itself out to the DOV's advantage. First, the Musicians' Union sidelined itself through an embezzlement scandal. Second, it struggled to bring any prominent, popular members into its fold because the best, musically flexible entertainment musicians had found a home at the radio orchestras and, thanks to fixed contracts, were able to switch allegiance to the DOV. Hence, the close liaison between radio broadcasters and popular music – which the Nazi regime had forged and then accelerated during the war – continued to have an effect in West Germany and helped ensure that freelance musicians no longer had a chance against the cross-genre alliance of the permanently employed. Around 1960, they were effectively left without a representative body.

At its core, the DOV's exclusivist orientation was underpinned by the view that only permanently employed instrumentalists were purveyors of artistically valuable music. By linking these two elements, the organized profession in Germany developed in a significantly different way, both ideologically and practically, than, for example, in the UK and US. In both these countries, inclusive, unified trade unions were able to establish themselves that made room for every kind of musician who charged a fee for their music, from professional orchestra members to part-time guitarists in cover bands. Of course, there were conflicts in these countries too. The American Federation of Musicians, for example, was involved in severe industrial strife in the early 1960s arising from orchestral musicians' dissatisfaction with their employment conditions. The federation responded in a variety of ways, up to and including strike action. Unlike in Germany, however, it proved possible to honour the symphony orchestras' special interests by establishing a subgroup within the federation. The solidarity between freelance and permanently employed musicians, as well as between the serious and popular music worlds, was thus retained.²⁶

From a sociology-of-professions perspective, then, orchestral musicians in Germany were more successful than their Anglophone colleagues in the sense that they succeeded in closing ranks and pursuing their own specific interests. In the US and UK, conversely, far more instrumentalists remained active in musical life, especially in the world of musical entertainment. Just as a mass of musicians in the German Empire had helped expand the German orchestral landscape, a similar large group enhanced the creative potential of the Anglophone popular music world after 1945. The concomitant semi-professionalism

26 See Seltzer, *Music Matters*, 97–104; Hart, *Orpheus*, 109–119. On the British Musicians' Union, see Cloonan, 'Musicians'.

was financially attractive, socially integrative and aesthetically productive. Organized and socialized in this way, the large number of part-time musicians in the US and UK were a key prerequisite for their undisputed dominance in the dawning age of pop music.²⁷

By the same token, the weakened position of freelance musicians in Germany, alongside the radio broadcasters' gatekeeping role, was responsible for the fact that in Germany this musical world, despite exceptions in local subcultures, showed little dynamism. But even the world of classical music lost a certain artistic momentum with the demise of a 'free scene' (*freie Szene*), which was only given this name in the wake of its renaissance from the 1970s onwards. At any rate, this rediscovery of freelance (*freistehend*) or now explicitly 'self-employed' (*freischaffend*) musicians and other creative professionals found its clearest expression in the West German government's so-called *Artists' Report* (*Künstler-Report*) of 1975 and the resulting establishment of the Social Insurance Fund for Artists (*Künstlersozialkasse*) eight years later.²⁸

IX. In Germany, not just in the organized profession but also in the relationships between musicians and radio and the record industry, a concept of artistic achievement came to prevail, while Anglophone unions foregrounded solidarity among all musicians. In general, technological developments presented musicians in all countries with the same challenges. I have mentioned the global rise of the silent film, whose decline due to the invention of the sound film was just as sweeping. The Great Depression further exacerbated the situation, so that musicians' lives in the entire Western world had reached their nadir by around 1930. More fundamentally and over the longer term, however, the occupation was influenced by the spread of radio and records. These media created new employment opportunities, but the secondary music market that emerged as a result threatened to diminish the live sector and wipe out numerous jobs. There is no doubt that between 1930 and 1960 the number of full-time musicians in all Western countries decreased significantly.

There was thus little musicians could do to counter the triumphant advance of the new media. Their focus had to be on at least gaining some financial benefit; it was after all musicians who made recordings and radio broadcasts

27 Between 1940 and 1948, the membership of the US union increased from 135,000 to 231,000. See Seltzer, *Music Matters*, 54. In the UK, it rose from 8,000 in 1934 to 27,000 in 1950. See Ehrlich, *Profession*, 217. In West Germany, meanwhile, there were only 2,000 part-time musicians left in 1961. See table E in the appendix.

