

CHIGIANA

Journal of Musicological Studies

III Serie, 4 – 2022
LII

Music and Power
in the Long Nineteenth Century

Musica e Potere
nel Lungo XIX Secolo

A CURA DI / EDITED BY
FABRIZIO DELLA SETA E MASSIMILIANO LOCANTO

Libreria Musicale Italiana



PDF

I nostri PDF sono per esclusivo uso personale. Possono essere copiati senza restrizioni sugli apparecchi dell'utente che li ha acquistati (computer, tablet o smartphone). Possono essere inviati come titoli di valutazione scientifica e curricolare, ma non possono essere ceduti a terzi senza una autorizzazione scritta dell'editore e non possono essere stampati se non per uso strettamente individuale. Tutti i diritti sono riservati.

Su *academia.edu* o altri portali simili (siti repository open access o a pagamento) è consentito pubblicare soltanto il frontespizio del volume o del saggio, l'eventuale abstract e fino a quattro pagine del testo. La LIM può fornire a richiesta un pdf formattato per questi scopi con il link alla sezione del suo sito dove il saggio può essere acquistato in versione cartacea e/o digitale. È esplicitamente vietato pubblicare in *academia.edu* o altri portali simili il pdf completo, anche in bozza.

Our PDF are meant for strictly personal use. They can be copied without restrictions on all the devices of the user who purchased them (computer, tablet or smartphone). They can be sent as scientific and curricular evaluation titles, but they cannot be transferred to third parties without a written explicit authorization from the publisher, and can be printed only for strictly individual use. All rights reserved.

On *academia.edu* or other similar websites (open access or paid repository sites) it is allowed to publish only the title page of the volume or essay, the possible abstract and up to four pages of the text. The LIM can supply, on request, a pdf formatted for these purposes with the link to the section of its site where the essay can be purchased in paper and/or in pdf version. It is explicitly forbidden to publish the complete pdf in *academia.edu* or other similar portals, even in draft.

CHIGIANA
Rivista di studi musicologici
Journal of Musicological Studies

Terza serie, vol. IV
(vol. LII della serie continua)

2022

Redazione, grafica e layout: Ugo Giani

© 2022 Libreria Musicale Italiana srl, via di Arsina 296/f, 55100 Lucca – lim@lim.it www.lim.it

Tutti i diritti sono riservati. Nessuna parte di questa pubblicazione potrà essere riprodotta, fotocopiata, archiviata in sistemi di ricerca o altro senza il permesso scritto dell'editore.

ISSN: 0069-3391 ISBN: 9788855433150

CHIGIANA

Journal of Musicological Studies

Rivista di studi musicologici dell'Accademia Musicale Chigiana

Music and Power in the Long Nineteenth Century

Musica e Potere nel lungo XIX Secolo

a cura di / edited by
Fabrizio Della Seta e Massimiliano Locanto

LIBRERIA MUSICALE ITALIANA

DIRETTORE – EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

SUSANNA PASTICCI, Università di Cassino

COMITATO DIRETTIVO – ASSOCIATE EDITORS

ANTONIO CASCELLI, Maynooth University, Ireland

STEFANO JACOVIELLO, Università di Siena

MASSIMILIANO LOCANTO, Università di Salerno

CESARE MANCINI, Accademia Musicale Chigiana

COMITATO SCIENTIFICO – SCIENTIFIC BOARD

ESTEBAN BUCH, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris

TIM CARTER, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

FABRIZIO DELLA SETA, Università di Pavia

MILA DE SANTIS, Università di Firenze

MARKUS ENGELHARDT, Deutsche Historische Institut in Rom

MARTHA FELDMAN, University of Chicago

CANDIDA FELICI, Conservatorio di Parma

GIULIA GIOVANI, Università di Siena

GIOVANNI GIURIATI, Sapienza Università di Roma

ROE-MIN KOK, McGill University, Montreal

LAURA LEANTE, Durham University

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS, Maynooth University, Ireland

MICHELE NAPOLITANO, Università di Cassino

ALESSANDRA CARLOTTA PELLEGRINI, Fondazione Isabella Scelsi, Roma

FRANCO PIPERNO, Sapienza Università di Roma

GIORGIO SANGUINETTI, Università di Roma “Tor Vergata”

NICOLA SANI, Accademia Musicale Chigiana

JANET SCHMALFELDT, Tufts University, Boston

MAURO TOSTI-CROCE, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca

AGOSTINO ZIINO, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia

DIRETTORE RESPONSABILE – LEGAL DIRECTOR

NICOLA SANI, Accademia Musicale Chigiana

REDAZIONE – EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS

SIMONE CAPUTO, Sapienza Università di Roma (Editorial Assistant-in-Chief – Responsabile di redazione)

MARICA COPPOLA, Sapienza Università di Roma

GIULIANO DANIELI, Sapienza Università di Roma

MATTEO MACINANTI, Sapienza Università di Roma (Journal Webmaster)

CATHAL TWOMEY, Maynooth University, Ireland

Chigiana Journal website: <<https://journal.chigiana.org/>>

Un numero € 42. Abbonamento annuale € 42; biennale € 70; triennale € 100; estero (annuale) € 50.
Per abbonarsi accedere al sito www.lim.it oppure effettuare un versamento sul c/c postale 11748555
o sul c/c bancario IT37P0103013707000063151142. Nella causale indicare “Abbonamento Chigiana
annuale/biennale/triennale”.

INDICE / TABLE OF CONTENTS

Fabrizio Della Seta e Massimiliano Locanto	
<i>Introduzione</i>	VII

MUSIC AND THE POLITICS OF POWER

James Garratt	
<i>Music, Mimetic Manipulation, and the Politics of Power in Imperial Germany</i>	3
Axel Körner	
<i>Music, Power, and Changing Semantics of Time in the Long Nineteenth Century</i>	25

STRUCTURES OF POWER IN MUSIC THEATRE

Carlotta Sorba	
<i>Nobilissime logge per la Real Corte. Usi, pratiche, significati dei palchi reali nei teatri italiani del primo Ottocento</i>	41
Mark Everist	
<i>Opera in the Bathroom: Power and Personality in opéra de salon of the Second Empire</i>	61
Sonja Starkmeth	
<i>Topsy-Turvy or Mainstream? Power Structures in Late Victorian Popular Musical Theatre</i>	79
Francesco Fontanelli	
<i>«Sei er gefehmt, sei er gebannt!». Il destino degli oppressi e dei redenti, da Tannhäuser a Parsifal</i>	99

MUSICAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE POLITICS OF POWER

Galliano Ciliberti	
<i>La Chapelle royale durante la Restaurazione (1814–1830): cerimoniale e ritualizzazione del quotidiano come instrumentum regni</i>	139

