

José White in Chile: National and International Repercussions

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I

ON JANUARY 22, 1878, the British steamer *Amazonas* docked at Valparaíso, Chile, bringing aboard the African-descended black violinist and composer José White—who had embarked at the seaport of Iquique (Peru) and was to make his debut February 16 in Valparaíso.¹

Before White (*b* Matanzas, Cuba, January 17, 1836; *d* Paris, March 12, 1918), several noted violin virtuosos had played in Chile, among them Camillo Sivori (1815–1894) in 1848, Miska Hauser (1822–1887) in 1854, Paul Julien (1841–1860) in 1865, and Pablo Sarasate (1844–1908) in 1870 and 1871.² But

¹Details of the arrival were announced in *La Patria* [Valparaíso], xv/4434 (January 22, 1878), 3:4. Biographical data on White can be found in Joaquín J. Argote, "White," *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional* [Havana], 2d series, iv/2 (April–June, 1953), 80–99. A résumé in English appears in Robert Stevenson, "Caribbean Music History. A Selective Annotated Bibliography with Musical Supplement," *Inter-American Music Review*, iv/1 (Fall, 1981), 2–3. Dominique-René de Lerma provides another biographical synopsis in English in the liner notes of the recording of White's *Concerto* for violin and orchestra [*Black Composer Series*, vol. 6, Columbia Masterworks, M 33432, 1975]. A review of the New York première of this *Concerto* was written by Harold C. Schonberg, "3 Black Composers Soundly Performed," *The New York Times* (September 1, 1977), 25:1–3.

²José Victorino Lastarria published an encomium of Camillo Sivori in the *Revista de Santiago*, tomo primero (1848), 379. Günther Böhm has edited Miska Hauser's *Diario de Viaje [Separata de Judaica Iberoamericana]*, No. 2 (1978) (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, n.d.). The début of Paul Julien in Santiago on January 12, 1865, was announced in *El Ferrocarril*, x/2819 (January 10, 1865), 3:1. Data on Pablo Sarasate in Chile can be found in Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Historia de la Música en Chile (1850–1900)* (Santiago: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1957), indexed entries, and Luis Merino, "Música y sociedad en el Valparaíso decimonónico," in Robert Günther, ed., *Die Musikulturen Lateinamerikas im 19. Jahrhundert [Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts, Band 57]* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1982), 216.



Photo of José White from the collection of the Museo Nacional de la Música de Cuba. Courtesy of Armando Toledo Cisneros.

José White's sojourn is the most transcendent from the standpoint of Latin American music history, since it had both national and international repercussions throughout the remainder of his century and well into the first decade of the present century.

Among the works that White premiered in Chile, his own *Zamacueca* for violin and piano remains the best known. However, data about the *Uraufführung*



of this piece has eluded the scholarly literature. Like wise, many other important details of José White's visit to Chile remain still unheralded. What is therefore now needed and what this paper supplies is a re-assessment of White's sojourn in Chile documented from contemporary local newspaper accounts, complemented with data gathered in the past years at Buenos Aires, Lima, Rio de Janeiro, London, and Paris on grants awarded by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and the University of Chile.¹

II

Eugenio Pereira Salas's *Historia de la Música en Chile (1850-1900)*, pages 183-184, contains the most reliable thus far published account of White's Chilean tour. However, according to Pereira Salas, White played only in Valparaíso and Santiago between February and September, 1878, leaving Chile shortly after September 14 to settle in Brazil. What are the facts? In February, 1878, White did indeed play in Valparaíso (the second largest Chilean city); in Santiago he appeared between April and September.² But contrary to Pereira Salas, he remained in Chile after September, playing October to December in San Felipe and in the following three cities of the southern part of Chile: Talca, Chillán, and Concepción. After offering two concerts at Quillota, in the vicinity of Valparaíso, he headed north, playing in January, 1879, at La Serena, Coquimbo, and Copiapó. His January 24, 1879, presentation at the Copiapó Teatro Municipal was his farewell. He next embarked at Guayacán, near La Serena, on the English steamer *Liguria*, arriving in Valparaíso on April 21.³ On May 7 White left for Buenos Aires aboard

¹ Warmest thanks are due to the staff of the National Libraries at Santiago, Buenos Aires, Lima, and Rio de Janeiro, as well as the British Library and the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. In particular, the author wishes to acknowledge the invaluable help rendered by Graciela Sánchez Cerro M. in Lima and Mercedes Reis Pequeno in Rio de Janeiro during his term as fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

² According to the *Quinto censo jeneral de la poblacion de Chile levantado el 19 de abril 1875* (Valparaíso: Imprenta El Mercurio, 1876), p. 651, the population figures of the Chilean cities where White played between 1878 and 1879 run as follows: Valparaíso, 101,088; Santiago, 195,612; San Felipe, 32,745; Talca, 90,597; Chillán, 95,941; Concepción, 19,740; Quillota, 46,875; La Serena, 29,057; Coquimbo, 12,650; Copiapó, 31,877.

³ *La Patria* [Valparaíso], xvi/4826 (April 21, 1879), 3:6.

the steamer *Sorata*,⁴ shortly after the outbreak of the War of the Pacific.

III

On arriving January 22, 1878, at Valparaíso, White found that a French opera company was ready to make its début on January 24, 1878, at the Teatro de la Victoria. Nonetheless, the influential newspaper *La Patria* strongly recommended the Teatro de la Victoria (inaugurated in 1844) as the most appropriate locale for White's début in Valparaíso. This paper's pro-White press comments also included quotations from Lima newspapers and from Parisian reviews woven together in "a biographical article written by Émile de Girardin."⁵

Attempts to combine presentations at the Teatro de la Victoria by both the opera company and White having proved unsuccessful, White's début had to be postponed for almost three weeks and finally had to be given on February 16 at the smaller Salón de la Sociedad Filarmónica. In *La Patria* the reviewer commented that had the concert taken place at the Teatro de la Victoria, the attendance would have been three or four times larger than the 300 persons that filled the Salón de la Filarmónica.⁶

White was advertised as "Member of the Paris Conservatoire Concert Society."⁷ The format of the February 16, 1878, program concurred with that of his inaugural concert in Peru given on August 29, 1877, at the Teatro Principal in Lima.⁸ At the Valparaíso début, the performance of both instrumen-

⁴ *La Patria*, xvi/4841 (May 8, 1879), 3:1 and 5. *The Chilean Times* [Valparaíso], No. 174 (May 10, 1879), 2:5, bade farewell to White thus: "Don José White, the celebrated violinist, left for Buenos Ayres in the last Straits str. on Tuesday. We beg to acknowledge his courteous letter of leave-taking, and wish him a pleasant voyage and every prosperity."

⁵ This press campaign began in *La Patria* [Valparaíso], xv/4427 (January 14, 1878), 2:3, and continued in xv/4429 (January 16, 1878), 3:8-4:1; xv/4434 (January 22, 1878), 2:7; xv/4436 (January 24, 1878), 2:7; xv/4437 (January 25, 1878), 2:5-6; xv/4440 (January 29, 1878), 2:8; xv/4441 (January 30, 1878), 3:2; xv/4450 (February 9, 1878), 2:8; xv/4453 (February 13, 1878), 3:4; xv/4454 (February 14, 1878), 3:3.