28 See Fohrbeck, K. and A. Johannes Wiesand, *The Social Status of the Artist in the Federal Republic of Germany*. Translated by Karen Roux-Nielsen. Bonn 1980, esp. 17f; see also Rempe, *Orchesterlandschaft*; Rempe, 'Zukunft'.

possible in the first place. The DOV pursued recognition by the state and legal system of individuals' copyright and performers' rights, and with the help of musician-friendly judges, performers were able to make individual claims for remuneration for their contributions to recordings. The money collected by the GVL, newly founded in 1959, thus chiefly benefited those who were already successful.

In the UK and the US, meanwhile, under pressure from the unions, the record companies paid into a fund that was also administered by the former. They did not distribute the money to their members individually, but used it to finance their appearances in schools, hospitals and parks. This served both the musicians who were taken on and the audience, which enjoyed free access to these events. In the UK, furthermore, the Musicians' Union achieved the enshrining of so-called 'needle time' despite opposition from the radio broadcasters: the latter could play records only during a certain portion of their programmes and had to devote the rest of their broadcasting time to live music.²⁹

The different approaches to the new media in the Anglophone world and Germany are noteworthy chiefly because the typical devotion to a market-based logic in the former and ties to the state in the latter was reversed in this case. In Germany, a focus on artistic output took hold, while the Anglophone countries pursued redistribution in order to create more employment. Hence, it was not different organizational logics that shaped the way musicians dealt with the new media but diverging conceptions of the profession – at the fraught interstices of art, play and labour.³⁰

x. Overall, the conclusion we can draw from all of this is that, over the long term, a specific self-image became dominant within the profession in Germany. There, musicians, regardless of musical genre, made a normatively charged idea of artistic achievement central to their work and thus cleaved to a genius-focused, ultimately irredeemable promise of creativity whose origins lay in the educated middle-class music discourse of the late eighteenth century. In addition, however, and this is crucial, there was also a great need for professionalization, which was expressed internally in the struggle for appropriate working conditions and externally in the laying down of clear boundaries with music-making competitors who did not take this activity 'seriously',

29 See Seltzer, *Music Matters*, 39–45; Hart, *Orpheus*, 106 f.; Williamson, 'Cooperation', 75–82.

30 See Gassert, P. and C. von Hodenberg, 'Medien. Manipulation und Markt', in C. Mauch and K. K. Patel (eds.), *Wettlauf um die Moderne. Die USA und Deutschland 1890 bis heute*, Munich 2008, 425–453.

that is, who pursued it 'merely' as a side-line or for fun. In essence, then, Germany came to be dominated by professional 'killjoys' who invoked high art in order to obtain secure employment.

We should certainly think carefully about the teleology inherent in this perspective and the extent of this dominance. The present study has attempted to show that professionalization was not a straightforward process, and that the self-image of musicians was repeatedly reconfigured at the fraught intersection of art, play and labour. Musicians only received greater social recognition around 1900 after they had to some degree relinquished their self-image as artists and placed greater emphasis on their role as professionals performing labour. Unlike artistic bohemians, who withdrew into a world that represented an alternative to bourgeois society, the music profession grappled with this society in an attempt to gain a place within it that it considered appropriate. The closer musicians came to the bourgeoisie in terms of their social position over the course of the twentieth century, the easier it was for them to return to their original professional self-image as artists. The dominance of this self-concept was repeatedly challenged by external factors. The Second World War, in particular, changed many musicians' lives radically, in many cases in a cruel way, pushing the artistic dimension into the background. Ultimately, the general dissemination of the notion of 'professional artistry' within the occupation did not cause other interpretations of musical activity at the interstices of art, play and labour to disappear completely, as we have seen, for example, with reference to the jazz scene of the 1950s.

Regardless of these crucial distinctions, the dominant self-image of professional musicians in Germany placed a stronger emphasis on the artistic and creative than elsewhere. For a large number of British and US-American musicians, any form of playing, whether artistic or trivial, represented work that should be appropriately rewarded. They tended to view musical creativity as an anthropological capability that was available to everyone as a resource or could at least be learned as a cultural technique.³¹ Professional artistry thus contrasted with ludic labour; what was regarded as a noble vocation in Germany, colleagues in the UK and the US often perceived more pragmatically as one form of work among others. A comparative view thus reveals that musicians related art, play and labour to one another productively but in different and sometimes paradoxical ways as they sought to build their lives and gain social recognition. The blend of these fine distinctions goes some way to explaining Ernst Roth's portrait of the musician as described at the start of this conclusion.