Caiti Hauck	
<i>Choral Societies and Political Power in the Cities of Bern and Fribourg in the Nineteenth Century</i>	157
Verena Paul	
<i>Playing for Supremacy, or The International Contest of Military Bands in 1867</i>	175
 MUSIC, COLONIAL POWER, AND INDUSTRY IN A GLOBAL SPACE	
Salvatore Morra	
<i>The Tunisian Mālūf during French Protectorate: Power and Decolonisation</i>	195
Paolo Prato	
<i>Exporting Naples: Geopolitics and Transculturality, from Io te voglio bene assaje to Caruso</i>	215
Alessandro Avallone – Emanuele Franceschetti	
<i>Potere e influenza dell'industria culturale: musica e immagini nella pubblicistica primonovecentesca targata Ricordi</i>	249
 Autori – Authors	 279

Caiti Hauck

CHORAL SOCIETIES AND POLITICAL POWER
IN THE CITIES OF BERN AND FRIBOURG
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Abstract

Throughout the course of the nineteenth century, numerous male choral societies were founded across Europe. In some regions, authorities supported and even used such choirs as a means by which to promote their political ideals, while elsewhere choral societies were seen as a threat to the regime. In the case of Switzerland, some authors emphasise the liberal political position of male choirs. Nonetheless, little has been written about the activity and the development of choral societies in different Swiss regions, for instance, in places and periods in which liberals were not a majority in government. What was the relationship between choirs and the relevant authorities in these cases? How did political developments and power struggles affect choral activity? This paper aims to investigate the relationship between male choirs and various authorities in the cities of Bern and Fribourg in the nineteenth century. Based on primary sources such as letters, members' lists, and jubilee publications, it discusses the development of prominent male choirs within these cities in light of local and regional political contexts. The paper not only discusses choirs' political positions and the consequences of them but also shows how these choirs were part of the political power game.

The nineteenth century saw a huge rise in the founding of choral societies — principally male choral societies — all over Europe.¹ In some instances — as was the case for the French Orphéon societies — the authorities supported and even used such choirs as a means by which to promote their political ideals.² In other places — for instance, in Klemens von Metternich's Vienna — choral societies were perceived as a threat to the existing regime.³ In Switzerland, many male choirs were founded

1. This paper draws on partial results of the research project *CLEFNI – The choral life in the cities of Bern and Fribourg in the long nineteenth century*. This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 833366.

2. Jane Fulcher, *The Orphéon Societies: "Music for the Workers" in Second-Empire France*, «International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music», 10/1, 1979, pp. 47–56.

3. Alice M. Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1985, pp. 193–194.

under the influence of composer, music educator, publisher, and author Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836) and his educational and democratic ideals.⁴ Recent research mentioning the Swiss nineteenth-century choral movement emphasises the liberal political position of these male choirs.⁵ However, little is known about the activity and the development of choral societies in different Swiss regions, for instance in places and periods in which liberals were not a majority in government. This leads to some important questions, which this paper will attempt to answer. What was the relationship between choirs and authorities in these cases? How did political developments and power struggles affect choral activity?

My aim in this paper is thus to investigate the relationship between male choral societies and the relevant authorities in the Swiss cities of Bern and Fribourg from the 1840s to the end of the nineteenth century. This analysis is based on collected data from a variety of primary sources, including letters, annual reports, choir members' lists, and the jubilee publications of a number of choral societies, as well as from newspaper articles of the time.

Case Studies: Bern and Fribourg

In the nineteenth century, choral societies had an integral role in musical life in the cities of Bern and Fribourg. Numerous male choirs were founded in both cities, particularly from the 1840s onwards. Differences in both the development and the activities of such choirs in these cities cannot, however, simply be attributed to the fact that Bern is a mainly Protestant and German-speaking city, while Fribourg is mainly Catholic and Francophone. The influence of the political situation in these places — that is, the predominance of radical, liberal, or conservative politics — on choirs and their activities cannot be underestimated.⁶

4. Robert Thomann, *Der Männergesang*, in Paul Budry (ed.), *Die Schweiz, die singt*, Eugen Rentsch, Erlenbach bei Zürich 1932, pp. 183–196.

5. Carlo Piccardi, *Music and Artistic Citizenship: In Search of a Swiss Identity*, «Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft. Neue Folge», 28–29, 2010, pp. 259–310; Martin Staehelin, *Hans Georg Nägeli und der frühe schweizerische Männergesang*, in Axel Fischer – Matthias Kornemann (eds), *Integer Vitae: Die Zeltersche Liedertafel als kulturgeschichtliches Phänomen (1809–1832)*, Wehrhahn Verlag, Hannover 2014, pp. 91–103.

6. A full description of these different political tendencies would go beyond the scope of this article. However, a brief explanation with suggestions for further reading is appropriate here. Albert Tanner explains that «radicalism appears in the early nineteenth century as a term for those political theories and movements that advocated profound changes in existing conditions. [...] In Switzerland, the development of radicalism was closely linked to liberalism» («Radikalismus kommt im frühen 19. Jahrhundert als Bezeichnung für jene politischen Theorien und Bewegungen auf, die sich für tiefgreifende Veränderungen der bestehenden Verhältnisse einsetzten. [...] In der Schweiz war die Entwicklung des Radikalismus eng mit dem Liberalismus verbunden»); see Albert Tanner, *Radikalismus*, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Bern 2013, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/027156/2013-01-29/>> [19 March 2022]; all translations are my own. The proximity

The activity of three male choirs will be analysed here to illustrate this impact. The choirs that form the basis of this analysis are the *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg*, the oldest choral society in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, founded in 1841; the *Berner Liedertafel*, the largest choir in the city of Bern, founded in 1845; and the *Cäcilienverein Freiburg*, the choir linked to the Parish of Saint Maurice in the city of Fribourg, founded in 1877.⁷ These three male choirs were founded at pivotal moments in the history of Bern and Fribourg, and indeed of Switzerland itself.

The *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg* and the *Berner Liedertafel* were both founded in the politically troubled period that preceded the Sonderbund War, the civil war of 1847 that led to the creation of the Swiss federal state through the Constitution of 1848. Analyses of members' lists of both choirs — that is, of their founders and their active, passive, and honorary members — show that numerous

between radicals and liberals, the absence of a uniform terminology, and regional differences make a definition in a few words difficult. Nevertheless, Daniel V. Moser-Léchoy suggests a positioning for liberals and radicals on the political spectrum: «In the nineteenth century, the terms liberal, radical, and *freisinnig* were not used uniformly in Switzerland to designate the various groups within the “large liberal-radical family” (Erich Gruner), although in the German-speaking regions radical and *freisinnig* often had the same meaning. As a rule, the liberals were politically more to the right, the radicals or *Freisinnigen* more to the centre-left» («Im 19. Jahrhundert wurden die Begriffe liberal, radikal und freisinnig in der Schweiz nicht einheitlich zur Bezeichnung der verschiedenen Gruppen innerhalb der “freisinnigen Grossfamilie” [Erich Gruner] verwendet, wobei im deutschen Sprachraum radikal und freisinnig häufig bedeutungsgleich waren. In der Regel standen die Liberalen politisch eher rechts, die Radikalen oder Freisinnigen eher mitte-links»); see Daniel V. Moser-Léchoy, *Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei (FDP)*, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Bern 2022, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/017378/2022-01-24/>> [19 March 2022].