⁶ *La Patria*, xv/4457 (February 18, 1878), 3:1.

⁷ The program appeared in *La Patria*, xv/4455 (February 15, 1878), 3:6.

⁸ For the program, see Rodolfo Barbacci, "Apuntes para un Diccionario Biográfico Musical Peruano," *Fénix* [Lima], No. 6 (1949), 508.

⁹ José Silvestre de los Dolores White y Lafitte had begun his South American travels at Caracas, where he gave his four pub-

tal and vocal pieces involved the assistance of local artists. At both the beginning and the end of the concert, White played bravura pieces that allowed him to display his pyrotechnical skill on the violin. Apart from these exhibition pieces (and other solo numbers), he accompanied one local singer on the violin. The remaining pieces were confided to other assisting artists. With minor variants, this program format prevailed thereafter throughout his entire Chilean sojourn.

On February 16 the assisting artists were two local pianists, Enrique Rudolphy and Oscar Boltz, the singer Eugenia "Bocabadatti" (= Rocabadatti), and another singer referred to as "an amateur gentleman." Enrique Rudolphy had cooperated in several of Gottschalk's concerts at Valparaíso in 1866.¹¹ Oscar Boltz, a "perfect gentleman," was known for his great facility at sight reading.¹² The concert began with White's Grand Fantasy on motives from *Martha*, a work that he repeated in Santiago (August 25 and September 8), Concepción (November 5), Chillán (November 14), and Quillota (December 22). Next, he accompanied Eugenia Bocabadatti in her singing of *Il sogno*, a romanza by Nicola Vaccai. At the opening of the second part White played Joa-

chim Raff's *Cavatina* and an unspecified Brahms Hungarian Dance (accompanied by Enrique Rudolphy). He ended with his transcription of an Air from *La Sonnambula* that he was later to repeat at Santiago (April 13 and June 30) and Concepción (November 10, 1878), and with his New Variations on the *Carnaval de Venecia*—a work that climaxed several of his remaining concerts in Chile.¹³ Another highlight of the program was Oscar Boltz's playing of Franz Liszt's "Fantasy on motives from *Rigoletto*" (= Rigoletto: paraphrase of concert).¹⁴ Eugenia Bocabadatti's numbers at this inaugural concert included an aria from Verdi's *Don Carlo* and a Rondeau with variations from Nicola Vaccai's *Pietro il grande*. To eke out the program, a romanza from *Un ballo in maschera* was sung by an "amateur gentleman."

The reviewer of *La Patria* (who was Isidoro Errázuriz according to Pereira Salas¹⁵)—after pitting White against such figures as the Italian Camillo Sivori, the French Paul Julien, the British John Jesse White, the Russian-French Louis Rémy, the Spanish Pablo Sarasate, the Peruvian Rebagliati (Reynaldo or Claudio), and the Chilean Josefina Filomeno, who was concertizing with her father in the vicinity of Valparaíso at the same time as White¹⁶—concluded by affirming the Cuban's indisputable superiority. *La Patria* meantime kept insisting on the Teatro de la Victoria as the locale for White's second concert; tickets would be cheaper, and the theater was larger, more spacious and comfortable, and had better acoustics than the Salón de la Filarmónica.¹⁷

La Patria's request again came to nothing and White's second concert finally had to be given on March 2 at the *Deutsche Saengerbund* located at the *plaza del Orden* in Valparaíso. No rental fee was charged and the audience was predominantly Ger-

lic concerts March 22 and April 2, 8, and 15, 1877, at the Teatro Caracas (always assisted by prominent Venezuelan performers). He also played at La Guaira, Valencia, and Puerto Cabello—joining with compatriot Black violinist Claudio Brindis de Salas (1852–1911), Venezuelan tenor Augusta Sarría, and accompanist Manuel Larrzábal for a benefit concert at Puerto Cabello announced July 17, 1877, before leaving Venezuela for Panama.

At his second Caracas public concert, he played various *Aires nacionales* "de nuestra música primitiva y original" and tenor Fernando Michelena sang a "preciosa Barcarola del poeta Francisco G. Pardo, puesta en música por el sentimental artista Ramón de la Plaza."

White's repertory in Venezuela included mostly the same operatic arrangements that enthralled listeners everywhere else throughout South America: Alard's *Robert le Diable*, *Grande Fantaisie*, Op. 44; Bériot and Osborne's *Guillaume Tell Fantaisie*, Op. 53; his own solo violin arrangement of the *La Sonnambula* quintet; uncredited violin and piano duos on motives from *La Favorita*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Martha*, and *La Traviata*. Additionally, he played Paganini's *Carnevale di Venezia*, Op. 10, his own Carnival of Venice variations, and Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst's *Elégie*, Op. 10.

¹¹ Robert Stevenson, "Gottschalk in Western South America," *Inter-American Music Bulletin*, No. 74 (November, 1969), 12. Data on Enrique Rudolphy can be found in Pereira Salas, *Historia*, 257:n.2.

¹² Luis Arrieta Cañas, *Música: recuerdos y opiniones* (Santiago: Talleres Gráficos Casa Nac. del Niño, 1954), p. 9. See also Pereira Salas, *Historia*, indexed entries.

¹³ Argote, "White," p. 82; Stevenson, "Caribbean Music History," p. 2.

¹⁴ See works list in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xi, 67:2 (S, 434; R, 267).

¹⁵ *La Patria* [Valparaíso], xv/4457 (February 18, 1878), 3:1–2; Pereira Salas, *Historia*, p. 183.

¹⁶ Information on Josefina Filomeno's concerts appeared in *La Patria*, xv/4435 (January 23, 1878), 2:7; xv/4438 (January 26, 1878), 2:5; xv/4439 (January 28, 1878), 2:8; xv/4450 (February 9, 1878), 3:1; xv/4454 (February 14, 1878), 3:2; xv/4457 (February 18, 1878), 3:2; xv/4458 (February 19, 1878), 3:2.

¹⁷ *La Patria*, xv/4461 (February 22, 1878), 2:7. According to Recaredo S. Tornero, *Chile Ilustrado* (Valparaíso: Librerías y Agencias del Mercurio, 1872), p. 182, the Teatro de la Victoria had a capacity of 1500 persons.

man.¹⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that White programmed several pieces by German-speaking composers.¹⁹ At the beginning a young female singer named Spoerer, accompanied by Enrique Rudolph on the piano, White on the violin and a local violoncello player named Luis Waddington, sang a selection from Otto Nicolai's *Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor*.²⁰ After accompanying on the violin an "amateur gentleman" who sang a *Romanza* by Geltermann, White himself concluded with an *Air varié* by Henri Vieuxtemps and Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst's Fantasy on themes from *Otello*.

