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## **A Cosmopolitan Music City: Early Twentieth-Century Transnational Networks in Vyborg**

**Nuppu Koivisto-Kaasik & Saijaleena Rantanen**

Traditionally, early twentieth-century Vyborg was renowned for its vibrant cosmopolitanism and bustling cultural life in the Grand Duchy of Finland, which became independent from Russia in 1917. In addition to the city's Finnish- and Swedish-speaking populations, its numerous ethnic, religious, and cultural minorities—such as its Russian, German, and Jewish populations—as well as the hotchpotch of languages spoken in its streets contributed to Vyborg's reputation as one of Finland's most international cities. At the turn of the twentieth century, after Helsinki, Turku, and Tampere, Vyborg was the fourth largest city in the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland ruled by the Russian Emperor, with 23,923 inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the close connections with the nearby metropolis of Saint Petersburg, and Vyborg's geographical position as a border town gave a unique flair to the city's atmosphere, both before and after Finland gained its independence in 1917. However, as Vyborg was lost to the USSR troops in World War II, nostalgic and nationally idealized undertones made an imprint on the city's postwar memorialization in Finland.<sup>2</sup> Inspired by cultural history research on Vyborg, which has become more common in recent years, our chapter aims to subject this nostalgic mental image to a close critical reading based on contemporary source materials.<sup>3</sup> The historical evidence suggests that Vyborg's musical life was indeed cosmopolitan in nature.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the multicultural demography of Vyborg and its central location between Stockholm and Saint Petersburg, performers and ensembles from other parts of Europe and the Russian Empire were an everyday occurrence in the city.

In this chapter, we aim to shed light on visiting professional musicians' contribution to Vyborg's cosmopolitanism by covering a group of foreign orchestras, soloists, and restaurant entertainers. Who were these performers and where did they come from? What types of repertoires did they have, and who attended their concerts? In order to find answers to these questions, our approach aims at combining a micro-historical perspective with the analysis of transnational cultural networks as described by Steven Vertovec. According to Vertovec, the analysis of transnational cultural networks focuses on the “on-going exchanges among non-governmental actors across national borders, as well as the collective attributes of such connections, their processes of formation and maintenance, and their wider implications.”<sup>5</sup> As Saijaleena Rantanen and Vesa Kurkela have noted, the transnational perspective creates an opportunity to understand the complex, multicultural, and mediated forms of musical

interaction in nineteenth-century Europe.<sup>6</sup> Emphasized by Celia Applegate, “the most obvious effect of active musical travel and the spreading of different musical practices was to create a transnational space, one recognized by the end of the eighteenth century in the phrase ‘the musical world.’”<sup>7</sup> Our key argument, in turn, is that behind these transnational travels and lives lies a set of cosmopolitan skills, attitudes, and values that enhance cultural openness and the possibility of moving easily between cultures.<sup>8</sup> In our chapter, special attention is paid to the East-West dichotomy in order to find out what kinds of cultural influences reached Vyborg from Scandinavia or Germany and which trends, in turn, came to the city from other parts of the Russian Empire. The role of Saint Petersburg in this cultural mediation process cannot be emphasized enough.

To understand the specific dynamics of these cultural influences, we shall first map out the musical landscape of Vyborg at the turn of the twentieth century, paying specific attention to two autumn entertainment seasons, those of 1901 and 1908. Second, we shall present a more detailed micro-historical case study on one specific ensemble, the Fennia ladies’ orchestra, and its performances in Vyborg. There are two crucial reasons for setting these chronological boundaries. Firstly, the Fennia ladies’ orchestra performed in Vyborg in October 1901 and again during the autumn season of 1908. Second, these years represent a period in the history of Vyborg that was politically and culturally turbulent, as the so-called Russification processes were introduced in Finland at the turn of the century. At the time, Finland was an autonomous Grand Duchy with its own currency, religious (Lutheran) institutions, and official languages. The Russification project, a set of governmental policies implemented by Russian officials, was aimed at limiting the special administrative status of the Grand Duchy as well as to counter nationalist movements both in Finland as well as in other Western parts of the Russian Empire, such as the Baltic states. In the Grand Duchy of Finland, the most vigorous periods of Russification occurred in 1899–1905 and 1908–1917. These processes were met with considerable resistance by Finnish political elites and they were widely seen as instances of oppression in the Grand Duchy.<sup>9</sup> This was especially evident in Vyborg, the Finnish city closest to Saint Petersburg and the Russian border.

Regardless of its contested political status, early twentieth-century Vyborg was visited by numerous musicians and ensembles from abroad. One of these was the Fennia ladies’ orchestra, founded by the Polish- Austrian violinist and conductor Josef Silberman (1877–1950). This ensemble provides an interesting example of a transnational orchestra and serves to illustrate the role of women in the entertainment business in early twentieth-century Vyborg. Even though so-called ladies’ orchestras—that is, itinerant restaurant bands consisting mostly of women—were popular at the time, the Fennia ensemble was the only one to advertise itself as a “Finnish” orchestra.<sup>10</sup> However, the band only included two Finnish members—namely, the violinist Fredja Sahlman (1875–1934) and the cellist Miriam Sahlman (1880–1962). Even though the Sahlman sisters originally came from the Jewish community in Helsinki, they had close family ties to Vyborg. However, as we will see in the remainder of this chapter, anti-Semitic prejudices limited their effectiveness as contributors to a locally shared sense of cosmopolitanism transcending ethnic and religious stereotypes.

Our source material consists of both archival documents and newspaper clippings. In order to provide a varied and rich historical context for our case study, we have searched through two Vyborg-based newspapers—*Viipuri* and *Wiborgs Nyheter*—for material on the 1901 and 1908 autumn seasons. As the two papers differed from each other in terms of language and political orientation, they provide an interesting cross-section of cultural life in Vyborg.<sup>11</sup> Traces of the

Fennia orchestra's Finnish members and their family contacts in Vyborg have, in turn, been found in judiciary documents and police records stored in the Finnish National Archive.<sup>12</sup>

Previous research on the Fennia orchestra's Finnish tours is basically non-existent. On a broader scale, research on popular culture, performing arts, and musical life in Vyborg has also been scarce.<sup>13</sup> Simo Muir (2006), Laura Ekholm (2013), and Jukka Hartikainen (1993) have, in turn, conducted ground-breaking studies on the cultural lives of Jewish communities in Vyborg and Helsinki. Our chapter provides a new grass-root level perspective into the everyday cultural activities of Vyborg, a lost cultural city of Finland that has not yet been focused on in the studies on cultural transfers and exchanges in Europe. The chapter consists of three parts. In the first part, we sketch the context and outline of restaurant entertainment, variety performances, and cultural life in Vyborg during the autumn seasons of 1901 and 1908. The second part, in turn, is centered around the Fennia orchestra and its members' visits to Vyborg. In the final part, more general analysis and conclusions on the transnational cultural networks in early twentieth-century Vyborg are drawn based on our findings.

## **The Cosmopolitan Music City of Vyborg**

According to the newspaper material, it is clear that Vyborg's musical life was diverse and international at the beginning of the twentieth century. As the cultural historian Charlotta Wolff has argued, the cultural life of Vyborg was already more diverse than elsewhere in Finland as early as the early nineteenth century. This special status was influenced by the city's strong German traditions, and its powerful, interconnected German-Swedish merchant community, which was well aware of the current cultural trends in Europe.<sup>14</sup> The end of the Great Northern War (1700–1721) marked the beginning of a so-called German century in Vyborg, which was evident in cultural life as well.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the German-Swedish upper class, the city garrison officers were another important culture-consuming group.<sup>16</sup> Among them were many Russian families.<sup>17</sup> The cosmopolitan character of Vyborg was further enhanced by the fact that in addition to German, Swedish, Russian, and Finnish, other languages such as French or Yiddish, for example, were also spoken in the city.