Political conservatism in Switzerland is also not simple to define, especially in view of religious differences (Protestantism and Catholicism). Urs Altermatt explains that conservatism «is a collective term for intellectual and political movements that aim at preserving existing or restoring former social orders» («ist ein Sammelbegriff für geistige und politische Bewegungen, welche die Bewahrung bestehender oder die Wiederherstellung früherer gesellschaftlicher Ordnungen zum Ziel haben»); see Urs Altermatt, *Konservatismus*, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Bern 2010, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/017458/2010-10-28/>> [19 March 2022]. In nineteenth-century Switzerland, conservatives held a position against the modernisation and secularisation of society, and Catholic conservatives in particular defended the autonomy of the cantons vis-à-vis the confederation. Further readings: Urs Altermatt, *Katholisch-Konservative*, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Bern 2014, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/017376/2014-11-26/>> [19 March 2022]; Jean-Jacques Bouquet, *Libéralisme*, in *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, Bern 2018, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/017459/2018-02-14/>> [19 March 2022]; Olivier Meuwly, *Les partis politiques: Acteurs de l'histoire suisse*, Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes, Lausanne 2018.

7. *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg* (ed.), *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg 1841–1891: Souvenir du cinquantenaire de sa fondation*, Imprimerie Delaspre & Fils, Fribourg 1891; Gustav Strelin – Albert Lüscher – Albert Garraux, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Bestandes der Berner Liedertafel*, Buchdruckerei Michel & Böhler, Bern 1895; Othmar Moser, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 25-jährigen Bestehens des Cäcilienvereins Freiburg*, St. Paulus-Druckerei, Freiburg 1902.

men connected with these choirs were either radical or liberal politicians, as I shall detail below.⁸ This indicates that both the *Société de Chant* and the *Liedertafel* had a predominantly radical or liberal political position in the nineteenth century.

The *Cäcilienverein Freiburg* was founded in 1877, during the period in which the ultraconservative Catholics were gaining ground in the canton of Fribourg. Its foundation occurred only a few years before the inception of the “Christian Republic” (French: *République chrétienne*), which designates the 40 years (1881–1921) of ultraconservative rule in the canton of Fribourg.⁹ The *Cäcilienverein* was an openly ultramontane and ultraconservative choir.¹⁰

The political differences between the cantons and the cities of Bern and Fribourg had been evident since before the Sonderbund War. And, indeed, in this civil war, Bern and Fribourg held opposing positions. The Sonderbund War was so named owing to the fact that it was provoked by the formation in 1845 of a “separate alliance” (German: *Sonderbund*) of seven Catholic-conservative cantons — among them the canton of Fribourg. This alliance essentially opposed the centralisation of power and concluded a mutual defence alliance aimed at safeguarding the Catholic religion and cantonal sovereignty. The Diet (the federal authority of the time), which comprised mostly liberal-radicals, ruled that this alliance opposed the dictates of the Federal Pact. This disagreement between the Diet and the Catholic-conservative cantons led to an armed conflict in 1847, in which the liberal-radicals were victorious. In 1848, a new, radical-inspired constitution was passed, and Bern became the capital of the new federal state. A radical government was imposed on the canton of Fribourg, as well as on the other Catholic-conservative cantons that had formed the separate alliance.¹¹

During the turbulent period of the 1840s, Bern and Fribourg had almost entirely opposing political positions. In the canton of Bern, the Great Council (the legislative body) had been dominated by liberals since 1831. After the elections of 1845, the radicals formed the majority in the Great Council, and in 1846 the Bern State Council (the cantonal executive, which consisted of nine members at that time) exclusively comprised radicals.¹² In contrast, the Bern municipality remained con-

8. Lists of members of these choirs are available at: Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek, call number V BE 5464; Stadtarchiv Bern, call number SAB_1017; Archives de l'État de Fribourg, Fonds Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg.

9. Francis Python, *Histoire de Fribourg: Ancrages traditionnels et renouvelaux (XIXe–XXe siècle)*, Éditions Livreo-Alphil, Neuchâtel 2018, pp. 62–64.

10. Joseph Jutzet – Paul Morel – Martin Nicoulin, *Cäcilienverein Freiburg 1877–1977 Choeur mixte Saint Maurice*, Imprimerie St-Paul, Fribourg 1977, pp. 4–7.

11. René Roca, *Sonderbund*, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Bern 2012, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/017241/2012-12-20/>> [19 March 2022].

12. Beat Junker – Anne-Marie Dubler – Hans Grütter et al., *Bern (Kanton)*, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Bern 2018, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/007383/2018-01-18/>>

servative throughout this period.¹³ The situation in Fribourg was the inverse. At cantonal level, a conservative majority had occupied the Great Council since 1837, and in 1845 the ultraconservative government decided to join the separate alliance (*Sonderbund*). As mentioned above, in 1848, after the Sonderbund War, the radicals assumed cantonal power in Fribourg. This government was short lived, however: in 1856 a conservative majority coalition won the elections. The municipality of Fribourg, on the other hand, was liberal-radical even before the Sonderbund War and opposed Fribourg joining the *Sonderbund*. After a short period in 1847 when the conservatives took power, the resolution of the Sonderbund War saw the municipal executive passing into the hands of the radicals. However, their rule ended in 1858, only two years after the fall of the canton's radical government.¹⁴ This political situation affected the activities of both the *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg* and the *Berner Liedertafel*, as I shall show in the next section.

The Berner Liedertafel

Primary sources indicate that practically from the time of its very foundation, the *Berner Liedertafel* had associations with either radical or liberal politicians. The choir was founded in the summer of 1845 and, by the end of that year, it had organised its first *Cäcilienfeier*, an annual celebration open only to choir members and their guests. The cantonal state councillor Johann Schneider (1792–1858) was invited as a guest of honour.¹⁵ Schneider was a radical-liberal politician and was, from 1831 to 1848, director of the canton's Directorate of Education.¹⁶ In 1848, Schneider was named an honorary member of the *Liedertafel*, along with the state councillor Jakob Imobersteg, one of the leaders of the radicals in the canton of Bern and director of the canton's Directorate of Education from 1848 to 1850.¹⁷

>[19 March 2022]; Beat Junker, *Geschichte des Kantons Bern seit 1798. Band II: Entstehung des demokratischen Volksstaates*, Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, Bern 1990, p. 86.

13. Anne-Marie Dubler – Hans Grütter – Urs Martin Zahnd et al., *Bern (Gemeinde)*, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Bern 2016, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/000209/2016-11-10/>> [19 March 2022].