Not until six months later could White finally play at the Teatro de la Victoria, when he travelled from Santiago to Valparaíso to offer two concerts announced for September 21 and 22.²¹ The first of these concerts had to be cancelled at the last minute, and as a result the second concert was poorly attended.²² Nevertheless, the concert of September 22 has historical significance—for it was the last musical presentation in this theater before it burned down the night of September 26. The fire was so spectacular that, according to the Santiago newspaper *Las Novedades*, it lit up the entire seaport of Valparaíso as in daytime.²³ The Valparaíso newspaper *La Patria* reported that "at least sixty thousand people [in Valparaíso] witnessed this catastrophe from the main square, the streets, the hills, and their own houses."²⁴

IV

After Valparaíso, White entered Santiago a conquering hero. The newspaper *Las Novedades* hailed him as an "eminent concert player" of a "universal reputation."²⁵ Juan Agustín Barriga, who would later

become a well known lawyer, congressman, and university professor,²⁶ published a eulogy in the magazine *La Estrella de Chile* in which he praised White as "a most rare musical genius."²⁷

On April 13 White began a series of three concerts in Santiago. He gave the first at the Teatro Variedades and the remaining two on May 12 and June 2 at the Teatro Municipal.²⁸ Three of the best musicians then living in Santiago assisted White: José Ducci, Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán, and Ruperto Santa Cruz. The Italian composer, pianist, and impresario José Ducci (born at Florence) settled in Chile in 1875 and next year began an important series of "Conciertos Clásicos Ducci."²⁹ Beginning in 1871 the prolific composer, pianist, teacher, and printer Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán promoted the Orfeón de Santiago that Juan Jacobo Thomson had founded to further art music in Chile.³⁰ Guzmán accompanied White at four of his concerts in the Chilean capital, at the pair offered at San Felipe on October 19 and 20, and at the two played at Quillota December 21 and 22. Ruperto Santa Cruz, the flute player, composer, and teacher who had participated at Gottschalk's charity concert July 3, 1866, played frequently with White in Santiago.³¹ Among the other artists who assisted White were the harp player Julia Airaghi (= Airagi) Lilienthal,³² the pianist and

¹⁸Pedro Pablo Figueroa, *Diccionario biográfico chileno* (1550-1887) (Santiago: Imprenta "Victoria," 1887), p. 75.

¹⁹Juan Agustín Barriga, "José White," *La Estrella de Chile* [Santiago], Tomo XV, Año XI, No. 548 (April 6, 1878), p. 40.

²⁰The announcements of these concerts appeared in *Las Novedades*, II/154 (April 10, 1878), 3:4; II/179 (May 11, 1878), 3:4; II/196 (May 31, 1878), 3:4.

²¹Data on José Ducci can be found in Aníbal Aracena Infanta, "Música en Chile. Recuerdos . . .," *Música* [Santiago], I/1 (January, 1920), 4-5; Pereira Salas, *Historia*, 187-188; Pereira Salas, *Biobibliografía Musical de Chile desde los Orígenes a 1886 [Serie de Monografías anexas a los Anales de la Universidad de Chile]* (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1978), 58-59.

²²Concerning Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán, see Aracena Infanta, "Música en Chile," p. 5; Arrieta Cañas, *Música: recuerdos y opiniones*, pp. 83-83; Pereira Salas, *Historia*, indexed entries; Pereira Salas, *Bibliografía*, pp. 73-74. In March, 1878, Guzmán's address in Santiago was listed as Calle de Vergara, num. 3½ [*Las Novedades*, II/146 (April 1, 1878), 3:4].

²³Data on Ruperto Santa Cruz can be found in Carlos Lavín, "Ruperto Santa Cruz Henríquez," *Vida Musical* [Santiago], I/1 (May, 1945), unpagged; Pereira Salas, *Historia*, indexed entries; Pereira Salas, *Biobibliografía*, 112-113.

²⁴In *Las Novedades*, II/146 (April 1, 1878), 2:1, she advertised as piano and harp teacher with prizes awarded by the Milan Conservatorio. See also Pereira Salas, *Historia*, p. 192.

¹⁸*La Patria*, xv/4466 (February 28, 1878), 2:8.

¹⁹The works performed at this concert are mentioned in *La Patria*, xv/4469 (March 4, 1878), 2:7.

²⁰Data on Luis Waddington can be found in Pereira Salas, *Historia*, indexed entries.

²¹*La Patria*, xvi/4637 (September 21, 1878), 3:2 and 5.

²²*La Patria*, xvi/4638 (September 23, 1878), 2:8.

²³*Las Novedades* [Santiago], II/295 (September 26, 1878), 3:5: "Gran incendio en el Teatro de la Victoria. Fuego alumbra todo el Puerto como de día."

²⁴*La Patria*, xvi/4642 (September 27, 1878), 2:7: "al menos unos 60 mil han presenciado desde la plaza, las calles, las casas y los cerros, la catástrofe que anoche ha reducido a pavesas el templo del arte. . . ."

²⁵*Las Novedades*, II/151 (April 6, 1878), 2:6.



Photo of the original manuscript of the polka *La caprichosa* by Eugenio Fenelón, arranged by José White for típica orchestra. From the collection of the Museo Nacional de la Música de Cuba. Courtesy of Armando Toledo Cisneros.

teacher of the National Conservatory Aurelia Oliva de Guzmán,³³ the choir of the Sociedad Academia Musical de Santiago, and the orchestra of this society, which offered to play free “as a token of their admiration of the distinguished artist.”³⁴

With so many fine instrumentalists available, White could begin his April 13 concert with the orchestral overture to Franz von Suppé’s *Dichter und Bauer*.³⁵ His own numbers began with Delphine Alard’s Grand Fantasy on themes from *Robert le diable*. Next came “*La Isleña*, melodía habanera” of Camille Saint-Saëns played by José Ducci, who then accompanied White in Sigismund Thalberg’s and Charles de Bériot’s Grand duo based on *Les Huguenots*. Another novelty in the second part was Raffaele Galli’s Trio based on themes from *Ernani* (played by Santa Cruz, White, and Guzmán).

Despite the audience’s great enthusiasm, the April 13 concert failed to fill the hall.³⁶ But the May 12 concert did draw to the Teatro Municipal a near-capacity crowd made up of “the most distinguished families of Santiago.”³⁷ According to *El Estandarte*

Católico, the audience “demanded that every piece of the program be performed” not once or twice but “three, four, and even five times.”³⁸ Although the third concert of the series on June 2 was announced as the farewell,³⁹ the by now smashing success of the series prompted White to continue in Santiago for a longer period of time.

White’s decision to stay was publicly announced by the *El Estandarte Católico* on June 18, 1878, which on that date stated that “at the request of several persons he will teach some lessons and will take part in charity concerts.” This was considered as “news indeed worth rejoicing over, for during his stay Mr. White has proven himself to be beyond all doubt not only an eminent violin player but also a distinguished professor.”⁴⁰

White’s name had already been announced in the program of a charity concert scheduled for June 9 at the Teatro Municipal.⁴¹ However, on June 8 San-

³³ *El Estandarte Católico*, iv/1164 (May 13, 1878), 2:3.