The development of Vyborg's diverse urban culture was facilitated by its location as a lively port city near Saint Petersburg. Numerous artist groups and soloists as well as students and staff from the renowned Saint Petersburg Conservatory, founded in 1862, stopped in Vyborg on their way to the metropolis of Saint Petersburg and again on their journeys to Helsinki, Turku, and Stockholm.<sup>18</sup> The distance from Vyborg to Saint Petersburg is approximately 140 km and was usually travelled by train or ship. As for the distance from Vyborg to Helsinki, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland, it was approximately 240 km, which made Vyborg a suitable stopover in both directions. The railway between Helsinki and Vyborg, completed in 1870, promoted cultural activity and a tighter integration of Vyborg into Finland's cultural networks.<sup>19</sup> The proximity of Saint Petersburg was, however, more important to the cultural life of Vyborg than that of Turku or Helsinki.<sup>20</sup>

Due to the enthusiasm for theater that awakened early in the city, Vyborg had venues that made it possible to perform more demanding works. As a result, high-profile German-language theater and opera groups, travelling around the Baltic Sea in the early nineteenth century, visited the Vyborg region, presenting their fashionable European repertoire.<sup>21</sup> Music teachers and conductors from Germany played a key role in the development of a public musical life in

Vyborg, and many of them had also been active in Saint Petersburg. Among these musicians were Heinrich Hermann Wächter, Richard Faltin, Ernst Schneévoigt, and Conrad Spohr, who organized choral and orchestral activities in the city from the 1840s onward. Under the leadership of these musicians, Vyborg became a lively concert city.<sup>22</sup> Gotthard Johann Dieberg, a music teacher at the Vyborg upper secondary school and a conductor of the infantry regiment, as well as the musician and teacher Carl Ernst Meyer, also deserve to be mentioned among the early developers of Vyborg's musical life.<sup>23</sup> Additionally, a number of talented artists emerged among the city's upper class, contributing to the establishment of the bourgeois musical life of Vyborg. Many of them travelled abroad for further studies, including the pianist Elise Waechter, violinist and composer Ernst Fabritius, and the siblings Anna and Filip Forstén, both of whom studied singing in Paris under Jean Masset.<sup>24</sup>

The musical activities of Vyborg solidified in 1895, when the local bourgeoisie founded an association called Viipurin Musiikin Ystävät [Vyborg Friends of Music]. With financial support from the city, the association established an orchestra and a choir, which provided the necessary framework for visiting musicians to be able to perform in Vyborg. The musicians for the orchestra were recruited from Germany and Italy through the networks of the conductors.<sup>25</sup> Due to the wideranging theatrical and musical activities, musicians from Russia, including many Jewish artists, also settled in Vyborg.<sup>26</sup> During the period studied, the renowned Finnish conductors and composers Armas Järnefelt (1898–1903) and Erkki Melartin (1908–1911) acted as conductors of the Viipurin Musiikin Ystävät orchestra.<sup>27</sup> Under Järnefelt and Melartin, the orchestra rose to its full potential and also made two tours abroad: one to Paris in 1901 and another to Berlin in 1908.<sup>28</sup> The orchestra also featured a significant number of renowned artists.<sup>29</sup>

Vyborg also offered opportunities for musical education. Several private teachers provided instruction on various instruments, the availability of which was ensured by the music merchants in the city. In addition to private music schools, the Parish Clerk and Organist School was founded in Vyborg in 1893.<sup>30</sup> Fifteen years later, in the autumn of 1908, Viipurin Musiikin Ystävät established the Vyborg Orchestra School, where teaching was organized by both musicians from the orchestra and the conductor Erkki Melartin.<sup>31</sup> The city was very lively when it came to hosting events, which led to the organizing of countless soirées, concerts, anniversaries, and lotteries with varied programs. There were several choirs and brass bands linked to the associations as well as amateur theater groups performing actively.<sup>32</sup>

By the early twentieth century, Vyborg had established itself as a popular venue for foreign and domestic artists.<sup>33</sup> The citizens of Vyborg actively attended cultural events.<sup>34</sup> The range of music was varied and international. In addition to art music, popular music gained in prominence on the city's musical scene.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, the beginning of the Russification period increasingly attracted the citizens to emphasize their Finnishness and the Finnish language.<sup>36</sup> Next, we will look at who visited and performed in Vyborg during the autumn seasons of 1901 and 1908, and what effect the tightening of the political situation may have had on the city's musical activities.

### ***Autumn Season 1901***

One of the most important venues in Vyborg was the Espilä restaurant, located in the city center along the lush park esplanade, Torkkeli Park. Other popular places for evening gatherings and performances were, for example, the variety restaurant Tervaniemi, also known as “Turhala” [“Vanity”] next to the sea, and the Continental Hotel, where Fennia, the orchestra of our case

study, also performed. Local restaurateurs organized entertainment from masquerades to variety shows. City orchestra concerts, and other, more “serious” concerts, were usually held in the City Hall or the Elementary School Hall. In addition, the cinema<sup>37</sup> and circus<sup>38</sup> offered other popular amusements. The golden age of the circus took place in Finland during the period under study, when several international circus groups travelled the country. Often, they also had their own orchestra.<sup>39</sup>

During the autumn of 1901, the Vyborg Battalion Orchestra regularly played in Espilä<sup>40</sup> and Tervaniemi.<sup>41</sup> Several restaurants served dinner accompanied by music.<sup>42</sup> In Tervaniemi and St. Anne’s Restaurant, for example, music was provided by the “Italian Quartet Lorenzo.”<sup>43</sup> At the same time, another Italian music group, “Colombo,” performed at Hotel Continental. Colombo had previously performed in the famous Kämp restaurant in Helsinki and at the Saint Petersburg Zoo.<sup>44</sup> The group’s program ranged from Finnish and Italian folk songs to the Italian tarantella dance.<sup>45</sup> Colombo stayed in Vyborg for two weeks and returned again in December.<sup>46</sup>

According to the newspaper reports, other foreign visitors included, for example, the German tenor Ludvig Hess, who was famous in Europe and arrived in Vyborg from/via Helsinki. The Russian pianist Alexandr Ziloti, a student of Franz Liszt, and Alexandr Wierzbilowicz, a Polish cellist based in Russia, also performed in the city.<sup>47</sup> In late October and early November, the well-known German duo Anna and Eugen Hildach performed at two ballad nights in the Town Hall, accompanied by the Dutch pianist Henri Puch.<sup>48</sup> Additionally, the German pianist Max Pauer performed at the Town Hall in December.<sup>49</sup>

Local musical entertainment was provided by the battalion’s band, along with the Viipurin Musiikin Ystävät orchestra, which regularly organized popular concerts and folk concerts with varying soloists. Popular concerts usually featured music by renowned international and domestic composers. The program included music from Richard Wagner, Liszt, Händel, Bach, Mozart, Carl Maria von Weber, and Richard Strauss. Jean Sibelius’s compositions had a prominent position among the works of Finnish artists, together with those by Armas Järnefelt, who acted as orchestra leader at the time. The purpose of the popular concerts, open to everybody, was to educate the citizens musically. They were often held in the Elementary School Hall, which was accessible to anyone, unlike the high-end restaurants favored by the bourgeoisie. Popular concerts attracted a large number of interested audiences.

Women musicians or entire women orchestras, such as the Fennia ladies’ orchestra, were not unusual in Vyborg in the early twentieth century. In Finland, women performers were characteristically travelling songstresses, but over time, women instrumentalists and entirely female orchestras became more common. According to Nuppu Koivisto-Kaasik, who has studied European ladies’ orchestras and their networks and performances in Finland, these small, itinerant salon orchestras, typically with 10 to 15 members, were very much in vogue at the turn of the century, and they toured Europe by the dozen.<sup>50</sup> Most of these orchestras were small family businesses originating from the renowned, provincial “music towns” (*Musikstädte*) in the German and Austrian Empires. Although these orchestras usually included one or two male musicians for practical reasons, the majority of the band members were women. These ladies’ orchestras performed in cafés, restaurants, and hotels, providing lively *Unterhaltungsmusik* (entertainment music) for their middle-class customers. The orchestras’ musical activities were showcased on international concert tours, which could last for months or even years. During the golden age of women orchestras, from the 1870s to the First World War, they formed a significant part of urban middle-class entertainment culture.<sup>51</sup>

Ladies' orchestras visiting Vyborg before the beginning of the twentieth century included the string orchestra "Wiener Damen Capelle Bärthl," as well as the "Rudolph" or "Rodolph" ensemble which performed in Vyborg in 1885. The "Aurora Quintet," recruited to Tervaniemi in March 1891, and the "German" brass band "Hansa," the first women's brass band seen in Finland, performing in Espilä, also visited Vyborg.<sup>52</sup> The latter two orchestras arrived in Vyborg from the Arkadia variety theater in Saint Petersburg. In addition to the Fennia orchestra, women musicians performing in Vyborg in the autumn season of 1901 included the Norwegian pianist and composer Agathe Backer-Grøndahl, along with the singer Olivia Dahl.<sup>53</sup> Backer-Grøndahl's own compositions were also heard at a concert in the Town Hall.<sup>54</sup> Even though women musicians were accustomed to being seen in the city, women who composed were still an exception, and received special mention in the press: "Few are the women who compose and even fewer are those who compose well."<sup>55</sup> Skepticism toward women acting as professional musicians was deep-seated.