14. Alain-Jacques Tornare, *La ville de Fribourg de 1815 à 1848*, in Francis Python (ed.), *Fribourg: une ville aux XIXe et XXe siècles – Freiburg: eine Stadt im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, La Sarine, Bourgeoisie de la ville de Fribourg, Fribourg 2007, pp. 35–47; Sabrina Fellmann, *Les enjeux politiques du chef-lieu fribourgeois (1848–1879)*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 48–59.

15. Strelin – Lüscher – Garraux, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Bestandes der Berner Liedertafel*, pp. 10–12.

16. Junker, *Geschichte des Kantons Bern seit 1798*, pp. 86, 108; Christoph Zürcher, *Schneider, Johann*, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Bern 2010, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/004691/2010-04-20/>> [19 March 2022].

17. Strelin – Lüscher – Garraux, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Bestandes der Berner Liedertafel*, p. 30; Peter Stettler, *Imobersteg, Jakob*, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Bern 2018, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/004540/2018-01-11/>> [19 March 2022].

Throughout the course of the nineteenth century, eight other politicians were appointed honorary members of the *Liedertafel*, all of whom were either radicals or liberals.¹⁸

From the choir's very inception, the radical cantonal government demonstrated its support for the activities of the *Liedertafel*: it «readily granted» the request by Gustav Frölich (1811–1873) for the choir to use the large hall of the council chamber as a rehearsal venue.¹⁹ Frölich was at that time the musical director of the *Liedertafel* and director of the «radical-progressive» school *Einwohner-Mädchenschule*.²⁰ Although the *Liedertafel* rehearsed in this hall from July to October 1845, the space proved unsuitable for use during the winter months. In order to find a new rehearsal venue, the *Liedertafel* sought a partnership with the *Bernische Musikgesellschaft*, which had been granted permission by the conservative municipal authorities to use the hall of the Casino. The *Musikgesellschaft* accepted the partnership and in November 1845 the *Liedertafel* began to rehearse at the Casino.²¹ But the choir's activities soon began to displease Bern's conservatives, who accused the choir of having «communist tendencies».²² (In 1840s Bern, radicals were generally designated “communists” by those who did not support their ideals).²³ Following the allegation that the *Liedertafel* had misused the hall of the Casino, an 1846 decree by the conservative municipal authorities prohibited the choir from using this venue. The municipality also rejected the choir's request to hold a charity concert in the Casino, so that «it was only thanks to the kindness of the [radical] cantonal authorities — who, for this exceptional occasion, willingly let the auditorium be used for the rehearsals and the council chamber for the performance — that the [charity concert] could take place».²⁴ Following this concert, in October 1846, the canton's Directorate of Education — whose director Johann Schneider would become an honorary member of the *Liedertafel*, as mentioned above — granted financial support of 300 francs to the choir.²⁵

18. Charles Blanc, *Denkschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Berner Liedertafel, 1845–1945*, Bächler & Co., Bern 1945, pp. 191–192.

19. «Bereitwilligst entsprochen habe», Strelin – Lüscher – Garraux, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Bestandes der Berner Liedertafel*, p. 10.

20. «Fortschrittlich-freisinnige», Albert Tanner, *Arbeitsame Patrioten – wohlstandige Damen: Bürgertum und Bürgerlichkeit in der Schweiz 1830–1914*, Orell Füssli, Zürich 1995, p. 261.

21. Strelin – Lüscher – Garraux, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Bestandes der Berner Liedertafel*, p. 12.

22. «Kommunistischen Tendenzen», *Ibid.*, p. 21.

23. Junker, *Geschichte des Kantons Bern seit 1798*, p. 63.

24. «Nur durch das freundliche Entgegenkommen der Landesbehörden, welche zu diesem ausnahmsweisen Anlass die Aula für die Übungen und den Standesratsaal für die Aufführung bereitwilligst überliessen, ward das Zustandekommen der letztern ermöglicht», Strelin – Lüscher – Garraux, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Bestandes der Berner Liedertafel*, p. 22.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Nonetheless, the municipality's ban on the choir using the Casino endangered its very existence, as it had no rehearsal space during the winter. After many direct and indirect attempts to gain permission to use this venue again, the *Liedertafel* sent the municipality a petition signed by its 100-plus members. In response to this request, the municipality decided at the end of 1846 that on certain evenings during the winter, from October to March, the choir could use the hall of the Casino again. The 50-year jubilee publication of the *Liedertafel* mentions that «from this time onwards, the *Liedertafel*'s relationship with the municipal authorities also became much friendlier, and the choir was able to enjoy the same benevolent attitude from them as from the cantonal government on all occasions».²⁶

Indeed, the cantonal government continued to support the choir's activities, for instance by making a financial contribution of 200 francs in 1848. In 1864, both the cantonal and the municipal authorities provided financial support of 1.900 francs to the *Liedertafel*, when the choir organised the Swiss Federal Singing Festival in Bern and had to shoulder a debt of more than 10.000 francs. Despite this backing, the *Liedertafel* continued to find it difficult to secure venues for concerts and rehearsals. In 1876, for instance, it had to appeal to the high cantonal authorities for permission to use the French Church for an entire day, so that a dress rehearsal could be held in the church on the day of the concert of Handel's oratorio *Saul*.²⁷

Despite these difficulties, the *Berner Liedertafel* had, by the end of the nineteenth century, become the largest choir in the city of Bern: in 1899 it had 193 singers (active members) and 551 supporters (passive members).²⁸ Its musical activity and in particular the prizes it won at the Swiss Federal Singing Festivals brought the choir renown and respect.²⁹

The *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg*

The political position of the *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg* was similar to that of the *Berner Liedertafel*, namely liberal-radical. In fact, throughout the course of the nineteenth century, the *Société de Chant* and the *Liedertafel* developed a friendship that was based not only on musical affinity, but also on a political solidarity, which I shall detail later.

26. «Von dieser Zeit an gestaltete sich das Verhältnis der Liedertafel zu den städtischen Behörden auch weit freundlicher und sie hatte sich in gleicher Weise von ihnen, wie von der Landesregierung stetsfort bei allen Gelegenheiten, eines wohlwollenden Entgegenkommens zu erfreuen», *Ibid.*, p. 23.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 70–71, 144–145; Blanc, *Denkschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Berner Liedertafel*, p. 44.

28. *Jahresbericht der Berner Liedertafel für das Musikjahr 1899/1900 nebst Mitglieder-Verzeichnis*, Buchdruckerei Lack Aeschlimann & Jost, Bern 1900, p. 111.

29. See, for instance, Blanc, *Denkschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Berner Liedertafel*, pp. 92–97.