³⁴ Cf. *supra*, note 28.

³⁵ *El Estandarte Católico*, iv/1195 (June 18, 1878), 2:7.

White.—Este distinguido violinista, que tantos aplausos ha cosechado entre nosotros, ha resuelto permanecer en Santiago algun tiempo mas, segun se nos asegura.

A solicitud de muchas personas dará algunas lecciones i tomará parte en algunos conciertos de beneficencia.

Nos damos por ello los parabienes, pues harto ha probado el señor White, no sólo que es un violinista eximio sino tambien un profesor distinguido.

⁴¹ *El Estandarte Católico*, iv/1186 (June 7, 1878), 3:3; iv/1187 (June 8, 1878), 3:2.

³³ Data on Aurelia Oliva de Guzmán can be found in Aracena Infanta, “Música en Chile,” p. 5; Pereira Salas, *Historia*, 191–192.

³⁴ *Las Novedades*, ii/154 (April 10, 1878), 3:4.

³⁵ The program of this concert was printed in full in *Las Novedades*, ii/156 (April 12, 1878), 3:4.

³⁶ *Las Novedades*, ii/158 (April 15, 1878), 2:6; *El Estandarte Católico* [Santiago], iv/1142 (April 15, 1878), 3:1.

³⁷ *Las Novedades*, ii/181 (May 13, 1878), 2:4.

tiago Archbishop Rafael Valentín Valdivieso (b. November 8, 1804) died, and the concert for the benefit of the Junta de Beneficencia de Señoras was postponed until June 23. Accompanied by Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán, White then played in the first part Alexandre Artôt's "Souvenir de Bellini," and his own variations on the *Carnaval de Venecia* at the close of the second part. On September 15 he repeated Viouxtemps's *Air varié* at the end of another charity concert, held at the Teatro Municipal in benefit of the orphans of the Casa del Patrocinio de San José and the victims of famine in Brazil—a country in which he would be staying from October, 1879.⁴²

Concurrently with his support of such philanthropic events, White also showed special consideration for the musician Ruperto Santa Cruz.⁴³ Santa Cruz had already published the "Primer cuaderno" of his *Ejercicios Preparatorios para el Estudio del Piano/ Adaptables hasta para niños de Cuatro Años* (Santiago: "Impta. Lit. L. Bravo," 1877) dedicated to his then small daughter. In a letter of recommendation dated June 15, 1878, White enthusiastically endorsed this work, basing his opinion upon "my [White's] residence of 24 years in Europe" and the long time "I [White] have busied myself with the piano."⁴⁴ So highly thought White of Santa Cruz's exercises that he declared himself willing to try them on his own daughter "as soon as she reaches the appropriate age." On June 30 a "Gran Concierto White" at the Teatro Municipal was held "in benefit of the piano and flute teacher Ruperto Santa Cruz." The proceeds were to help finance the edition of the "Segundo Cuaderno" of these exercises.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, due to the hastiness in putting the concert together, few people attended and the organizers barely managed to meet basic expenses.⁴⁶ (This misfortune explains the delay in the publication of the second set of Santa Cruz's exercises until 1886.⁴⁷)

⁴²The program appeared in *El Estandarte Católico*, v/1272 (September 13, 1878), 3:1-2.

⁴³*Las Novedades*, n/220 (June 28, 1878), 3:1, commented that "el profesor White que, desde su llegada a ésta [Santiago] ha sabido estimar las dotes artísticas del señor Santa-Cruz."

⁴⁴Santa Cruz printed White's letter of recommendation in his *Album Musical Patriótico* [Santiago], 1/14 (December 26, 1886), 112. On the same page are printed equally laudatory letters by José Zapiola and José Ducci.

⁴⁵The announcement and the program appear in *Las Novedades*, n/221 (June 29, 1878), 3:6-7.

⁴⁶*Las Novedades*, n/223 (July 2, 1878), 3:1.

⁴⁷This set was published as "Ejercicios Estudios enhar-

On August 25, 1878, White again came to Santa Cruz's rescue by participating in a concert at the Teatro Municipal to benefit Santa Cruz's daughter, Lucila Santa Cruz Anguita.⁴⁸ Apart from his *Marta* Fantasy, White now introduced his Santiago audience to his *Faust* Fantasy for two violins and piano—playing with a violinist named Durán, presumably a Santiago pupil, and accompanied by Guzmán. White had performed this same work with the Peruvian violinist Reynaldo Rebagliati at the Lima Teatro Principal on September 28, 1877.⁴⁹ In *El Comercio* of September 29 the reviewer had maintained that Rebagliati had so covered himself with glory at this concert that he had been forced to add two solo encores.⁵⁰ White's reasons for presenting this *Faust* Fantasy in Santiago with a lesser violinist can only be surmised (he seems to have played no further violin duos in Chile). Two other novelties at the Santiago benefit concert August 25, 1878, were Raffaele Galli's *La Sonnambula* Trio for piano, violin, and flute (White performed this with a piano student of Santa Cruz named Elvira Arredondo), Santa Cruz himself playing the flute part and the final movement of Felix Mendelssohn's Trio, Op. 66 (with pianist Guzmán and a cellist named Olea). Despite a small audience, White was as usual fervently applauded. According to *Las Novedades*, shortly before the concert began, White had received a letter from France announcing his sister's death at Paris. The reviewer had it that White further endeared himself by playing in spite of his grief—thereby honoring his prior agreement with Santa Cruz, and showing great respect for the audience.⁵¹

Between July and September White also added luster to important social events in Santiago with his violin playing. One on July 7 was sponsored by the Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria.⁵² Another on July 28 marked the inauguration of the Círculo Católico de Obreros. At this "splendid Catholic ceremony" White, according to *El Estandarte Católico*,⁵³ was

mónicos semitonados por engaño, para el uso diario del piano," *Album Musical Patriótico*, 1/14 (December 26, 1886), 112-124.

⁴⁸The program appeared in *Las Novedades*, n/268 (August 23, 1878), 3:6-7.

⁴⁹Barbacci, "Apuntes para un Diccionario Biográfico Musical Peruano," 490. The concert was announced in *El Comercio* [Lima], xxxix/13.705 (September 26, 1877), 2:5.

⁵⁰Barbacci, 490; *El Comercio*, xxxix/13.703 [= 13.712] (September 29, 1877), 2:6.

⁵¹*Las Novedades*, n/270 (August 26, 1878), 2:7.

⁵²*Las Novedades*, n/228 (July 8, 1878), 2:5.