In addition to popular concerts, the Viipurin Musiikin Ystävät orchestra also organized symphony concerts with visiting soloists. The guest soloist at the first symphony concert in the autumn of 1901 was Venezuelan pianist and composer Teresa Carreño,<sup>56</sup> whose performance received praise in the local newspapers.<sup>57</sup> In December, Emelie Stolz, a harpist from the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, gave a guest performance at a popular symphony concert at the Town Hall. The concert featured a Finnish program: Ernst Mielck's<sup>58</sup> Symphony in F Major, Armas Järnefelt's Symphonic Poem, and Jean Sibelius's *The Swan of Tuonela* and *Lemminkäinen*.<sup>59</sup>

Toward the end of the year, the first visitors of the spring season were advertised in the newspapers, including a ladies' orchestra with eight musicians from Vienna<sup>60</sup> and the violinist Sophie Röder, who arrived in Vyborg after performing in Saint Petersburg and Moscow.<sup>61</sup> In the light of the newspaper reports and advertisements, it is evident that during the autumn season of 1901, the musical life of Vyborg was varied and very lively with several foreign visitors performing at the numerous cultural venues in the city. Reactions elicited by the Russification campaign were not yet prevalent in the public entertainment press coverage. By 1908, however, the political situation in Finland looked notably different to the beginning of the century.

### ***Autumn Season 1908***

The second period of Russification had begun during the summer of 1908, and it led to the intensification of political tensions in Vyborg, near the Russian border. At the same time, after the Russian Revolution of 1905, the Finnish labor movement had adopted a socialist stance and had separated from the bourgeoisie. In Vyborg, the conflict between these two groups became more concrete in the local music scene, when the city's culturally active labor union became highly critical of the bourgeois song and music festival held in Vyborg, due to its strong Finnish national character.<sup>62</sup> Laborers were not against the nationalist mindset per se, but according to the labor activists in Vyborg, it was more important to focus on the needs and rights of the working class, as well as their social status. The debate eventually led to the labor movement organizing its own song festivals, but did the change in the political situation have an impact on the recruitment of international musicians as well?<sup>63</sup>

According to the newspapers, in the autumn entertainment season of 1908, the soloists of the Viipurin Musiikin Ystävät orchestra in particular, were predominantly Finnish rather than foreigners, unlike in the autumn of 1901. Newspapers were full of soirée advertisements and

other entertainment events organized by local associations. Films were also regularly shown with the accompaniment of a gramophone or a live pianist.<sup>64</sup> International performers included the Brussels String Quartet, which played two concerts.<sup>65</sup> In addition, Charles Gregorowitsch,<sup>66</sup> a Russian violin virtuoso, and Heinrich Sieman, a German-born cellist, performed in the city, Sieman featuring as a soloist for two popular concerts.<sup>67</sup> There was a Dutch circus performing in Vyborg as well, which gained great popularity under the leadership of its manager, F. Goldkette.<sup>68</sup>

Among the female musicians visiting Vyborg was singer Mally Burjam-Borga. She performed several times with the assistance of tenor singer Vainö Sola.<sup>69</sup> Burjam-Borga was born in Vyborg to a Germanspeaking family and, during her visit, had already made an international career performing, for example, at the Opéra-Comique in Paris Fig 2:1 (Figure 2.1).



*Figure 2.1* Soprano Mally Burjam-Borga was born in Vyborg and gave concerts in her hometown in the early 1900s. She also had a successful career as an opera singer in Germany and France, as this cabinet card—printed in Paris—testifies.

Source: SLS / Svenska Teaterns arkiv, 1900.

Burjam-Borga was known not only in Paris but also in Saint Petersburg, Monte Carlo, and Nice.<sup>70</sup> The concert by Burjam-Borga and Sola officially opened the season and attracted a lot of interested listeners. The concert featured both domestic and foreign works, such as “Morte di Margherita” from the hit opera *Mefistofele* by Arrigo Boito, which received a special mention in the newspaper.<sup>71</sup> A week later, Burjam-Borga visited Vyborg again with Sola, Ingrid Borenius, and the violinist Gösta Schatelowitz. Proceeds from the charity concert were donated to the poor children of Vyborg.<sup>72</sup> The first popular concert of the season was attended by young Finnish singer Maria Åkerman, who, like Burjam-Borga, had studied singing in Paris.<sup>73</sup>

Similarly to the aforementioned performer, singer and composer Ina von Pfaler (1882–1943), who was born in Vyborg and had trained abroad, also performed in the city during the fall.<sup>74</sup> Pfaler also gave a popular symphony concert.<sup>75</sup> Soprano Valery Delmár performed as a guest soloist at this concert.<sup>76</sup> Other female artists performing in Vyborg in the autumn 1908 were Manny Paischeff,<sup>77</sup> a Russian-born dance musician, Ida Ekman,<sup>78</sup> a Finnish singer, Elli Rängman,<sup>79</sup> a guest soloist at the symphony concert, and Ali Sorvali,<sup>80</sup> a soloist at the popular concert of the Vyborg Orchestra. Sorvali also performed at a church concert organized by the Danish composer and conductor Theodor Sörensen, based in Vyborg.<sup>81</sup> In December, singer Elly de Lorme gave a concert at the Esplanade Pavilion Espilä alongside the Fennia ladies’ orchestra.<sup>82</sup>

Although the Russification campaign proceeded apace, the change in political sentiment that it caused was not actively reflected in the news and advertisements covering the city’s public musical scene. It is evident, however, that the concert program of the Vyborg Orchestra featured more domestic music than, for example, in the 1901 autumn season, and several domestic soloists were invited to perform with the orchestra. Yet we argue, that rather than being affected by these political developments, the majority of Finnish musicians were perhaps even more influenced by an increase in their opportunities to get a music education, not only abroad, but also in Finland, which resulted in a significant increase in the number of professional domestic artists. In our case study on Fennia ladies’ orchestra, however, the challenge of mediating internal political conflicts was more complicated, as the Sahlman sisters belonged to a religious and cultural minority that did not fit into the early twentieth-century mold of “Finnishness.”

## Case Study: The Fennia Ladies’ Orchestra

The Fennia ladies’ orchestra—or Silbermann’s ladies’ orchestra, as it was later called—offers particularly interesting insights into the cosmopolitan musical life of early twentieth-century Vyborg. The orchestra gave concerts in Vyborg on two occasions, in October 1901 and during the autumn season of 1908.<sup>83</sup> By the time the Fennia orchestra first visited Vyborg, it had already been touring Scandinavia and Northern Germany for some years. The group had been founded in the late 1890s by the Polish-Austrian violinist and conductor Josef Silbermann and his wife, the Helsinki-born violinist Fredja Silbermann (née Sahlman).<sup>84</sup> On the whole, the Fennia orchestra might be described as the classic example of a so-called ladies’ orchestra (*Damenkapelle*) in terms of touring routes between Central and Northern Europe. Even though their members mostly came from Central Europe, the orchestras had undeniably cosmopolitan line-ups. The Fennia orchestra, for example, employed musicians from Sweden, Austria, and Finland—including Fredja Sahlman’s sister Miriam.<sup>85</sup>



As mentioned in the introduction, the Fennia orchestra was, in fact, the only ladies' orchestra to advertise itself as a quintessentially "Finnish" ensemble.<sup>86</sup> This was most likely due to pragmatic reasons rather than patriotic fervor—national or local advertisement strategies were common in early twentieth-century ladies' orchestras. In addition to numerous "Viennese" or "Austrian" ladies' salon orchestras, all kinds of attributes ranging from "Russian" and "Turkish" to "Norwegian" and "Tyrolean" were adopted by these ensembles. In short, exoticism and ethnic stereotyping was considered a lucrative selling point in the entertainment industry.<sup>87</sup> The fact that the Fennia orchestra took on other national and local attributes—such as "Swedish" and "Viennese"—in its later advertising seems to further support this argument.<sup>88</sup>

What makes the Fennia orchestra a particularly interesting guest ensemble, however, relates to the socio-economic background of its two Finnish members. The Sahlmans belonged to the small but active Jewish community within the Grand Duchy of Finland.<sup>89</sup> In fact, they represented a rather typical example of a late nineteenth-century Jewish family in Finland. The father of Fredja and Miriam Sahlman, Ilya (Elias) Sahlman (1847?–1911), had arrived in Finland with the Russian army as a 17-year-old tailor's apprentice.<sup>90</sup> Soon afterwards, he settled there permanently, after marrying the Helsinki-born Rachel-Lea Bernstein (1855–1942) in the early 1870s.<sup>91</sup>