The author of the 50-year jubilee publication of the *Société de Chant* states that «the *Société's* involvement in public life had no other purpose than singing. That is why it was strictly forbidden to talk about politics at the meetings: the *Société* had to be a society of harmony and peace».³⁰ This remark suggests how problematic any discussion of politics could be and how easily it could lead to conflict. However, the fact that talking about politics was forbidden does not mean that the *Société de Chant* did not have a political position: on the contrary, from the time of its foundation, its political position was quite clear.

The organist and musical director Jacques Vogt (1810–1869) founded the *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg* in 1841, along with 22 other men.³¹ Of these founding members, Alexandre Thorin (1806–1873) and Joseph Landerset (1811–1856) were radical politicians.³² At least one of the founders, the music teacher Melchior Elsener (1811–1853), was an overt supporter of the radicals: in fact, Elsener was so closely linked to this political group that he even gave his life defending the radical government during the Carrard Insurrection of 1853.³³ With regard to the choir's musical director, Jacques Vogt, I have found no evidence of political activity; however, his best-known composition suggests that he advocated a radical or at least a liberal political position: *Les bords de la libre Sarine* is an openly republican and revolutionary song. Its text was written by the radical politician Jean-François-Marcellin Bussard (1800–1853) and it seems likely that Vogt and Bussard knew each other.³⁴

In addition, the participation of the *Société de Chant* in certain events serves as an additional indicator of its political position. In 1848, for instance, after the Sonderbund War and the rise to power of the radicals in the canton of Fribourg, the *Société de Chant* took part in a popular celebration whereby the radicals burned the instruments of torture of the Ancien Régime. During this celebration, the choir

30. «La part que la Société prenait à la vie publique n'avait pas d'autre but que le chant. C'est pourquoi il était sévèrement défendu dans les assemblées de parler politique [sic]: la Société devait être une société d'harmonie et de paix», *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg 1841–1891*, p. 78.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–9.

32. Georges Andrey – John Clerc – Jean-Pierre Dorand *et al.*, *Le Conseil d'État fribourgeois 1848–2011: Son histoire, son organisation, ses membres*, Éditions La Sarine, Fribourg 2012, pp. 33–34; Python, *Fribourg*, p. 440.

33. On the Carrard Insurrections see, for instance, Sébastien Julan, *Carrard, insurrections*, in *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, Bern 2005, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/017242/2005-06-21/>> [19 March 2022]. Hubert Foerster, *Johann Melchior Elsener 1811–1853: Das tragische Schicksal eines Menzingers in Freiburg i. Ue*, «Zuger Neujahrsblatt», 1977, pp. 91–92.

34. Pierre Rime, *La surprenante destinée d'un chant patriotique fribourgeois*, «Passé simple: mensuel romand d'histoire et d'archéologie», 21, 2017, pp. 21–23.

sang various songs, among them Vogt's revolutionary song *Les bords de la libre Sarine*.³⁵

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a number of important personalities from Fribourg's radical circles join the *Société de Chant*, most of whom became honorary members of the choir.³⁶ Jean Broye (1828–1899), appointed honorary member in 1866, was a radical politician at both municipal and cantonal level.³⁷ Auguste Majeux (1828–1885), who also became an honorary member in 1866, was a radical municipal councillor, as well as editor-in-chief of the radical newspaper *Le Journal de Fribourg*.³⁸ Edouard Biemann (1847–1907), honorary member of the *Société de Chant* from 1895, was one of the main opponents of the abovementioned "Christian Republic", the ultraconservative cantonal government that came into power in 1881. From 1881 to 1907, Biemann was a radical politician in both the canton and the city of Fribourg — precisely during the 25 years in which the municipality of Fribourg had a radical majority and was, therefore, in opposition to the ultraconservative politics of the canton.³⁹ Together with Louis-Auguste Marmier (1841–1894) — also a member of the *Société de Chant* — Biemann became, in 1871, owner and editor of the radical newspaper *Le Confédéré de Fribourg*, which «became, from the 1870s onwards, the main spearhead of the struggle against the conservative government».⁴⁰ Marmier, a politician at cantonal and federal level, «was until his death the undisputed leader of the Fribourg radicals».⁴¹

Despite this political position bringing the *Société de Chant* a number of advantages, these were still outweighed by the many disadvantages. In 1842, the radical-liberal municipality of Fribourg gave permission for the choir to use the hall of the primary schools as a rehearsal venue. As its membership grew, the *Société de Chant* asked the cantonal government for permission to use the small lounge of the

35. *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg 1841–1891*, pp. 77–78; Rime, *La surprenante destinée d'un chant patriotique fribourgeois*, p. 22.

36. *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg 1841–1891*, pp. 99–102.

37. Marianne Rolle, Broye, Jean, in *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, Bern 2003, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/043780/2003-03-20/>> [19 March 2022].

38. Christophe Mauron, *Auguste Majeux*, in *Société des amis du Musée gruérien* (ed.), *L'Emulation: une revue au XIXe siècle*, Société des amis du Musée gruérien, Bulle 2005, pp. 98–104.

39. Alain Meyer, Biemann, Edouard, in *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, Bern 2002, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/005650/2002-10-29/>> [19 March 2022]; Nicolas Gex, *Entre face-à-face et lutte de façade: l'opposition à Fribourg (1879–1906)*, in Python, Fribourg, pp. 61, 65.

40. «Devient, à partir des années 1870, le principal fer de lance de la lutte contre le régime conservateur», Georges Andrey, *La presse d'opinion dans le canton de Fribourg au XIXe siècle (1798–1914)*, in Olivier Meuwly (ed.), *Histoire de la presse politique en Suisse romande au XIXe siècle*, Infolio éditions, Gollion 2011, p. 196.

41. «Fut jusqu'à sa mort le leader incontesté des radicaux fribourgeois», Nicolas Willemin, Marmier, Louis-Auguste, in *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, Bern 2008, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/003933/2008-03-14/>> [19 March 2022].

Grenette. The choir started rehearsing in this space in 1849 — that is, during the rule of the radicals — and used it until 1875. The government, which from 1856 was in the hands of a conservative majority, did not request any rent for this room, but, even so, the place was a source of much expense for the choir, which had to pay the costs for lighting, heating in the winter, and the caretaker's service. In addition, the small lounge of the Grenette was not always available for the choir, which forced it to find another rehearsal space. From 1875 to 1877 — a period when the municipality was again dominated by the radicals — the choir again began rehearsing in the hall of the primary schools. From 1877 until the end of the century, the *Société de Chant* rehearsed in private spaces, ceded or rented by sympathisers of the choir.⁴²

In 1851, the *Société de Chant* organised the Second Festival of the Fribourg Cantonal Singing Society in Fribourg. At that time, the radicals held power and the aforementioned Melchior Elsener — member of the *Société de Chant* and supporter of the radicals — was the president of the Cantonal Singing Society. It was the hope of the festival's organising committee that the concerts could be held in the Church of the Cordeliers but, to avoid «many inconveniences»,⁴³ the radical government — which had abolished the order of the Cordeliers in 1848⁴⁴ — proposed using the Church of the Cantonal School. The Fribourg State Council, «wishing to favour your patriotic and harmonious Institution»⁴⁵ — that is, the Cantonal Singing Society — granted the organising committee a subsidy of 300 francs and placed at their disposal the Grenette Hall for rehearsals and the reception of the guest choirs, as well as the Hall of the Grand Council for the general assembly.