31 On this conception of creativity, see also Bröckling, *Entrepreneurial*, 102 f.

What more general conclusions does the present study allow us to draw about the history of creative work? First of all, the different self-conceptions we have discerned across space and time are in themselves a revealing empirical finding, because they draw attention to the historical contingency inscribed in the idea of creative work. In other words, there was not one but many routes by which this concept found its way into the present and achieved its current omnipresence. In contrast to the prevailing narrative, according to which (often idealized) countercultural, creative ways of life and behaviours typical of the artistic milieu diffused into the middle of society via the creativity discourse, this book has shown that musicians in Germany grappled with the field of tension between art, play and labour in far more complex ways, while proceeding along an intricate patchwork of pathways as they struggled to obtain fitting economic and social recognition for their work.³² It seems to me that one of the key tasks of future studies on the history of creative work should be to trace such paths and the understandings of creativity inscribed in them, including in related occupational fields, in order to explore how they have changed over time and to scrutinize the strategic intentions involved.

The present analysis has shown that creative work did not necessarily correlate with a desire for (greater) self-determination. The professional self-image articulated nothing in particular about how musicians worked or wanted to work: orchestral musicians who considered themselves to be the artistically highest-calibre members of the profession simultaneously advocated more than any other sub-group for a working environment that would enable them to benefit from a standard employment contract (*Normalarbeitsverhältnis*), that is, full-time employment on a permanent basis. They provide us with an object lesson revealing that the desire for a creative activity did not necessarily result in the pursuit of self-determination and independence. On the contrary, orchestral musicians managed to reconcile what seem at first glance to be conflicting needs for individual self-realization and a secure position within society. More, perhaps, than anyone else, entertainment musicians employed by radio stations epitomize this balancing of interests. Conversely, we have also seen that the army of freelance musicians at no point concluded that their often precarious position on the job market entailed any particular potential for creativity. Closely equivalent to today's powerful trope of the 'entrepreneurial self', they had 'freedom forced upon them'.³³ Dispassionately exposing such contradictions is another task that the history of creative work will increasingly have to face in the future.

32 On this narrative, see Reckwitz, *Invention*; Boltanski and Chiapello, *Capitalism*, esp. 38 f.
 33 Bröckling, *Entrepreneurial*, xi–xx; quotation on xiv.

My examination of everyday professional life has also shown how often creative aspirations and professional reality diverged, regardless of musical genre and form of employment. The work of musicians has always entailed activities that very few found creative, from the daily study of *études* to the performance of works that the musicians involved found uninspiring or had already played on many occasions. This kind of disenchantment, which most musicians encountered sooner or later in the course of their musical lives, was accompanied by new interpretations of their activities. These put the creative on the back burner and placed greater emphasis on work or 'duty' (*Dienst*), as orchestral musicians still self-evidently call the time spent in the orchestra pit or studio. In contrast to the audience, at times the production of the new was nothing new for its producers. This was undoubtedly true not only of music but of other areas of creative work as well. Only a non-normative approach to the history of the creative self allows us to discern its illusory aspects and, perhaps, the profoundly trivial everyday working practices in which it is compelled to engage.³⁴

Ultimately, the analysis of the musical lifeworld presented here has shown that creative work and the organization of collective interests were by no means mutually exclusive in the past. Regardless of certain teething problems and reservations, musicians owed their relative social advancement between 1900 and 1960 in substantial part to a form of professional organization that was at times quite powerful. There were many frictional losses and sometimes violent upheavals, among instrumentalists as well as between them and composers or music teachers, with all these groups pursuing their own professional projects. This heightened belligerence within the profession was an expression of intensified competition over the best skills, works, interpretations and shows, as typical of the creative professions. Regardless of this, musicians in the past managed to contain processes of individualization at least to the extent that the question of how one wanted to work in the future remained within a collective dialogic framework. Future research on the history of creative work will need to further explore the tension between the inherent drive towards individualism and the configuration of the socio-political parameters within which this drive plays itself out.