⁵³*El Estandarte Católico*, v/1232 (July 29, 1878), 2:2.

accompanied by Ducci.⁵⁴ More than three thousand persons completely filled Santa Rosa Street September 8 during the three-hour celebration of the sixth anniversary of the founding home Patrocinio de San José.⁵⁵ Although not mentioned in the program printed in *El Estandarte Católico* and *Las Novedades*,⁵⁶ White did participate with his *Martha* Fantasy and with the first performance of a *Zamacueca* that "elicited bursts of applause and laughter" by the audience.⁵⁷

After having by September reached the summit of his popularity in Santiago, White programmed two grand festival concerts ("Grandes Festivales White") at the Teatro Municipal on the evening of September 18, Chile's Independence Day, and on the day following. Like Gottschalk twelve years earlier, White was aided by 350 local musicians comprising (according to the printed program) teachers, dilettanti, male and female students of the Conservatorio Nacional de Música, the orchestras of the Santa Cecilia society and the Academia Musical de Santiago (with large choir)—to which were added the bands belonging to the police brigade and to three regiments quartered at Santiago—the Artillería, Cazadores, and Batallón 4° de Línea.

At these festival concerts White switched roles from violinist to conductor. Both programs began with the Chilean national anthem (by Ramón Carnicer) performed by the combined orchestras, bands, and choirs. Next came Rossini's overture to *Guillaume Tell* by the combined orchestras, then Meyerbeer's daggers chorus from *Les Huguenots* by the combined orchestras, bands, and choirs. Part I ended with Joseph Gungl's waltz "El Céfito" by the combined orchestras and bands.

Part II opened with Rossini's overture to *Otello* by the combined bands. Next came Federico Guzmán's *Canción Patriótica* by the combined choirs and bands, followed by the third and fourth movements of Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, and Gounod's march from *Faust* by the combined choirs, orchestras, and bands. The *Zamacueca chilena* climaxing the program included an introduction played by 25 guitar players, after which the combined choirs

sang it, accompanied by the orchestras and bands.⁵⁸ Despite the cold and rain these festival concerts were, according to *El Estandarte Católico*, the best part of the official celebration of Chile's Independence Day in 1878.⁵⁹ The theater was almost completely full and the audience kept enthusiastically applauding White,⁶⁰ who conducted from memory at least two of the pieces: Beethoven's Pastoral movements and Gounod's march.⁶¹ On September 19 White added a work of his own, his *Himno heróico*.⁶² The event ended with his receiving a gold medal inscribed by "his admirers in Santiago."⁶³

Apparently Federico Guzmán's *Canción patriótica* was the sole work by a Chilean-born composer programmed by White during his tour. A son of Fernando Guzmán and Josefina Frías, the internationally renowned pianist and composer Federico Guzmán was a brother of Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán. At Lima between August and December, 1877, White had already been in contact with Federico Guzmán, who lived there between 1871 and 1879 with his wife, the pianist Margarita Vaché, and another brother, the violinist and music printer Fernando Guzmán.⁶⁴ Federico Guzmán accompanied a concert fantasy based on *Robert le diable* (presumably by Alard), at White's Lima debut on August 29, 1877, at the Teatro Principal.⁶⁵ At the second concert on September 1, 1877, White played his *Martha* fantasy,⁶⁶ accompanied by Federico Guzmán. On September 28 Federico Guzmán participated in a concert at the Lima Teatro Principal featuring White

⁵⁴ *Las Novedades*, II/286 (September 16, 1878), 3:3-4.

⁵⁵ *El Estandarte Católico*, v/1276 (September 21, 1878), 3:1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ B.Y., "La música i sus cronistas," *Las Novedades*, II/302 (October 4, 1878), 2:5. According to Vincenzo Cernicchiaro, White "possedeva una memoria delle più rare; e splendida prova di questa sua natura died'egli spese volte, eseguendo la sonata a Kreutzer di Beethoven senza la carta" [*Storia della Musica nel Brasile dai tempi coloniali sino ai nostri giorni* (Milan: Stab. Tip. Edit. Fratelli Riccioni, 1926), 478].

⁵⁸ A.Z., "Los Festivales en el Municipal," *Las Novedades*, II/292 (September 23, 1878), 2:5.

⁵⁹ *El Estandarte Católico*, v/1276 (September 21, 1878), 3:1.

⁶⁰ For data on the Guzmán family in Lima see Barbacci, "Apuntes para un Diccionario Biográfico Musical Peruano," 461-462.

⁶¹ *El Comercio* [Lima], xxxix/13.662 (August 28, 1877), 2:4. According to this newspaper, White left Peru on December 15, 1877, to travel to Chile [xxxix/13.836 (December 14, 1877), 2:4-5].

⁶² *El Comercio*, xxxix/13.667 (September 1, 1877), 1:6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:4; *Las Novedades*, II/246 (July 29, 1878), 3:1.

⁵⁵ *El Estandarte Católico*, v/1268 (September 9, 1878), 2:4-5.

⁵⁶ *El Estandarte Católico*, v/1257 (August 27, 1878), 2:5; *Las Novedades*, II/272 (August 28, 1878), 3:4.

⁵⁷ *El Estandarte Católico*, v/1268 (September 9, 1878), 2:6: "El señor White ejecutó una fantasía sobre *Marta* i una *zamacueca*, que arrancó estallidos de aplausos i carcajadas."

and Reynaldo Rebagliati.⁶⁷ On November 3, 1877, it was announced as the "función de gracia," and White, Guzmán, White, and two players named Crespo and Beriola presented a transcription of the final tercet from *Ernani*.⁶⁸

White's personal acquaintance with Federico Guzmán therefore helps explain his programming of the *Canción patriótica*. This work, dedicated to Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna (intendant of Santiago between 1872 and 1875), sets Bernardo Vera y Pintado's text that had already been set more than a half-century earlier by the composer Manuel Robles. Performed for the first time on August 20, 1820, Robles's tune was replaced in 1828 by Ramón Carnicer's tune commissioned by a representative at London of the Chilean government. In 1847 Bernardo Vera y Pintado's national anthem text was replaced by the poem written by Eusebio Lillo.⁶⁹ According to a lengthy article published in *Las Novedades*, Federico Guzmán in turn sought to replace the Carnicer-Lillo anthem with his own *Canción patriótica* as Chile's *Canción Nacional*. He therefore deliberately wrote a tune that was easily singable and within the reach of the majority of the people.⁷⁰ In all likelihood White conducted the *Canción patriótica* on September 18 and 19, not only because it was appropriate to the occasion, but also to make it known to a large audience at the main theater in Santiago. After his doing so, the educator Bernardo Göhler further advertised the *Canción patriótica* by publishing it in the 1888 and 1910 editions of his *Cien cantos escolares* for usage in all Chilean public schools. Significantly, Göhler (like White) placed the Guzmán *Canción patriótica* and the Carnicer *Canción nacional de Chile* close together (they both

enter the "Cuaderno segundo" of his collection).⁷¹ For the September 1878 concerts, White may well have used a printed edition of the *Canción patriótica*, such as the one issued at Paris by Choudens Père & Fils in 1875 for piano and voice and for solo piano, and that had been distributed simultaneously at Valparaíso and Lima.⁷²

The third and fourth movements of Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony and the finale of Mendelssohn's second piano Trio are the chief classical items thus far known to have been programmed at White's public concerts in Chile. In Lima, on the other hand, he preferred showing his superb mastery of classical music at private soirées. In November, 1877, for instance, he had played Mendelssohn's violin concerto during a private concert of the Lima Sociedad Octoquirofónica at the house of its founder, a Mr. Mould. According to *El Comercio*, this society consisted of "enthusiastic artists," who had previously been meeting regularly for private concerts offered members and their guests. But for his doing so, White was accused of "cheating the public" with a Janus-like policy of reserving classical art music solely for "the initiated," while playing only "variations on more-or-less-known operas and on national melodies" for the public who paid to hear him at the concert hall.⁷³ Perhaps to avoid similar criticism in Chile, White conducted movements from Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony at his grand festival concerts, along with patriotic music, excerpts from well known operas, a waltz and a *zamacueca*—thus mixing art music with the kind of repertoire generally presented at public concerts in Latin America throughout his century. As a result, this Beethoven symphony heard in September, 1878, reached a con-

⁶⁷ *El Comercio*, xxxix/13.705 (September 26, 1877), 2:5.