Both Fredja and Miriam Sahlman were educated and spent their youth in the capital area. After studying at the prestigious Helsinki Music School in the 1890s, both sisters followed the transnational career path of itinerant musicians in ladies' salon orchestras.<sup>92</sup> In all likelihood, this choice was at least partly a pragmatic one. The legal situation for Jews in the Grand Duchy of Finland was complicated because of restrictions enforced by a myriad of ancient Swedish and Russian laws. This essentially meant that all Jews residing in Finnish cities had to report themselves to the authorities every few months, and that their children could only remain in the country until they married or completed their military service. For Jews, Finnish citizenship was not an option until the dissolution of the Russian Empire in 1917.<sup>93</sup>

All things considered, it is no wonder that the musicians of the Sahlman- Silberman family chose to settle in Sweden in the late 1890s—and later in Amsterdam—where their legal status was quite different.<sup>94</sup> Eventually, Josef and Fredja Silberman as well as their children lived in the Netherlands until their passing. Miriam Sahlman, on the other hand, returned to Finland in the 1920s after the break-up of the Fennia orchestra, re-training herself as a nurse and keeping a household with her mother and eldest sister, Bertha.<sup>95</sup>

### ***The Sahlmans' Family Background***

Even though the Sahlman family was officially registered in Helsinki, they had close personal and professional contacts with Vyborg. Miriam Sahlman was even born in the border city.<sup>96</sup> Thus, it seems likely that the family members were familiar with Vyborg's tailoring scene and visited the city every now and then. After Ilya Sahlman's Helsinki-based tailoring business had gone bankrupt in 1888, he eventually settled in Vyborg permanently to re-establish his career. The rest of the family, however, chose to stay in Helsinki.<sup>97</sup>

It should be noted that the Sahlman family's business contacts extended well beyond Finnish cities such as Helsinki and Vyborg. Based on the bankruptcy documents of Ilya Sahlman's tailoring business, it is evident that he had important business contacts with several drapers from Northern Germany.<sup>98</sup> Thus, forging an international career in the Baltic Sea region was not an entirely novel endeavor in the Sahlman family. Rather, when Fredja and Miriam

Sahlman started their musical careers, international mobility and business contacts had already become well rooted in the family.

Unfortunately, few sources tell us of the Sahlmans' personal family history in Vyborg. Since they were practicing Judaism and keeping kosher, we may assume they were in contact with the Vyborg Jewish community.<sup>99</sup> According to Jukka Hartikainen, the local congregation was a notably cosmopolitan, but close-knit one, its traditions differing to some extent from the practices of the—religiously speaking, rather conservative—Jewish community in Helsinki.<sup>100</sup> As the Vyborg Jewish community was open to cultural exchanges and contacts, it is no wonder that Ilya Sahlman ended up working as a foreman at the shop of Carl Haschke, a German-speaking, Lutheran tailor.<sup>101</sup>

In the early 1910s, the Sahlman family's ties to Vyborg weakened considerably. Namely, one Saturday evening in February 1911, Ilya Sahlman died of gas poisoning in his apartment. The accident was widely reported in different newspapers, and an inquest followed. As Ilya had taken out a notable life insurance policy (worth 10,000 Finnish marks) only a few weeks before his death, and the insurance company refused to honor it, the bereaved eventually had to sue it. This resulted in a lengthy court case, finally resolved in the family's favor. Josef and Fredja Silberman as well as Miriam Sahlman were all involved in the court proceedings, although they probably resided abroad during the hearings.<sup>102</sup> As Fredja and Josef Silbermann permanently settled in the Netherlands during the early 1910s, it is likely that their contacts with the Vyborg music scene declined even more after the death of Ilya Sahlman.

There is no direct evidence as to whether Fredja and Miriam Sahlman were in contact with their father while performing in Vyborg. Indeed, it seems that the family became somewhat estranged because of Ilya's moving away from Helsinki. It is also worth noting that the children of Josef and Fredja Silberman were brought up in the household of their aunts and grandmother in Helsinki rather than with their grandfather in Vyborg, and that the orchestra's tours were concentrated on the Western coast of Finland.<sup>103</sup> Whatever the case may be, Miriam Sahlman at least seems to have maintained a relationship with her city of birth. When in need of a passport for a foreign tour in 1913, it was in Vyborg that she applied for the documents. As she returned to Finland in the late 1920s to study physiotherapy, one of her references was from Dr J. Pergament, member of a well-known, Vyborg- and Helsinki-based Jewish family.<sup>104</sup>

When analyzing the Sahlman sisters' career in ladies' orchestras, the antisemitic and racist undertones of the entertainment culture from that era were evident in Vyborg and elsewhere. Some ladies' orchestras, for example, downright refused to employ Jewish women.<sup>105</sup> While there were no official pogroms in Finland, antisemitic attitudes were still widespread.<sup>106</sup> Although the Fennia orchestra enjoyed a relatively good reputation in both Vyborg and other Finnish cities, one Vyborg-based journalist chose to refer to the Sahlman sisters in markedly antisemitic terms in 1897: "It is characteristic that Jewish girls do not possess the will for studying. They are more inclined towards music: they crave for entertainment and delight. Thus, [their] Eastern character makes itself visible regardless of [their] Western education."<sup>107</sup> Even though the latenineteenth century entertainment business was essentially transnational and many Jews were able to forge a career onstage, they had to face serious prejudices.<sup>108</sup>

### ***Concerts in 1901***

The Fennia ladies' orchestra's first visit to Vyborg occurred in October 1901. That year, the orchestra had already toured widely in Finnish cities, performing in Turku, Helsinki, Loviisa,

and Vaasa at the very least.<sup>109</sup> These kinds of coastal destinations were characteristic choices for a ladies' salon orchestra performing in Finland at the time. Just like its rivals, the Fennia orchestra played in fashionable hotels in the country's larger cities—such as Hotel Fennia in Helsinki or Hotel Hamburger Börs in Turku.<sup>110</sup> As the vibrant cultural center of Vyborg in Eastern Finland was among the favorite destinations for ladies' orchestras, it is no wonder that the Silbermans chose to include it in their tour.<sup>111</sup>

Based on newspaper advertisements, the Fennia orchestra only performed in Vyborg for a week—from October 25 until October 31, 1901. Their visit was preceded by an engagement at Ernst's Hotel in Vaasa and followed by an engagement at Hotel Fennia in Helsinki, where the orchestra had already held a successful performance the previous spring.<sup>112</sup> Even though the shows in Vyborg lasted only for a short period, Josef and Fredja Silberman arrived in the city a week in advance, staying at the fashionable Hotel Åström.<sup>113</sup> The Fennia orchestra played at the Hotel Continental, which was situated at Rautatienkatu 1 and owned by Charles August Lindström.<sup>114</sup> This establishment had been founded in 1897 and had quickly become one of the main employers for itinerant ladies' orchestras in the city.<sup>115</sup> As its target clientele mostly consisted of upper- and middle-class townspeople and travelers, the Hotel Continental could be considered an example of an archetypical concert venue for late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century ladies' orchestras. During a standard performance, the audience would remain seated by small tables, enjoying their drinks, smoking their cigars, and meeting their friends.<sup>116</sup>

As was often the case with ladies' orchestras, there is scant information on the Fennia orchestra's Vyborg performances in the press. The only pieces of information mentioned by journalists were that the band's first concert had been a success, that it was only planning to stay in Vyborg for a short time and that it included nine players.<sup>117</sup> However, a program that was printed for the orchestra's farewell concert on October 31 has survived.<sup>118</sup> As has been shown elsewhere, its content may be considered a typical example of an early twentieth-century restaurant concert.<sup>119</sup> The pieces played—marches, waltzes, overtures, potpourris, and so on—could be categorized as salon music or early popular music. They were meant to entertain and to encourage the audience to buy more drinks.<sup>120</sup> However, it needs to be noted that the Fennia orchestra included Sibelius' "Musette" in their program. Although ladies' orchestras often adapted some Finnish pieces in their repertoire when touring in the Grand Duchy of Finland, no other evidence of Sibelius being played by a ladies' orchestra has been found so far.<sup>121</sup> Since the Fennia orchestra advertised itself as Finnish, playing Sibelius fitted its profile very well. In Sweden, the band performed a number of works from other Finnish composers, such as Robert Kajanus.<sup>122</sup>

There is no explicit information concerning the reason for the Fennia orchestra's unusually short stay in Vyborg. It is, however, likely that accepting a longer engagement in Helsinki was because Fredja Silberman was heavily pregnant by October 1901—she gave birth to her second child, Benedict, on December 5, 1901.<sup>123</sup> Thus, it made sense for the whole orchestra to relocate so that Fredja could be taken care of by her mother and sisters in Helsinki. As the Fennia orchestra returned to Sweden in early 1902, Fredja probably stayed behind with her newborn son in order to recover.<sup>124</sup>

## Concerts in 1908

After their first tour in 1901, the Fennia orchestra returned to Finland on three further occasions—in 1904, 1908, and 1909.<sup>125</sup> It mainly performed in Turku and Helsinki as well as in the up-and-coming summer resort hub Hanko.<sup>126</sup> During these visits, the orchestra only came to perform in Vyborg once, in 1908. This time, Silberman's orchestra stayed in Vyborg for the whole autumn season, from September until possibly December.<sup>127</sup> The group performed in the well-known and newly renovated restaurant Espilä, Fig 2:2 owned at the time by Valentin Kasubskij (Figure 2.2).<sup>128</sup> Evidently, the restaurant owner was also willing to invest in the entertainment program. For December 1908, he employed a concert singer (*konsertsångerska*), Elly de Lorme to perform with the Fennia ladies' orchestra.<sup>129</sup> This was customary in the early twentieth-century Finnish entertainment business: a restaurant might have engaged a resident orchestra for the whole season, but its performances were often enlivened with occasional guest artists such as dancers, singers, or comedians.<sup>130</sup> Thus, the phenomenon of ladies' orchestras had close, everyday ties with other forms of variety theater culture.<sup>131</sup>



Figure 2.2 Restaurant Espilä, situated along the Torkkeli park esplanade, was one of the most renowned entertainment venues in early twentieth-century Vyborg.