It seems to me that the greatest potential for insights into the present and future of creative work lies in the observation that a professional group such as musicians, one fundamentally inclined towards artistic individualism, managed to produce such powerful organizations representing its collective

34 See also Hagstrom Miller, 'Working Musicians'; Schürkmann, *Kunst in Arbeit*.

interests. Nowadays, of course, a normative and individualist understanding of creativity, based on the precept that one not only has to be creative, but also more creative than others, is far more dominant.³⁵ It would, moreover, be quite wrong to embrace the idea of a nostalgic return to 'social modernity', which in Germany, as apparent in the treatment of female musicians and freelancers, generated its own shortcomings.³⁶

A more constructive approach would be to link the evident surplus of creativity to the question of how and at what level we might better regulate the socio-economic prerequisites for and parameters of creative work. In Nashville's music scene, for example, US-American cultural sociologist Daniel B. Cornfield has recently identified what he calls 'artist activism'. According to him, this activism arose as a decidedly local reaction to the increasing individualization of risk in the music industry and – beyond the rigid regulations and cumbersome bureaucracy of national trade unions – aims to achieve professional self-determination, social inclusion on the ground and mutual solidarity within the community of local musicians.³⁷ Whether such grassroots initiatives will prove successful remains to be seen. In any case, it is a good sign that members of creative professions such as musicians can still band together effectively (and creatively) to rebalance their lifeworlds between artistic freedom, a secure position within society and social recognition. This study has shown that such endeavours have a long history.

35 See Reckwitz, *Invention*, 222f. For a critical take from a philosophical standpoint, see Herzog, L., *Die Rettung der Arbeit. Ein politischer Aufruf*, Munich 2019, esp. 51–55.

36 See Nachtwey, O., *Die Abstiegs-gesellschaft. Über das Aufbegehren in der regressiven Moderne*, Berlin 2016, 17–42 and 224–233.

37 See Cornfield, D. B., *Beyond the Beat: Musicians Building Community in Nashville*, Princeton 2015, 150–165. For an abstract account of this issue, see also Banks, M., *Creative Justice: Cultural Industries, Work and Inequality*, London 2017, 154–163.

Appendix: Statistics on the Music Profession in Germany

TABLE A Musicians, music teachers and conductors (main occupation), 1925–1939

Year	Persons in gainful employment	Gender		Self-employed		Persons in dependent employment		Of which unemployed	
		m	w	m	w	m	w	number	rate
1925	67,688	54,602	13,086	9,406	9,080	45,196	4,006	n.s.	–
1933	84,362	69,939	14,423	8,882	9,100	61,057	5,323	29,077	44%
1939	72,018	56,069	15,949	10,761	12,383	45,308	3,566	n.s.	–

Compiled on the basis of *Volks-, Berufs- und Betriebszählung vom 16. Juni 1925*, 419; *Volks-, Berufs- und Betriebszählung vom 16. Juni 1933*, 193; *Volks-, Berufs- und Betriebszählung vom 17. Mai 1939*, 160.

TABLE B Musicians, music teachers and conductors (side-line), 1925–1939

Year	Persons in gainful employment	Gender		Self-employed		Persons in dependent employment	
		m	w	m	w	m	w
1925	20,712	20,419	293	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
1933	35,101	33,682	1,419	5,276	768	28,406	651
1939	44,254	41,294	2,960	13,583	1,917	27,711	1,043

Compiled on the basis of *Volks-, Berufs- und Betriebszählung vom 16. Juni 1925*, 413; *Volks-, Berufs- und Betriebszählung vom 16. Juni 1933*, 217 and 219; *Volks-, Berufs- und Betriebszählung vom 17. Mai 1939*, 191. The figures for 1933 are the sum of those for the following economic sectors: hospitality and licensed trade; churches, religious institutions and associations; education, training and teaching; theatre, cinema and film recording, radio broadcasting, music business, sports business and exhibitions.