⁶⁸ *El Comercio*, xxxix/13.766 (November 2, 1877), 4:1.

⁶⁹ For details on the Chilean national anthem see Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Los Orígenes del Arte Musical en Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1941), 91–94, and Samuel Claro-Valdés, "La vida musical en Chile durante el Gobierno de don Bernardo O'Higgins," *Revista Musical Chilena*, xxxiii/145 (January-March, 1979), 12–14.

⁷⁰ B. Y., "La música i sus cronistas," *Las Novedades*, ii/302 (October 4, 1878), 2:4: "... ésta fué una canción compuesta por nuestro compatriota con el objeto de hacerla popular i de fácil entonación, esperando que se sustituyera a la canción actual." The next day, another reviewer who signed as A.Z. retorted that "nos parece un tanto difícil que el mencionado compositor logre el intento de sustituir al himno actual el que con tal propósito ha compuesto, por laudable que sea" [*Las Novedades*, ii/303 (October 5, 1878), 2:6].

⁷¹ Bernardo Göhler, *Cien cantos escolares* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1888 [first edition], 1910 [second edition]), *cuaderno segundo*, 48–50 (Guzmán-Vera, *Canción patriótica*). Next appears the *Cancion de Yungay* (Zapiola-Rengifo, 52–55) and the *Cancion nacional de Chile* (Carnicer-Lillo, 55–60). Several pieces by Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán also appear in the *Cuaderno primero* (6–7, 9–10, 21–23, 24–25, 25–27) and the *Cuaderno segundo* (10–11, 20–21).

⁷² A copy of the score at the music section of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (call number Vm¹ 63262) bears 1875 as the year of the *Dépôt Légal*.

⁷³ *El Comercio* [Lima], xxxix/13.786 (November 14, 1877), 3:1. At another private soirée sponsored by the Lima Sociedad Musical de Aficionados White performed Beethoven's Andante con Variazioni and Finale of the Kreutzer Sonata (Barbacci, "Apuntes para un Diccionario Biográfico Musical Peruano," 509).

siderably larger audience than that which had attended its first performance in Chile nine years earlier under the auspices of the Orfeón musical society.⁷⁴

Even so, White did not escape criticism in the newspaper *Las Novedades* for having omitted the first two movements of Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, and for having programmed a *zamacueca* in such a respectable locale as the Teatro Municipal. The reviewer was also annoyed with the guitar players for having dared appear on stage "clad in such a ridiculous fashion."⁷⁵ The reviewer's reasons for animadverting against the *zamacueca* may be better understood if a description of this couple dance such as that published in 1850 by the British traveller Fred Walpole is here inserted:⁷⁶

The musicians are, a woman playing on a long harp, one end of which rests on her bosom, the other far away on the floor; and two girls, who accompany her on similar instruments: all three sing; nearly all the spectators join in clapping their hands, and amateurs and admirers beat time on the sounding-boards. The music is slow, consisting of one bar perpetually repeated: the words I suppose very piquant, but they would not bear inserting here. The guitars perform a peculiar part, the player sweeping the right hand across the full chord, and returning each time with a rap on the soundingboard. They sing in an extraordinarily high key, straining their throats until they almost rise off their seats to get higher. The dance is performed by a woman and a man,—any fair among the company who choose to exhibit: they begin by flirting pocket-handkerchiefs over one another's heads, approaching, retreating, shooting off from side to side, whisking under each other's arms without touching, still waving pocket-handkerchiefs, and progressing by a peculiar step, one foot seeming to push the other on, the woman toeing and heeling it to get away from the man who follows.

It seems a favourite attitude for the man to lean forward, striking out a particular part of his body, as if inviting a kick, and a horizontal movement of the hips makes his part of the performance more vulgar than pleasing or graceful. With the woman, however, it is otherwise, and is pretty when well danced.

⁷⁴This Chilean première was reported in *Las Bellas Artes* [Santiago], 1/8 (May 24, 1869), 67.

⁷⁵*Las Novedades* [Santiago], 11/292 (September 23, 1878), 2:4-5: "Este jénero de música no es posible en un gran teatro como el Municipal i sobre todo cuando se presentan tocadores de guitarra vestidos tan mal como los que tuvimos ocasion de admirar."

⁷⁶Fred Walpole, *Four Years in the Pacific, in Her Majesty's Ship "Collingwood," from 1844 to 1848*, 2d edition (London: Richard Bentley, 1850), 1, 105-107.

On the other hand, the *Las Novedades* reviewer made it abundantly clear that the reaction of the Teatro Municipal audience to the *Zamacueca chilena* was enthusiastic enough to explain "how our ancestors could even heal sick people" by means of this dance.⁷⁷ In fact, since the 1830's, when it began to be danced in public, the *zamacueca* had been known to elicit a reaction of this sort. For instance, in 1859 when the actress Celestina Thierry danced the *zamacueca* the audience was reported to have burst into "cries of wild joy."⁷⁸ So important did it indeed become that in 1869 a newspaper referred to the *zamacueca* as an "alarming popular dance."⁷⁹ Undoubtedly it was this popularity that induced White to program the *zamacueca* (acceding to Chilean custom during the patriotic holidays of September 18 and 19).⁸⁰

V

After the concert of September 8 and festival concerts of September 18 and 19, White's name began being publicly linked with the Chilean *zamacueca*. At his September 22 concert in Valparaíso at the Teatro de la Victoria, White, accompanied by the pianist Fabio Depetris, played a pair of "graceful *zamacuecas*" as encores, bringing the audience "to an undescrivable enthusiasm," according to the reviewer of *La Patria*.⁸¹

Printed editions of the models of the two *zamacuecas* played at Valparaíso appeared in Chile throughout the remainder of the century. The earliest edi-

⁷⁷*Las Novedades*, 11/292 (September 23, 1878), 2:5: "Esta cantinela nacional [= *zamacueca*], juzgándola por la impresion que produjo, nos revela cómo nuestros antepasados hayan conseguido hasta sanar enfermos por medio de esta cantinela."