The programme of the Cantonal Singing Festival of 1851 indicates that the organising committee — and with it the *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg* — received widespread support from the municipality and the cantonal government, both of which were dominated by the radicals at that time. The visiting choral societies were received in the *Hôtel de la Maison de Ville*, site of the municipal administration; the general assembly took place in the Grand Council Hall, as indicated above; the lunch and evening gathering were organised in the

42. *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg 1841–1891*, pp. 89–91.

43. «Maint inconvénient», Archives de l'État de Fribourg, Fonds Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg, letter from the Finance Department of the Canton of Fribourg to the committee of the Cantonal Singing Society, 12 March 1851.

44. Tornare, *La ville de Fribourg de 1815 à 1848*, p. 46.

45. «Le Conseil d'État voulant favoriser votre Institution patriotique autant qu'harmonieuse», Archives de l'État de Fribourg, Fonds Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg, letter from the Prefect of the Sarine District to the committee of the Cantonal Singing Society in Fribourg, 26 April 1851.

Grenette Hall; and the general rehearsals and the concert itself took place in the Church of the Cantonal School.⁴⁶

In 1856, the cantonal elections were won by a coalition of conservatives and liberals, with a conservative majority. In 1858, this coalition also won the municipal elections. It marked the fall of the radical government in the canton and city of Fribourg.⁴⁷ The outcome of the municipal elections of 1858 had grave consequences for the *Société de Chant*. That year, the choir had planned to participate in the singing competition of the Swiss Federal Singing Festival in Zurich; however, this proved impossible owing to a lack of singers. According to the author of the 50-year jubilee publication of the choir, «the year 1858 was [...] particularly difficult for the *Société*. Following the change of political government, a large number of members left Fribourg and the *Société* was unable to take part in the federal competition in Zurich».⁴⁸ This suggests how closely the choir was connected to politics, and, in particular, to the politics of the radicals.

Throughout the 1860s, the political situation in the canton and the city of Fribourg became increasingly tense. Faced with the anti-liberal ideas of Pope Pius IX, the coalition of conservatives and liberals that held power became increasingly fragile. In 1871, only a year after the definition of the dogma of papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council, the ultramontane newspaper *La Liberté* was founded. With this newspaper as their organ, the ultramontane and ultraconservative Catholics gained political power and the support of part of the population. In 1881, the victory of the ultramontanes in the election, among them the young and future leader of the ultraconservatives Georges Python (1856–1927), gave rise to the “Christian Republic”. This authoritarian and clerical government lasted until 1921.⁴⁹

It was in this political context that, in 1871, the *Société de Chant* finally managed to organise a Cantonal Singing Festival in Fribourg, the first since the fall of the radical cantonal government in 1856. On this occasion, both the cantonal and the municipal authorities lent the *Société de Chant* «an energetic support», as the author of the 50-year jubilee publication of the choir states:⁵⁰ the canton

46. Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire de Fribourg, *Programme et texte des chants de la seconde réunion de la Société Cantonale de Chant, à Fribourg, le 18 mai 1851 – Programm und Text der Gesänge des zweiten Kantonsängerfestes gefeiert in Freiburg den 18. Mai 1851*, Imprimerie de L.-J. Schmid, Fribourg 1851.

47. Fellmann, *Les enjeux politiques du chef-lieu fribourgeois (1848–1879)*, p. 56.

48. «L'année 1858 fut [...] particulièrement difficile pour la Société. A la suite du changement de régime politique, plusieurs membres s'expatrièrent, et la Société fut dans l'impossibilité de prendre part au concours fédéral de Zurich», *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg 1841–1891*, p. 11.

49. Andrey – Clerc – Dorand et al., *Le Conseil d'État fribourgeois 1848–2011*, pp. 40, 57–58, 60; Fellmann, *Les enjeux politiques du chef-lieu fribourgeois (1848–1879)*, p. 57.

50. «Un énérgique appui», *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg 1841–1891*, p. 74.

granted 200 francs and made the Lycée Theatre and the Grenette Hall available, and the municipality granted 300 francs. This amount, however, represented only 20% of the receipts of the festival, which had a total cost of almost 2.700 francs and resulted in a debt of 192 francs to the *Société de Chant*.⁵¹ Moreover, the clergy actively resisted the holding of the festival. First, the bishop refused to authorise holding the concert in the Church of the Cordeliers, which was the most suitable venue for this type of event in the city of Fribourg. The performances instead had to take place in the small Lycée Theatre, use of which was granted by the cantonal government.⁵² Second, the clergy tried to prevent people from attending the festival: «Thus, among other things, the birds on the trees have said that in some places *Monsieur le curé* did not want to grant permission to attend the festival at all, in other places only on condition that “all politics stay away”». ⁵³

The *Berner Liedertafel* participated in this festival as a guest choir. In addition to offering a musical contribution, the *Liedertafel* came to Fribourg to demonstrate its political support for the *Société de Chant* and its opposition to the growing Fribourg ultramontanism. Indeed, the choir regarded its participation in the festival as «a patriotic duty “because of the distressing political conditions there”». ⁵⁴ During the festivities following the concert, two speeches by members of the *Liedertafel* made clear that choir's political solidarity with the *Société de Chant*. First, the president Gustav Strelin encouraged the singers to continue their work, for «there would “be light” and this would dispel the dark clouds that still darken their political sky today». ⁵⁵ Later, Albert Garraux, the secretary of the *Liedertafel*, made an even more incisive speech, urging the singers «to struggle for light, may the wind still blow black from Rome today!». ⁵⁶

The last financial contribution received by the *Société de Chant* from the authorities during the nineteenth century came in 1874. In that year, the choir inaugurated its new banner and organised a celebration, to which the *Berner Liedertafel* was

51. Archives de l'État de Fribourg, Fonds Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg, *Livre de comptes* (1867–1888).

52. *Fête Cantonale de Chant*, «Le Confédéré, Journal des Radicaux Fribourgeois», 29 September 1871, pp. 2–3.

53. «So haben sich unter Anderm die Vögel auf den Bäumen erzählt, daß manchen Orts *Monsieur le curé* die Erlaubnis zum Besuche des Festes gar nicht, andern Orts nur unter der Bedingung ertheilen wollte, daß “alle Politik fernbleibe”», *Der Sängertag von Freiburg*, p. 4.

54. «“Wegen der dortigen betrübenden politischen Zustände” als eine patriotische Pflicht», Strelin – Lüscher – Garraux, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Bestandes der Berner Liedertafel*, p. 111.