Source: Museums of Lappeenranta, 1910s.

In addition, the Fennia orchestra's 1908 visit to Vyborg illustrates the flexibility of ladies' orchestras when it came to special occasions. On Finnish Swedish Heritage Day, November 6,<sup>132</sup> Kasubskij organised a festive dinner, during which the Fennia orchestra performed.<sup>133</sup> This was a widespread practice in early twentieth-century Finland: whenever there was a local celebration—such as New Year's Day or Runeberg Day—restaurant orchestras would perform with a special program during the evening festivities.<sup>134</sup> With regard to the Finnish Swedish

Heritage Day, it is also worth noting that Fredja and Miriam Silberman most likely grew up in a Swedish and possibly Yiddish- and Russian-speaking household, which was the case for most Helsinki-based Jews at the time.<sup>135</sup>

It seems that Vyborg was the final stop on the Fennia orchestra's 1908 tour along the Finnish coast. After having spent the summer season in Hanko, famed for its sea-bathing and tennis courts, the Silbermans and their orchestra travelled eastward, briefly stopping at the industrial port town of Kotka.<sup>136</sup> There is no evidence as to whether the Fennia orchestra continued its journey to Saint Petersburg, which would have been the logical choice for touring musicians and orchestras at the time.<sup>137</sup> Rather, the orchestra returned to Sweden, performing in Sundsvall and Karlstad during the spring season of 1909.<sup>138</sup>

To summarize, the Fennia orchestra's network of personal and professional contacts in Vyborg provide a rich micro-historical insight into the cosmopolitan entertainment culture of the city. First of all, the orchestra's line-up was truly multicultural, and the orchestra had already performed in Sweden, Germany, and other Finnish cities before its visits to Vyborg. As for concert venues, repertoire, and reception, the Fennia orchestra was a classic representation of the ladies' orchestra and variety scenes in the border city. On the other hand, Fredja and Miriam Sahlman's personal ties to Vyborg's lively Jewish community tell us of the international and cosmopolitan contacts of the city's ordinary inhabitants. All in all, the Fennia ladies' orchestra could also serve as an illustration of the complexities of cosmopolitanist and nationalist tendencies in early twentieth-century European entertainment culture. The fact that the orchestra chose to promote and advertise Finnishness could thus even be seen as a subversive act that urges us to redefine the parameters of early twentieth-century Nordic nationalism.

## Conclusions

As we have shown in this chapter, the cultural life of early twentieth-century Vyborg was varied and based on many transnational exchanges. Artists from Russia, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, and other parts of Europe visited the city on their way to or from Saint Petersburg. The proximity of the vibrant Russian capital was evident in the everyday cultural life of Vyborg. In addition, German influence and the city's German-speaking minority played a crucial role in local orchestras and music schools. The Swedish speaking bourgeoisie also had a remarkable impact on the musical life of Vyborg.

Evidently, cosmopolitan cultural endeavors per se were not exceptional in the Grand Duchy of Finland. Many of the performers and artist groups visiting Vyborg stopped off in other larger Finnish cities on the coastal route from Stockholm to Saint Petersburg, such as Helsinki, Turku, and Vaasa. This is how the Fennia ladies' orchestra planned its tours, as has been discussed. Furthermore, political turbulence both in the Russian Empire as a whole, and in Finland specifically, was reflected in Vyborg's cultural scene. However, due to Vyborg's location and multicultural history, the city had a unique atmosphere influenced by the cultural networks and features from both the Baltic Sea area and the metropolis of Saint Petersburg. As the tour routes of the Fennia orchestra show, in some cases, Baltic and Swedish contacts turned out to be of greater significance than those from Saint Petersburg.

As the case of the Fennia orchestra implies, Vyborg's ethnic, cultural, and religious minorities had a significant presence in the musical life of the border city. Thus, Vyborg could be regarded as a transnational space shaped by cosmopolitan attitudes and endeavors. The careers of the

Fennia orchestra's Helsinki-born members, Fredja Silberman and Miriam Sahlman, ranging from Helsinki and Vyborg to Sweden and Amsterdam, tell us of the adaptability and mobility of musicians in early twentieth-century Northern Europe. On the other hand, discriminatory laws and antisemitic prejudice took their toll on the Sahlman sisters' possibilities of making a living in their home cities. In addition, the national and local advertising strategies of different variety ensembles—such as the self-assumed “Finnishness” of the Fennia orchestra—tell us of the exoticist and ethnically stereotyped undertones of the cosmopolitan entertainment scene in Vyborg and other cities.

The beginning of the First World War marked a significant break regarding the tours of international musicians in Finland. In the 1920s, however, the cosmopolitan music scene became active again. Even though Vyborg's streets might have been filled with people speaking different dialects and languages, interactions between different groups of people were not always smooth, and this aspect of Vyborg's multicultural history has been glossed over in many previous studies.<sup>139</sup> The prejudices that some people had regarding the Vyborg-based Jewish community and other minorities need to be carefully examined in future history-writing. All in all, our chapter demonstrates that Vyborg formed a significant crossroads for cultural transfer at the Baltic Sea area and a gateway to Saint Petersburg.

## Notes

1. Tilastollinen päätoimisto, *Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja 1901 / Annuaire statistique pour la Finlande 1901* (Helsinki, 1901), 14, accessed February 7, 2020, <https://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/67197>. The biggest city in the early-twentieth century Grand Duchy of Finland was its administrative center, Helsinki (81,119 inhabitants), followed by Turku (35,281) and Tampere (28,725).
2. A good example of these nostalgic undertones is the almost mythical reputation of the renowned Monrepos manor, situated in Vyborg, in Finnish cultural life. See, e.g., Rainer Knapas, *Monrepos: ranskalaisen kulttuurin pohjoinen keidas* (Helsinki: SKS, 2008).
3. Anu Koskivirta, Pentti Paavolainen, and Sanna Supponen, “Viipurin historiankirjoitus: politiikkaa, teemoja ja aukollisuuksia,” in *Muuttuvien tulkintojen Viipuri*, ed. Anu Koskivirta, Pentti Paavolainen, and Sanna Supponen (Helsinki: VSKS, 2016), 10–11.
4. See, e.g., Pentti Paavolainen, “Kielisuhteiden muutos Viipurin teatterissa, oopperassa ja musiikkielämässä,” in *Muuttuvien tulkintojen Viipuri*, ed. Anu Koskivirta, Pentti Paavolainen, and Sanna Supponen (Helsinki: VSKS, 2016), 98–132.
5. Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 3. On transnationalism, see also, e.g., Margrit Pernau, *Transnationale Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).
6. Vesa Kurkela and Saijaleena Rantanen, “Germany as a Cultural Paraform: Transferring Modern Musical Life from Central Europe to Finland,” in *Cultural Mediation in Europe 1800–1950*, ed. Reine Meylaerts, Lieven D’hulst, and Tom Verschaffel (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017), 180.
7. Celia Applegate, “Mendelssohn on the Road: Music, Travel, and the Anglo-American Symbiosis,” in *New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 230–31.

8. Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 69–71. See also Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds., *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism – Theory, Context and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
9. For a comprehensive overview of the Russification processes and of the political history of nineteenth-century Finland, see Osmo Jussila et al., *Suomen poliittinen historia 1809–2009* (Helsinki: WSOY, 2009), 67–100.
10. On ladies' salon orchestras in late nineteenth-century Europe, see, e.g., Dorothea Kaufmann, "... routinierte Trommlerin gesucht." *Musikerin in einer Damenkapelle. Zum Bild eines vergessenen Frauenberufes aus der Kaiserzeit* (Karben: CODA Verlag, 1997); and Margaret Myers, "Blowing Her Own Trumpet: European Ladies' Orchestras & Other Woman Musicians 1870–1950 in Sweden" (PhD diss., Göteborgs Universitet, 1993).
11. All Finnish newspapers until 1929 have been digitized by the National Library of Finland (<https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/etusivu>, accessed December 4, 2019). *Wiborgs Nyheter* was published in Swedish and the politically more conservative *Viipuri* in Finnish, respectively.
12. These include documents from the Helsinki police department's passport office, the Finnish security police Etsivä Keskuspoliisi [EK] as well as the collections of the Helsinki District Court. Additional information on the orchestra's members has been retrieved from early twentieth-century newspapers in Sweden (<https://tidningar.kb.se/>, accessed December 4, 2019), Finland, and the Netherlands (<https://www.delpher.nl/>, accessed December 4, 2019). Unfortunately, most of the archives of the Jewish community in Vyborg have been lost since World War II (see Jukka Hartikainen, "Viipurin juutalaisen yhteisön vaiheita" [Master's thesis, University of Helsinki, 1996], 115).
13. See Sven Hirn and Juha Lankinen, *Viipuri – kansainvälinen kaupunki* (Helsinki: Gummerus, 1988); Sven Hirn, *Sävelten tahtiin: populaarimusiikki Suomessa ennen itsenäisyyttämme* (Kaustinen: Kansanmusiikkiinstituutti, 1997); Sven Hirn, *Populärmusikens pionjärer: en studie i den populära musikens kulturhistoria i Finland fram till 1917* (Vasa: Finlands svenska folkmusikinstitut, 1999); Paavolainen, "Kielisuhteiden muutos"; Reijo Pajamo, *Musiikin juhlaa Viipuris* (Helsinki: Repale-kustannus, 2018); Saijaleena Rantanen, "Laulu- ja soittojuhlien politisoituminen – Viipuri 1908," in *Politiikan ja jännitteiden Viipuri 1880–1939*, ed. Anu Koskivirta and Aleksi Mainio (Helsinki: VSKS, 2019), 139–41; Saijaleena Rantanen, "Sisällissodan 1918 punaiset laulut Viipurissa," in *Politiikan ja jännitteiden Viipuri 1880–1939*, ed. Anu Koskivirta and Aleksi Mainio (Helsinki: VSKS, 2019), 237–38; Saijaleena Rantanen, "Irti porvarien taiteestakin! Laulu- ja soittojuhlien politisoituminen Viipurissa 1900-luvun alussa," in *Työväen taide ja kulttuuri muutosvoimana. Kirjoituksia työväen musiikista, kirjallisuudesta, teatterista ja muusta kulttuuritoiminnasta*, ed. Saijaleena Rantanen, Susanna Välimäki, and Sini Mononen (Helsinki: Tutkimusyhdistys Suoni ry & Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura, 2020), 285–324; Charlotta Wolff, "Liike- ja kulttuurielämän väliset yhteydet 1800-luvun ja 1900-luvun alun Viipurissa," in *Muuttuvien tulkintojen Viipuri*, ed. Anu Koskivirta, Pentti Paavolainen, and Sanna Supponen (Helsinki: VSKS, 2016), 49–65; Nuppu Koivisto, "Eurooppalaiset naisten salonkiorkesterit Viipurissa 1870-luvulta sisällissotaan," in *Monumenteista tanssiaskeliin – Taiteiden ja kulttuurin Viipuri 1856–1944*, ed. Anna Ripatti and Nuppu Koivisto (Helsinki: VSKS, 2020), 66–93.
14. Wolff, "Liike- ja kulttuurielämän väliset yhteydet," 62.

15. Robert Schweitzer, "Saksalainen Viipuri," in *Monikulttuurisuuden aika Viipurissa*, ed. Pentti Paavolainen and Sanna Supponen (Helsinki: VSKS, 2013), 17. Since Finland was a part of the Swedish kingdom until 1809, Swedish was the main language of Finland until the late nineteenth century.
16. Paavolainen, "Kielisuhteiden muutos," 66.
17. Hirn and Lankinen, *Viipuri*, 24–25.
18. See, e.g., Hirn and Lankinen, *Viipuri*; Paavolainen, "Kielisuhteiden muutos."
19. Wolff, "Liike- ja kulttuurielämän väliset yhteydet," 49.
20. Sven Hirn, "Kulttuurielämä, vapaa-ajan vietto," in *Viipurin kaupungin historia IV: 1 osa, vuodet 1812–1840* (Helsinki: Torkkelin säätiö, 1981), 552.
21. Paavolainen, "Kielisuhteiden muutos," 68, 91. See also Sven Hirn, *Teater i Viborg 1743–1870* (Helsinki: Söderström & Co., 1970).
22. Charlotta Wolff, "Kaupunkien kulttuuri- ja seurapiirielämä," in *Viipurin läänin historia V: Autonomisen Suomen rajamaa*, ed. Yrjö Kaukiainen, Risto Marjomaa, and Jouko Nurmiainen (Helsinki: Otava, 2014), 359–60; Hirn, "Kulttuurielämä," 547–50.
23. Hirn, "Kulttuurielämä," 546–47.
24. Paavolainen, "Kielisuhteiden muutos," 82–84; see also Hirn, "Kulttuurielämä," 550.
25. Pentti Kuula, *Viipurin Musiikin Ystävien orkesteri suomalaisen musiikin ja kansallisen identiteetin edistäjänä 1894–1918* (Helsinki: Sibelius-Akatemia, 2006).
26. Paavolainen, "Kielisuhteiden muutos," 84.
27. Hirn, "Kulttuurielämä," 552; Kuula, *Viipurin Musiikin Ystävien orkesteri*, 96–122, 148–67; Paavolainen, "Kielisuhteiden muutos," 84–85.
28. Hirn, "Kulttuurielämä," 551–52.
29. Hirn and Lankinen, *Viipuri*, 38.
30. Hirn and Lankinen, *Viipuri*, 37.
31. *Viipuri*, September 12, 1901 (no. 210), 5.
32. Paavolainen, "Kielisuhteiden muutos," 89.
33. Wolff, "Liike- ja kulttuurielämän väliset yhteydet," 53.
34. Hirn, "Kulttuurielämä," 567.
35. Hirn, "Kulttuurielämä," 546.
36. Paavolainen, "Kielisuhteiden muutos," 92; Wolff, "Liike- ja kulttuurielämän väliset yhteydet," 64.
37. See, e.g., *Viipuri*, November 14, 1901 (no. 266), 1. Cinema became popular in Finland around 1906–1907. See Sven Hirn, *Kuvat kulkevat: kuvallisten esitysten perinne ja elävien kuvien 12 ensimmäistä vuotta Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomen elokuvasäätiö, 1981).
38. See, e.g., *Viipuri*, November 5, 1901 (no. 258), 1; *Wiborgs Nyheter*, November 12, 1901 (no. 264), 1.
39. Hirn, "Kulttuurielämä," 564.
40. See, e.g., *Viipuri*, September 5, 1901 (no. 206), 1; September 28, 1901 (no. 226), 1; October 10, 1901 (no. 236), 1.
41. *Viipuri*, September 15, 1901 (no. 293), 2.
42. See, e.g., *Viipuri*, September 21, 1901 (no. 220), 1; *Wiborgs Nyheter*, September 6, 1901 (no. 207), 1; September 7, 1901 (no. 208), 1.
43. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, September 14, 1901 (no. 214), 1.
44. *Viipuri*, September 22, 1901 (no. 221), 1.
45. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, September 23, 1901 (no. 221), 1.
46. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, December 2, 1901 (no. 282), 1; *Viipuri*, December 3, 1901 (no. 282), 1.



47. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, October 9, 1901 (no. 235), 1; *Viipuri*, October 12, 1901 (no. 238), 3.
48. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, October 24, 1901 (no. 248), 1; November 13, 1901 (no. 265), 1; *Viipuri*, October 29, 1901 (no. 252), 2; November 13, 1901 (no. 265), 1.
49. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, December 6, 1901 (no. 285), 1.
50. See Koivisto, Nuppu, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle: naisten salonkiorkesterit ja varieteealan transnationaaliset verkostot Suomessa 1877–1916" (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2019).
51. For more information on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ladies' orchestras, see Margaret Myers' ("Blowing Her Own Trumpet") and Dorothea Kaufmann's ("... *routinierte Trommlerin gesucht*") doctoral dissertations. Additional information may be found in, e.g., Annkatrin Babbe, "*Ein Orchester, wie es bisher in Europa noch nicht gesehen und gehört worden war*": *Das "Erste Europäische Damenorchester" von Josephine Amann-Weinlich* (Oldenburg: BIS Verlag, 2011); Annkatrin Babbe, "Von Ort zu Ort: Reisenden Damenkapellen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Populares und Popularität in der Musik, XLII Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung Michaelstein, 6. bis 8. Mai 2016*, ed. Christina Philipsen and Ute Omonskey (Michaelstein: Augsburg & Blankenburg, 2017), 303–17; Ulrike B. Keil, "Von Wandermusikanten zum Damenorchester: Professionelle Damenkapellen und Frauenorchester um die Jahrhundertwende," *Das Orchester* 11, no. 46 (1998): 18–25; Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle"; Anke Steinbeck, "Eine Mannschaft im Abendkleid? Zur Bedeutung der Kleidung bei Musikerinnen in Militär und Sinfonieorchestern," In *Paradestück Militärmusik: Beiträge zum Wandel staatlicher Repräsentation durch Musik*, ed. Peter Moormann et al. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012), 117–24.
52. For more information on ladies' orchestras in early twentieth-century Vyborg, see Koivisto, "Eurooppalaiset naisten salonkiorkesterit."
53. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, October 15, 1901 (no. 240), 1; October 25, 1901 (no. 249), 2; *Viipuri*, October 16, 1901 (no. 241), 1.
54. *Viipuri*, October 26, 1901 (no. 250), 3.
55. *Viipuri*, October 27, 1901 (no. 251), 3.
56. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, November 18, 1901 (no. 269), 2; *Viipuri*, November 19, 1901 (no. 270), 2.
57. *Viipuri*, November 20, 1901 (no. 271), 3.
58. Ernst Mielck (1877–1899) was born in Viipuri to a German speaking family. He was a promising composer, but his career was cut short by an early death. See, e.g., Paavolainen, "Kielisuhteiden muutos," 84.
59. *Viipuri*, December 17, 1901 (no. 294), 1, 3.
60. *Viipuri*, January 1, 1901 (no. 1), 2.
61. *Viipuri*, January 10, 1902 (no. 7), 3.
62. Liisamaija Hautsalo and Saijaleena Rantanen, "Suomen laulusta Pohjan neitiin. Strateginen nationalismi musiikillisen kasvatuksen käyttövoimana Suomessa 1800–1900-lukujen vaihteessa," *Musiikkikasvatus* 18, no. 2 (2015): 33–56; Saijaleena Rantanen, "Laulu- ja soittojuhlat työväen aatteellisessa sivistystoiminnassa 1910-luvun vaihteessa," in *Työväki ja sivistys*, ed. Sakari Saaritsa and Sinikka Selin (Vantaa: Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura, 2016), 269–97; Rantanen, "Irti porvariensa taiteestakin!"
63. See Rantanen "Laulu- ja soittojuhlat työväen aatteellisessa sivistystoiminnassa."
64. See, e.g., *Viipuri*, September 24, 1908 (no. 220), 4; *Viipuri*, September 27, 1908 (no. 223), 2.

65. *Viipuri*, October 2, 1908 (no. 227), 4.
66. *Wiborgs Nyheter*, October 14, 1908 (no. 237), 1; *Viipuri*, October 14, 1908 (no. 237), 1; October 20, 1908 (no. 242), 4; October 22, 1908 (no. 244), 3.
67. *Viipuri*, November 19, 1908 (no. 268), 1; November 21, 1908 (no. 270), 4; *Viipuri*, December 5, 1908 (no. 282), 2; December 8, 1908 (no. 284), 3.
68. See e.g., *Viipuri*, September 25, 1908 (no. 221), 3; September 26, 1908 (no. 222), 2; *Wiborgs Nyheter*, September 26, 1908 (no. 222), 1.
69. *Wiborgs Nyheter*, September 28, 1908 (no. 223), 1; *Viipuri*, October 6, 1908 (no. 230), 1.
70. Hirn, "Kulttuurielämä," 555.
71. *Viipuri*, October 13, 1908 (no. 236), 4.
72. *Viipuri*, October 20, 1908 (no. 242), 1; *Viipuri*, October 23, 1908 (no. 245), 1.
73. *Viipuri*, October 13, 1908 (no. 236), 4.
74. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, October 1908 (no. 247), 1; *Viipuri*, November 8, 1908 (no. 259), 2; November 12, 1908 (no. 262), 3.
75. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, December 9, 1908 (no. 285), 1; *Viipuri*, December 10, 1908 (no. 286), 2; December 15, 1908 (no. 290), 4.
76. *Viipuri*, October 31, 1908 (no. 252), 2; November 3, 1908 (no. 254), 3.
77. *Wiborgs Nyheter*, September 30, 1901 (no. 225), 1.
78. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, November 7, 1908 (no. 258), 1; *Viipuri*, November 8, 1908 (no. 259), 2; November 17, 1908 (no. 266), 3.
79. *Wiborgs Nyheter*, November 11, 1908 (no. 261), 1; *Viipuri*, November 11, 1908 (no. 261), 1; November 15, 1908 (no. 265), 4.
80. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, December 9, 1908 (no. 285), 1; December 19, 1908 (no. 295), 2; *Viipuri*, December 10, 1908 (no. 286), 2; January 15, 1908 (no. 290), 4.
81. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, December 17, 1908 (no. 292), 1; *Viipuri*, December 17, 1908 (no. 292), 2.
82. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, November 30, 1908 (no. 277), 1.
83. The information on Fennia's touring routes has been collected from historical Finnish newspapers and Margaret Myers' as well as Sven Hirn's notes on the orchestra's destinations. See Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 110; Myers, "Blowing Her Own Trumpet," 299; Hirn, *Sävelten tahtiin*; Hirn, *Populärmusikens pionjärer*.
84. The Fennia orchestra has been analyzed in detail elsewhere. See Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 232–41. The orchestra's activities in Sweden have also been studied by Myers, "Blowing Her Own Trumpet," 294–95.
85. *Hufvudstadsbladet*, August 26, 1902 (no. 268), 3; see also Hirn, *Populärmusikens pionjärer*, 119; Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 227.
86. This conclusion is based on a wide survey—conducted for Nuppu Koivisto's PhD dissertation—of Finnish newspapers as well as the German periodical *Der Artist*, which listed over 300 touring ladies' orchestras during the 1890s. See Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 95–101. There are no indications of other "Finnish" orchestras in previous literature on *Damenkapellen* and on the entertainment and variety scene in the Grand Duchy of Finland.
87. On ladies' orchestras' advertisement strategies, see, e.g., Maren Bagge, "'am besten, wie Sie sehn, tut uns die Pfeife stehn': Werbung und Inszenierungsstrategien von Damenensembles um 1900 auf Postkarten," in *Wege: Festschrift für Susanne Rode-Breymann*, ed. Annette Kreutziger-Herr et al. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2018), 5–29.
88. See, e.g., Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 241.

89. For more information on the social position of Jews in the Grand Duchy of Finland, see, e.g., Laura Ekholm, "Boundaries of an Urban Minority: The Helsinki Jewish Community from the End of Imperial Russia until the 1970s" (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2013); Simo Muir, "Yiddish in Helsinki: Study of a Colonial Yiddish Dialect and Culture" (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2004); Simo Muir, "Vanha juutalainen musiikki Helsingissä: historiallis-lingvistinen katsaus," *Musiikki* 36, no. 1 (2006): 3–41; Taimi Torvinen, *Kadimah: Suomen juutalaisten historia* (Helsinki: Otava, 1989).
90. NA, Archives of the I passport office of the Helsinki police department, lists of Helsinki-based Jews. Bk:1, 1877–1905; Bk:2, 1890–1894, II district. See also *Nya Pressen*, July 1, 1888 (no. 175A), 2.
91. NA, Archives of the Helsinki District Court, estate inventories from the year 1955, no. 75301–75400 (Sahlman, Bertha 75385), Ec:585, B3 227/3. See also *Hufvudstadsbladet*, December 29, 1895 (no. 353), 5.
92. Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 234–35. The information concerning the Sahlman sisters' studies has been retrieved from the student registers of the Helsinki Music School. SIBA 5/3, 1889–1895, no. 258 and SIBA 5/4, 1895–1901, no. 411.
93. On legal issues regarding Jews in the Grand Duchy of Finland, See, e.g., Torvinen, *Kadimah*, 27; Muir, "Yiddish in Helsinki," 1–3.
94. See, e.g., Torvinen, *Kadimah*, 17–18.
95. NA, EK-Valpo, I archive, personal documents; Sahlman, Miriam, 10201.
96. See the Sahlman family's genealogical records (NA, Archives of the Helsinki District Court, estate inventories from the year 1955, no. 75301–75400, Sahlman, Bertha 75385, Ec:585, B3 227/3) and Miriam Sahlman's records at the Finnish security police Etsivä Keskuspoliisi [EK] NA, EK-Valpo, I archive, personal documents; Sahlman, Miriam, 10201.
97. NA, Archives of the I passport office of the Helsinki police department, lists of Helsinki-based Jews. Bk:1, 1877–1905; Bk:2, 1890–1894, II district.
98. NA, Archives of the Helsinki District Court, bankruptcy records, Efa:172, documents 51–77 (no. 52), 1888.
99. NA, Archives of the Helsinki District Court, bankruptcy records, Efa:172, documents 51–77 (no. 52), 1888.
100. Hartikainen, "Viipurin juutalaisen yhteisön vaihteita," 37–41; see also Muir, "Yiddish in Helsinki," 6–7.
101. NA, Archives of the Helsinki District Court, civil case judgement books for the III department, Ca III:95–97, 1911. Haschke's tailor's shop was situated in the very center of the city (Vahtitorninkatu 25), right next to the Town Hall Square. Apparently, Ilya Sahlman lived on the premises.
102. NA, Archives of the Helsinki District Court, civil case judgement books for the III department, Ca III:95–97, 1911. According to Margaret Myers, the Silberman family emigrated to the Netherlands in 1911 (Myers, "Blowing Her Own Trumpet," 294).
103. The couple's son, Benedict, was later interviewed about his childhood in Helsinki, and he proudly remembered having already studied Finnish, Swedish, and Russian in primary school. *Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant*, January 3, 1962 (no. 2), 11. According to newspaper advertisements, the Fennia orchestra visited Turku five times (in 1901, 1904, and 1909) and Helsinki three times (in 1901–1902, and 1904) in total.
104. NA, EK-Valpo, I archive, personal records; Sahlman, Miriam, 10201.
105. Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 236n1100.