⁷⁸*El Ferrocarril* [Santiago], 1v/1227 (December 8, 1859), 3:3: "gritos de una alegría desesperada."

⁷⁹*El Ferrocarril*, xiv/4599 (December 11, 1869), 3:4: "alarmante baile popular."

⁸⁰This custom is fully evident in the announcements that important Santiago newspapers joined with the program of *bailes* featured during the holidays of September 18 and 19. See, for example, *Las Novedades*, 11/286 (September 16, 1878), 2:4-5.

⁸¹*La Patria* [Valparaíso], xvi/4638 (September 23, 1878), 2:8: "El público se entregó a un verdadero delirio al aplaudir al artista, haciéndolo salir por cuatro veces a la escena. El señor White, para corresponder a esas muestras de simpatía, ejecutó por dos veces un par de salerosas *zamacuecas*, que, es escusado decirlo, llevaron el entusiasmo a un grado indecible." Data on Fabio de Petris can be found in Pereira Salas, *Historia*, indexed entries.



tion was printed by Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán and distributed through the Centro Editorial de Música located then at 58-bis Estado Street in Santiago. It consists of two different pieces for voice (or violin) with a piano accompaniment, each bearing on the cover a lithographed portrait of White. The titles are "Célebre Zamacueca White" and "2^a Célebre Zamacueca White," respectively.⁸² Another edition of both *zamacuecas* was prepared by Carlos F. Niemeyer (plate numbers 331 and N 3122) and distributed at Santiago (Centro Editorial de Musica, 17 M. Estado Street), Valparaíso (Librería Universal, 13 Esmeralda Street) and Lima (195 Mercaderes Street).⁸³ Although indicated on the cover as being for the piano, Niemeyer's is another voice (or violin) and piano version of the two *zamacuecas*, differing only slightly from the Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán's edition, and may thus correspond with items 328 and 329 of Ramón Laval's *Bibliografía Musical* dated 1890.⁸⁴ A solo piano version of the first *zamacueca* was published at Valparaíso by E. Niemeyer & Inghirami as the eighth issue of their *Bailes Nacionales para el piano* series. In 1896, according to Laval, appeared Antonio Alba's edition for voice and guitar of the first of these two *zamacuecas*, and one of the at least four editions for guitar that Alba made of the first *zamacueca* (both of which were printed at Valparaíso by C. Kirsinger).⁸⁵ In 1911 the German pianist Albert Friedenthal, who gave concerts in Chile in 1889, reprinted the first *zamacueca* in a voice-and-piano version on pp. 6-7, *Hef 4, I. Abteilung* of his *Stimmen der Völker*. According to Friedenthal, White "made a concert tour of Chile between 1870 and 1880 and used to play this very old-fashioned cueca as an encore in his concerts."⁸⁶

⁸²Copies of these pieces are preserved at the University of Chile Biblioteca Central. See Pereira Salas, *Bibliografía*, p. 74, items 533 and 534.

⁸³Copies of these pieces are preserved at the Santiago Biblioteca Nacional, music section.

⁸⁴[Ramón A. Laval], Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago, *Bibliografía Musical: Composiciones impresas en Chile y Composiciones de autores chilenos publicadas en el extranjero. Segunda Parte: 1886-1896* (Santiago: Establecimiento Poligráfico Roma, 1898), 86.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 9 (item 7) and 13 (item 26). A copy of the 4^a Edición of the *Zamacueca N.º 1* "arreglada para Guitarra por Antonio Alba" (Santiago, Valparaíso, Concepción: C. Kirsinger) is preserved at the Santiago Biblioteca Nacional, music section.

⁸⁶Albert Friedenthal, ed., *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern, Tänzen und Characterstücken, I. Abteilung, Hef 4* (Berlin: Schlesingerische Buch- und Musikhandlung [Rob. Lienau], 1911), 5.

The Spanish and the English version made by Friedenthal of the initial stanza runs as follows:

Antenoche soñé un sueño
Que dos negros me mataban,
Y eran tus hermosos ojos
Que enojados me miraban.
Que encanto tienen tus ojos!
O que virtud es del cielo
Que si me miras, me matas
Y si no me miras, me muero.

Yestereen I had a dream.
That two negroes me did slay;
And 'twas thy lovely eyes
That gazed upon me wrathfully.
What magic in those eyes!
What heavenly power is theirs!
For if thou lookst, thou killest me,
And if thou dost not look, I die.

These editions contributed decisively to keeping alive White's name after his departure from Chile. They furnish the basic tune, the words and the accompaniment, but are not intended to convey White's violin version of the *zamacuecas* (see ex. 1). After returning to Paris, White sent to print his own version of the first of these *zamacuecas*, under the title *Zamacueca: Danse Chilienne Pour Violon avec accomp.¹ de Piano* (Paris: Ulysse T. du Wast, 1897).⁸⁷ In the meantime, this work—considered by Robert Stevenson one of White's "rare virtuoso pieces for violin and piano"⁸⁸—became widely known abroad largely through the dazzling performance of the Cuban violinist himself.

No similar version of the "2^a Célebre Zamacueca White" has thus far been located, apparently because White never played it abroad.⁸⁹ Moreover, it was his version of the first *zamacueca* that he played in the concert offered at San Felipe on October 19

⁸⁷Reprinted in Stevenson, "Caribbean Music History," *Musical Supplement*, 98-105.

⁸⁸Robert Stevenson, "Afro-American music, independence to c 1900," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, x, 525.

⁸⁹On the other hand the "2^a Célebre Zamacueca White," in its original vocal version, was even recorded in the earliest cylinders produced in Chile. See Eugenio Pereira Salas, "Un violinista cubano difunde la zamacueca chilena," *Revista Musical Chilena*, III/22-23 (July-August, 1947), 46, where he also quotes the first four lines of the initial stanza of this *zamacueca*. Judging from the evidence presented by Pablo Garrido in *Historial de la Cueca* (Valparaíso: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, 1979), 216, this may also have occurred in the case of the first "Célebre Zamacueca White."



had to be given not at the Teatro Municipal, as was initially announced,⁹¹ but at the Hotel Colón due to the insufficient number of tickets sold.⁹⁴ A similar situation occurred in Concepción, where the concert of November 24 had to be changed (for the same reason) from the Teatro Municipal to the Club Musical.⁹⁵ The remaining concerts in the southern region were all presented at small halls, the Club Musical of Concepción for the concerts of November 5 and 10,⁹⁶ the Salón de Señoras at Chillán for the concert of November 14,⁹⁷ and the “Club Unión i Progreso” at Talca for the concert of December 8.⁹⁸