55. «Es “Licht werden” und dieses die finstern Wolken vertreiben werde, welche heute noch ihren politischen Himmel trüben», *Der Sängertag von Freiburg*, p. 10.

56. «Nach Licht zu ringen, möge auch heute noch der Wind schwarz herwehen von Rom!», *Ibid.*, p. 11.

invited. On this occasion, the *Société de Chant* received a contribution of 150 francs from the communal council, which at that time had a radical majority.⁵⁷

With the exception of these occasional financial contributions, the *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg* received no subsidies from the authorities during the course of the nineteenth century. In a number of years, its annual accounts ended in a negative balance. From 1874 onwards, the choir received several legacies, which helped to improve its financial situation, and in 1880, the *Société de Chant* unexpectedly found itself with a fortune of 5,000 francs. This amount had been bequeathed to the choir by the honorary member Jean-Louis Schaller,⁵⁸ a recently deceased doctor whose brother was Julien Schaller, the radical politician who headed the radical government from 1848 to 1856.⁵⁹

The beginning of the twentieth century finally saw Fribourg's conservatism win out over the *Société de Chant*. In 1911, Joseph Bovet (1879–1951) — the abbot, composer, conductor, and pedagogue, who was a significant figure in the musical life of Fribourg in the twentieth century — became the musical director of the choir. Under the direction of this key figure of the “Christian Republic”, the *Société de Chant* not only reached its golden age, but also definitively entered onto the path of conservatism.⁶⁰

The Cäcilienverein Freiburg

The *Cäcilienverein Freiburg*, the Society of Saint Cecilia of the city of Fribourg, developed in quite a different manner. As mentioned earlier, the *Cäcilienverein* was an ultramontane male choir. Its foundation occurred just four years before the inception of the “Christian Republic” and thus falls within the context of the *Kulturkampf* (literally, “culture struggle”) as well as of the German Cecilian movement (*Cäcilianismus*) for the reform of Catholic church music.⁶¹

The *Cäcilienverein* was founded in 1877 by Jean-Baptiste Brulhart (1853–1930). The explicit reason for creating the choir was to ensure liturgical chanting in the Parish of Saint Maurice, located in the district of the Auge. But Brulhart had

57. *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg 1841–1891*, p. 94; Fellmann, *Les enjeux politiques du chef-lieu fribourgeois (1848–1879)*, p. 53.

58. *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg 1841–1891*, pp. 92–94.

59. *Il y a cent ans, Janvier 1880*, «La Liberté», 24 January 1980, p. 19.

60. Roger Dunand, *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg, 150: 1841–1991*, Impr. Fragnière, Fribourg 1991, p. 13; Patrice Borcard, *Joseph Bovet, 1879–1951: Itinéraire d'un abbé chantant*, Éditions La Sarine, Fribourg 1993, pp. 86, 104.

61. On *Kulturkampf* and *Cäcilianismus* see, for instance, Franz Xaver Bischof, *Kulturkampf*, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Bern 2008, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/017244/2008-11-06/>> [19 March 2022], and Winfried Kirsch, *Caecilianismus*, in *MGG Online*, 2016, <<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/15348>> [19 March 2022].

another, covert aim. The Auge was inhabited mainly by a poor working-class population. The Canon Joseph Schorderet (1840–1893), rector of the Parish of Saint Maurice and instigator, planner, and future propagandist of the ultraconservative government, was aware of the need to keep an eye on this population. Thus, the foundation of associations such as the *Cäcilienverein* was intended as a means by which to gain control over the social activities of the working class and to keep it away from the influence of the radicals and the labour movement (e.g., the International Workingmen's Association). In other words, the intention was to turn the district of the Auge, a stronghold of the workers, into an ultramontane electorate.⁶²

Brulhart was well-placed to achieve this aim. He was close to the most important figures of the "Christian Republic": the aforementioned Canon Schorderet and the state councillor Georges Python, future head of the ultraconservative government. Brulhart himself was part of the structure of the "Christian Republic": he was director of the ultramontane newspaper *La Liberté*, which was created by Canon Schorderet, and, by the end of the century he had become municipal councillor of Fribourg. Brulhart was president of the *Cäcilienverein* from its foundation in 1877 until his death in 1930.⁶³

As a church choir, it is unsurprising that the *Cäcilienverein* received a subsidy from the Parish of Saint Maurice, as well as donations from religious figures such as Canon Schorderet.⁶⁴ But more significantly, the choir was also strongly supported by the ultraconservative political authorities. As the author of the choir's 25-year jubilee publication mentions, «the cantonal government, through the intermediary of the Directors of Education [Henri Gaspard de] Schaller and [Georges] Python, never missed an opportunity to promote the cause of the *Cäcilienverein* through moral and financial support».⁶⁵ The sympathy of Python's government, «which highly appreciate[d] the educational value of a Catholic church choir»,⁶⁶

62. Paul Morel – Albert Carrel – Henri Overney, *Union Chorale La Mutuelle Fribourg: Fête commémorative du 75^e anniversaire de sa fondation, 1884–1959*, Imprimerie Max Jendly, Fribourg 1959, p. 17; Dominique Barthélemy, *Diffuser au lieu d'interdire: Le chanoine Joseph Schorderet (1840–1893)*, Saint-Paul – Éditions universitaires, Fribourg 1993, pp. 409–411; Serge Gummy, *L'Auge au XX^e siècle: Du bas-quartier à la vieille ville de Fribourg*, Université de Fribourg, Fribourg 1997, pp. 64–68.

63. Michel Charrière, *Brulhart, Jean*, in *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, Bern 2003, <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/029946/2003-01-27/>> [19 March 2022]; Jutzet – Morel – Nicoulin, *Cäcilienverein Freiburg 1877–1977 Choeur mixte Saint Maurice*, pp. 20–21.

64. Moser, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 25-jährigen Bestehens des Cäcilienvereins Freiburg*, pp. 25, 36.

65. «Die Regierung des Kantons durch Vermittlung der Hrn. Erziehungsdirektoren Schaller und Python nie eine Gelegenheit vorübergehen liess, um die Sache des Cäcilienvereins durch moralische und pekuniäre Unterstützung zu fördern», *Ibid.*, p. 18.