TABLE C Musicians, music teachers and conductors (main occupation and side-line), 1925-1939

Year	Persons in gainful employment	Gender		Self-employed		Persons in dependent employment	
		m	w	m	w	m	w
1925	88,400	75,021	13,379	9,406	9,080	65,615	4,299
1933	119,463	103,621	15,842	14,158	9,868	89,463	5,974
1939	116,272	97,363	18,909	24,344	14,300	73,019	4,609

TABLE D Musicians (main occupation and side-line), 1950 and 1961

Year	Persons in gainful employment	Gender		Self-employed		Persons in dependent employment		Of which unemployed	
		m	w	m	w	m	w	number	rate
1950	31,039	28,857	2,182	5,612	815	15,463	1,041	8,108	49%
1961	21,900	19,700	2,200	3,100	400	16,700	1,700	n.s.	-

Compiled on the basis of *Die berufliche und soziale Gliederung*, no. 2, 204 f.; *Volks- und Berufszählung*, no. 13, 248 f. That the statistics view the unemployed as in dependent employment is evident in the breakdown by economic sector; see *Die berufliche und soziale Gliederung*, no. 1, 61.

TABLE E Musicians with a side-line, 1950 and 1961

Year	Persons in gainful employment	Gender		Self-employed		Persons in dependent employment	
		m	w	m	w	m	w
1950	2,412	2,218	194	594	36	1,624	158
1961	2,000	1,700	300	200	100	1,500	200

Compiled on the basis of *Die berufliche und soziale Gliederung*, no. 3, 29; *Volks- und Berufszählung*, no. 13, 248.

TABLE F Music teachers and singing teachers, 1950 and 1961

Year	Persons in gainful employment	Gender		Self-employed		Persons in dependent employment	
		m	w	m	w	m	w
1950	10,899	3,776	7,123	2,638	5,904	1,138	1,219
1961	9,500	3,500	6,000	2,200	4,600	1,200	1,500

Compiled on the basis of *Die berufliche und soziale Gliederung*, no. 1, 60; *Volks- und Berufszählung*, no. 13, 234 f.

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Weintraub-Syncopators-Archiv

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5/DGBS Union Art

Archive of the Berlin Philharmonic, Berlin (ArchBPhil)

G History of the Orchestra

Archive of the German Orchestra Union, Berlin (ArDOV)²

Archive of the University of the Arts, Berlin (AUdK)

104 Ibolyka Gyarfás (unordered)

Federal Archives, Berlin-Lichterfelde (BArch)

N 15 Der Beauftragte des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP (Reich surveillance office)

R 32 Reichskunstwart (Reich Imperial Protector)

R 36 Deutscher Gemeindetag (German Community Council)

R 55 Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda)

R 56.1 Reichskulturkammer (Reich Chamber of Culture)

R 56.11 Reichsmusikkammer (Reich Chamber of Music)

R 901 Auswärtiges Amt (Foreign Office)

R 3001 Reichsjustizministerium (Reich Ministry of Justice)

RK Gustav Havemann

1 The archives are listed in alphabetical order of the acronyms used in the footnotes.

2 This archive has no classification system available. References relate to the labelling of individual folders.

RK Hermann Voss

RY 22 Deutscher Musikerverband (German Musicians' Union)

*Federal Archives – Department Military Archives, Freiburg
(BArch-MA)*

MSG 206 Military Music and Military Band Leader Collection

RM 3 Reichsmarineamt (Imperial Naval Office)

Bavarian State Library, Collection of Manuscripts, Munich (BSB)

Ana 559 Franz Adam

Ana 649 Theo Freitag (unordered)

German Diary Archive, Emmendingen (DTAE)

Reg.nr. 1656 Heinrich Bock

Reg.nr. 1772 Karl Wunstorf

Goethe- and Schiller Archive, Weimar (GSA)

53 Gerhard von Keußler

70 Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein (General German Music Association)

*Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, Berlin
(GStA PK)*

I. HA Rep. 138 Oberrechnungskammer (Higher Audit Court)

I. HA Rep. 191 Ministerium für Volkswohlfahrt. Staatskommissar für die Regelung der Wohlfahrtspflege (Ministry for Welfare. State Commissioner for Welfare Work)

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LTH Camp theatre

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Germany is considered a lauded land of music: outstanding composers, celebrated performers and famous orchestras exert great international appeal. Since the 19th century, the foundation of this reputation has been the broad mass of musicians who sat in orchestra pits, played in ensembles for dances or provided the musical background in silent movie theatres. Martin Rempe traces their lives and working worlds, including their struggle for economic improvement and societal recognition. His detailed portrait of the profession 'from below' sheds new light on German musical life in the modern era.

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