106. On the legal and political position of Jews in early twentieth-century Finland, see Muir, "Yiddish in Helsinki," and Torvinen, *Kadimah*.
107. "Egendomligt är att judeflickorna ej hafva lust för boklig lärdom. Deras håg ligger mer åt det musikaliska: de äro nöjes- och njutningslystna. Trots födelse och uppfostran i västerländsk kultur gör sig dock den österländska karakteren gällande." *Östra Finland*, January 20, 1897 (no. 15), 2; see also Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa," 225–26n1098. All citations are translated by the authors unless otherwise indicated.
108. For more information on Jewish performing artists in the early twentieth-century European variety scene, see Marline Otte, *Jewish Identities in German Popular Entertainment, 1890–1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
109. The orchestra's 1901 Finnish tour began in Turku (Hotel Phoenix, February 4, 1901 to April 3, 1901), after which it performed at several establishments in Helsinki (April 8 [?] to May 1, 1901 and May 2 to June 7, 1901). The tour then continued to the spa town of Loviisa during the summer season. The orchestra first returned to Turku in the autumn (Hamburger Börs, August 2 to September 15, 1901) and then moved on to Vaasa at the end of September, and Vyborg at the end of October, finally ending its tour in Helsinki.
110. For more information on the orchestras' concert venues, see Myers, "Blowing Her Own Trumpet," 238–76; Kaufmann, "... routinierte Trommlerin gesucht," 108–11; and Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 37–43, 61–66.
111. Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 108, table 3, 120, table 4; Koivisto, "Eurooppalaiset naisten salonkiorkesterit," 75, fig. 1, 76, table 1.
112. See, e.g., *Hufvudstadsbladet*, November 20, 1901 (no. 315), 4.
113. *Wiborgs Nyheter*, October 17, 1901 (no. 242), 1.
114. Hirn and Lankinen, *Viipuri*, 22.
115. Hirn and Lankinen, *Viipuri*, 22. See also Koivisto, "Eurooppalaiset naisten salonkiorkesterit," 82.
116. Kaufmann, "... routinierte Trommlerin gesucht," 110–12; Myers, "Blowing Her Own Trumpet," 252–75; Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 137–43.
117. *Viipuri*, October 27, 1901 (no. 251), 2; *Wiborgs Nyheter*, October 26, 1901 (no. 250), 3.
118. *Viipuri*, October 31, 1901 (no. 254), 1.
119. Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 237n1107; Koivisto, "Eurooppalaiset naisten salonkiorkesterit," 77.
120. For more information on ladies' orchestras' concert programming, see Kaufmann, "... routinierte Trommlerin gesucht," 113–18; Myers, "Blowing Her Own Trumpet," 162–76, 263–73; Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 144–77.
121. This observation is based on an analysis of 1,340 concert programmes by eleven different ladies' orchestras in Helsinki from 1895 until 1905. See Koivisto, "Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle," 144–77. A few years later, the Fennia orchestra also performed Sibelius' orchestral suite *Belshazzar's Feast* in Hanko (see Koivisto, "Eurooppalaiset naisten salonkiorkesterit," 87n80).
122. *Falukuriren*, January 2, 1901 (no. 1), 2.
123. NA, Archives of the Helsinki District Court, estate inventories from the year 1955, no. 75301–75400, Sahlman, Bertha 75385, Ec:585, B3 227/3.
124. At least this is what she did after the birth of her first child, Mordechaj- Fritz, in January 1901. *Falukuriren*, January 2, 1901, (no 1), 2.
125. During its 1904 tour, the Fennia orchestra performed in Turku (April 17 to May 31, 1904), Helsinki (June 1 to August 31, 1904), and Turku again (September 1 to

- December 9, 1904). In 1908, the orchestra first arrived in Hanko for the summer season, then moved on to Kotka and Viipuri. The group's last visit to Finland seems to have occurred in 1909, when the orchestra spent the entire autumn season at the Hamburger Börs hotel in Turku (October 2 to December 30, 1909).
126. On musical life in Hanko, see Fabian Dahlström, *Musikliv i Hangö 1874–1914* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi / Sibeliusmuseum, 1976)—although no mention of the Fennia orchestra has been found in this study.
  127. See, e.g., *Viipuri*, September 24, 1908 (no. 220), 4; Hirn, *Populärmusikens pionjärer*, 179. According to Myers, “Blowing Her Own Trumpet,” 299, the Fennia orchestra was employed by one of its most frequent employers, Hotell Knaust in Sundsvall, Sweden, from January 1909 onwards.
  128. Hirn, *Sävelten tahtiin*, 242; Hirn, *Populärmusikens pionjärer*, 179.
  129. See, e.g., *Wiborgs Nyheter*, November 30, 1908 (no. 277), 1.
  130. Hirn, *Sävelten tahtiin*; Hirn, *Populärmusikens pionjärer*; Koivisto, “Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle,” 33–49.
  131. For more information on late nineteenth-century variety, music hall, and entertainment scenes in Europe, see, e.g., Martin W. Rühlemann, *Variétés und Singspielhallen – urbane Räume des Vergnügens: Aspekte der kommerziellen populären Kultur in München Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: Meidenbauer, 2012); Peter Bailey, ed., *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986).
  132. Finnish Swedish Heritage Day (*Svenska dagen, Ruotsalaisuuden päivä*) is celebrated in honor of king Gustav Adolf's death in the Thirty Years' War in Lützen, November 6, 1632. Although a similar feast (Gustav Adolf's Day) exists in Sweden, in Finland, the *Svenska dagen* festivities relate specifically to the country's Finnish-Swedish minority and its cultural heritage.
  133. *Wiborgs Nyheter*, November 7, 1908 (no. 258), 2.
  134. Unfortunately, the Fennia orchestra's program for Finnish Swedish Cultural Heritage Day has not survived. Normally, however, the pieces played would include Nordic or Finnish, even nationalist tunes, such as military marches. For more information on restaurant orchestras and Finnish holidays, see Koivisto, “Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle,” 152n724.
  135. Muir, “Yiddish in Helsinki,” 214.
  136. See, e.g., *Etelä-Suomi*, September 1, 1908 (no. 96), 1; *Kotka Nyheter*, September 5, 1908 (no. 68), 4.
  137. See, e.g., Seija Lappalainen, *Tänä iltana yliopiston juhlasalissa: musiikin tähtihetkiä Helsingissä 1832–1971* (Helsinki: Yliopistopaino, 1994), 52; Koivisto, “Sähkövaloa, shampanjaa ja Wiener Damenkapelle,” 99.
  138. Myers, “Blowing Her Own Trumpet,” 299.
  139. See also Nuppu Koivisto and Anna Ripatti, “Viipurin kulttuurihistoriaa kartoittamassa,” in *Monumenteista tanssiaskeliin – Taiteiden ja kulttuurin Viipuri 1856–1944*, ed. Anna Ripatti and Nuppu Koivisto (Helsinki: VSKS, 2020), 17.

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