66. «Den erzieherischen Wert eines katholischen Kirchengesangchors hoch einschätzend», Georges Aeby, *Festschrift zur Feier des 50 jähr. Bestehens des Caecilienvereins Freiburg 1877–1927*, Imprimerie de l'Œuvre de St. Paul, Freiburg 1927, p. 30.

was demonstrated not through occasional financial aid, but through an annual subsidy of 200 francs, which the choir received until at least 1914.⁶⁷

Brulhart and Schorderet's work in indoctrinating the workers of the Auge did indeed achieve the desired result. The members of the *Cäcilienverein* became not only electors but also defenders of the "Christian Republic": they participated «fervently in the politico-religious struggle of [their] parish priest».⁶⁸ A striking example of this occurred in 1890. In the October of that year, elections took place for the representatives of the canton of Fribourg in the National Council. The principal struggle was between the radical and aforementioned member of the *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg*, Louis-Auguste Marmier, and the ultraconservative Georges Python. Python won the election and the radicals, displeased with this result, revolted. After two days of violent demonstrations, the conflict came to a peaceful resolution.⁶⁹ On this occasion, the *Cäcilienverein*, along with the choir *La Mutuelle*, actively defended the ultraconservatives:

On the political front, *La Mutuelle* and the *Cäcilienverein* had formed a kind of civic guard during the unrest in 1890 following an election to the National Council. They lent a hand to the defenders of order on the difficult days of 26 and 27 October, armed with old *Weterli* [rifles] under the command of Commandant Corboud.⁷⁰

The «Commandant Corboud» mentioned here was the conservative Théodore Corboud, who in 1884 founded the male choir *La Mutuelle*. Corboud's motivations for founding this choir, and his objectives, were the same as those of Brulhart. In addition to guaranteeing the religious service of the Parish of Saint John, located in the Neuveville district, «he intended to bring together the conservative forces of this neighbourhood, radical par excellence at the time».⁷¹ As was the case for the *Cäcilienverein*, *La Mutuelle* also benefited from the generosity of the "Christian

67. Archives de l'État de Fribourg, Fonds Cäcilienverein Freiburg, Jahresberichte 1888–1914; Moser, *Denkschrift zur Feier des 25-jährigen Bestehens des Cäcilienvereins Freiburg*, pp. 25–30.

68. «Avec ferveur au combat politico-religieux de son curé», Jutzet – Morel – Nicoulin, *Cäcilienverein Freiburg 1877–1977 Choeur mixte Saint Maurice*, p. 7.

69. Gex, *Entre face-à-face et lutte de façade*, pp. 61–71.

70. «Sur le plan politique, La Mutuelle et le Cäcilienverein avaient formé une espèce de garde civique lors des troubles survenus en 1890 lors d'une élection au Conseil national. Ils prêtèrent main-forte aux défenseurs de l'ordre dans les journées pénibles des 26 et 27 octobre, armés de vieux "Weterli" sous les ordres du commandant Corboud», Morel – Carrel – Heri Overney, *Union Chorale La Mutuelle Fribourg*, p. 19.

71. «Il entendait grouper les forces conservatrices de ce quartier radical par excellence en ce moment-là», *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Republic”: «for many years the State Council paid an annual subsidy of 300 francs to the “well-meaning” *Mutuelle*».⁷²

Conclusion

The three cases presented here — those of the *Berner Liedertafel*, the *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg*, and the *Cäcilienverein Freiburg* — exemplify different power relations for choirs, in particular with regard to political authorities but also with regard to the clergy, as in the case of Fribourg. The practical consequences of these relationships were directly related to whether the choir was — or was not — in opposition to these authorities.

The *Berner Liedertafel*, with its radical-liberal political stance, was aligned virtually throughout the entirety of the nineteenth century with the political position of the cantonal and federal governments, both of which were located in the city of Bern. The conservative municipal authorities opposed many of the activities of the *Liedertafel*, particularly in the early years of the choir’s existence. The *Liedertafel* received occasional financial contributions from the authorities, and although it did not receive regular subsidies, neither did it face frequent resistance from its opponents.

The *Société de Chant de la Ville de Fribourg* had a predominantly radical political position that was in opposition to the cantonal government for practically the whole of the nineteenth century, with the exception of the period of the radical government’s rule (1848–1856). With regard to the municipal authorities, the choir did have some periods of political alignment; however, this was not sufficient to prevent it from suffering from the tense political situation in Fribourg for most of the century. The *Société de Chant* received occasional financial contributions from the cantonal and municipal authorities, especially in periods when the radicals were in majority. However, the choir did not receive regular subsidies and also often faced active resistance from its opponents.

The *Cäcilienverein Freiburg*, on the other hand, was created precisely to strengthen the ultraconservative Catholics who were soon to take power. No evidence suggests that the choir suffered negative consequences from the fact that its political position opposed that of the Fribourg municipal authorities, which had a radical majority from 1881 onwards. During these years, the *Cäcilienverein* received regular subsidies not only from the parish to which it was attached, but also from the ultraconservative cantonal government. Unlike the *Société de Chant*

72. «Durant de nombreuses années, le Conseil d’État versa un subside annuel de 300 francs à la “bien pensante” *Mutuelle*», *Ibid.*, p. 28.

or the *Liedertafel*, we find no mention in the *Cäcilienverein* documents of financial difficulties, debts, or problems organising concerts or singing festivals.

These examples from the cities of Bern and Fribourg demonstrate the complexity of the Swiss nineteenth-century choral movement. Although the liberal strand of the choral movement became increasingly visible, in part owing to the Swiss Federal Singing Festivals, choirs associated with Catholic conservatism, for instance in the canton of Fribourg, also had a strong presence from the end of the century onwards. By delving into the particularities of the cities of Bern and Fribourg, the current study shows how misleading it can be to draw generalised conclusions: even within a relatively small town such as Fribourg, both radical and conservative choirs existed, and these were, sometimes simultaneously, both in opposition to and in support of the relevant authorities. However, in addition to demonstrating how these different political positions affected choral activities, this research reveals the significant role that these choirs played in the political power game itself.

A fruitful area of future research might thus be the study of the choral movement in other regions of Switzerland and an analysis of the relationships of choirs with political and religious authorities in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Abstract

In tutta Europa, nel corso del diciannovesimo secolo, vennero fondate numerose società corali maschili. In alcuni paesi erano sostenute dalle autorità politiche, che le utilizzavano come mezzo per promuovere i loro ideali, mentre in altre regioni erano considerate una minaccia al regime. Nel caso della Svizzera, vari studiosi hanno evidenziato una relazione tra posizioni politiche liberali e cori maschili, ma finora poco è stato scritto sull'attività e lo sviluppo delle società corali in contesti e momenti storici in cui i liberali non avevano la maggioranza di governo. Che relazione ci fu, in questi casi, tra cori e autorità politiche? Come hanno influito gli sviluppi politici e le lotte di potere sull'attività corale? Questo articolo si concentra sul rapporto tra i cori maschili e le autorità cittadine di Berna e Friburgo nel corso dell'Ottocento. Attraverso l'esame di varie fonti documentarie come lettere, liste di membri e pubblicazioni giubilari, si ricostruisce l'attività di importanti cori maschili di queste due città alla luce dei contesti di governo locale e regionale. Oltre a discutere le posizioni politiche dei cori e le loro conseguenze, si dimostra anche come questi cori fossero parte integrante del gioco del potere politico.