The smaller audiences in the southern cities did not prevent White from his accustomed generosity to fellow musicians. After expenses, the concert on November 10 was a benefit for a local charity, in this instance the Hospicio of Concepción. The net proceeds amounted to the reduced sum of about 277 pesos. White then assigned 150 pesos to the Hospicio and donated the remainder to the Club Musical, accompanying his gift with a letter of thanks to the Directory for the warm welcome accorded him and for the contribution of the Club Musical to the brilliant success of his concerts in the city. In turn, *La Revista del Sur* thanked White and commented that he “not only is a great artist, but charity is deeply embedded in his heart; he loves art and contributes with his own money to further its progress.” Afterwards, White was named honorary member (“socio honorario”) of the Club and awarded the corresponding diploma.⁹⁹

The number of musicians who assisted White in the south varied according to the city. At the December 8 concert in Talca only a local pianist named

Valk participated.¹⁰⁰ At Chillán on November 14 three Chilean musicians took part: the piano teacher Ricardo Haydn, “very well known” in the city according to *La Discusión*; another pianist named J. Gabler; and the clarinet player José Bagolini, who came from Concepción, where he was then acting as “Director Jeneral Musical” of the Club Musical, and who also was to play again at the November 24 concert in Concepción.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, the number of assistant musicians was significantly larger at Concepción—then the most flourishing musical center south of Santiago. Five played with him on November 24,¹⁰² eight on November 5,¹⁰³ and 21 on November 10.¹⁰⁴

Some of these musicians belonged to the same family—for instance, Andrea, Elena, and María Matilde Binimelis and the piano player Domingo Binimelis, then “Vice-Director Jeneral” of the Club Musical.¹⁰⁵ But even more important than the Vice-Director of the Club Musical was the pianist, composer, and teacher Giuseppe [= José] Soro (*b* 1840 at Alessandria, Italy), who resided at Montevideo, Uruguay, and Buenos Aires, Argentina, before coming to Concepción, where he married the distinguished society lady Pilar Barriga and there sired Enrique Soro (1884–1954), the Chilean composer who in 1948 won the National Art Prize. Giuseppe [= José] Soro participated on November 5. (On November 10 Soro joined with Isabel and Carmen Barriga, presumably sisters of Pilar, to perform Fabio Campana’s *L’Imeneo*, for soprano, contralto, and piano.¹⁰⁶)

In the southern cities the bulk of White’s repertoire consisted of excerpts from well known operas.

⁹¹ *La Opinión* [Talca], vi/1799 (October 27, 1878), 3:1.

⁹⁴ *La Opinión*, vii/1800 (October 29, 1878), 2:5.

⁹⁵ *La Revista del Sur* [Concepción], xvii/2119 (November 23, 1878), 2:6, announced that the concert “que iba a tener lugar en el Teatro, dado por el señor White, no se llevará ya a efecto en ese local, sino en el Club Musical, por no haberse recojido el suficiente número de palcos que para ello se requiera.”

⁹⁶ *La Revista del Sur*, xvii/2110 (November 2, 1878), 2:4; xvii/2112 (November 7, 1878), 3:1.

⁹⁷ *La Discusión* [Chillán], ix/1162 (November 13, 1878), 2:3. At Chillán White apparently offered a charity concert on November 30 [*La Discusión*, ix/1177 (November 30, 1878), 2:2–3].

⁹⁸ *La Opinión* [Talca], vii/1825 (December 8, 1878), 3:1.

⁹⁹ *La Revista del Sur* [Concepción], xvii/2118 (November 21, 1878), 3:1. Despite the large audiences, most of White’s concerts in Chile yielded not profit but deficit. The deficit caused by the Santiago festival concerts of September 18 and 19 amounted to the large sum of 300 pesos [*Las Novedades*, ii/297 (September 28, 1878), 2:5].

¹⁰⁰ See above, note 98.

¹⁰¹ *La Discusión* [Chillán], ix/1163 (November 14, 1878), 2:3 and 4–5.

¹⁰² See the program published in *La Revista del Sur* [Concepción], xvii/2119 (November 23, 1878), 2:6.

¹⁰³ See the review published in *La Revista del Sur*, xvii/2112 (November 7, 1878), 2:3.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. the program published in *La Revista del Sur*, xvii/2113 (November 9, 1878), 2:6–7.

¹⁰⁵ According to *La Revista del Sur*, xvii/2118 (November 21, 1878), 2:7, the Concepción Club Musical was booming then both financially and artistically: “la sociedad está en un pié floreciente y su situación financiera es envidiable.”

¹⁰⁶ Data on Giuseppe [= José] Soro can be found in Pereira Salas, *Historia*, indexed entries; *Biobibliografía*, p. 116; and Vicente Gesualdo, *Historia de la Música en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Beta S.R.L., 1961), ii, indexed entries. Of great interest is Pereira Salas, “El Presidente Mitre visita en Concepción a un músico chileno,” *Revista Musical Chilena*, iv/29 (June–July, 1948), p. 46.

These included his *Martha* fantasy, his Air and Quintet from *La Sonnambula*, and Alard's fantasies on *Robert le diable*, *Il trovatore*, and *Un ballo in maschera* for violin and piano. At Chillán on November 14, White sat at the piano to accompany José Bagolini playing Ernesto Cavallini's Grand Fantasy for clarinet and piano on themes from *Il trovatore*.¹⁰⁷ Ten days later at Concepción White played the violin part of the *Rigoletto* quartet arranged by Durand. He was accompanied by Domingo Binimelis at the piano and another local musician named Turenne on the organ.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the other two Concepción concerts opened with operatic overtures: *Jeanne d'Arc* on November 5, and Auber's *La Muette de Portici* and Hérold's *Zampa* on November 10.¹⁰⁹

Among the non-operatic pieces, White programmed François Hubert Prume's "Une pastorale intitulée *la Melancolie*" for violin and piano at Talca on December 8.¹¹⁰ At Concepción he accompanied on the violin three local musicians who on November 10 played Gounod's *Ave Maria*, "mélodie religieuse adaptée au ler prélude de J. S. Bach," arranged for violin, organ [= harmonium], piano, and voice.¹¹¹ White re-used his own brilliant variations on the *Carnaval de Venecia* to close the programs of Concepción on November 10 and Chillán on November 14.¹¹² To close the second of his Talca concerts on December 8, he switched to Paganini's Carnival of Venice variations,¹¹³ and it was with Paganini that he was frequently compared by Chilean critics.¹¹⁴

At Concepción Pedro Pablo Tagliaferro's *Cantata a la Providencia* was presented on November 10. Premiered in Santiago on September 8, this cantata was repeated on September 15 at a concert participated in by White as invited artist.¹¹⁵ It was again

successfully performed October 31 at the Club Musical in Concepción.¹¹⁶

In 1872 Tagliaferro, who was of French origin, had arrived in Chile via Brazil. After becoming well known as music teacher in several Santiago *colegios*, he founded in 1882 the *Orphéon Français*.¹¹⁷ Called a "bravo professore di canto e pianoforte" by Vincenzo Cernicchiaro, he returned to Brazil before 1890. The famous pianist Madalena [= Magdalena] Tagliaferro, born at São Paulo in 1894,¹¹⁸ was his daughter. For the text of the *Cantata a la Providencia* (two soloists, mixed choir, and orchestra), he used a poem by Juan Agustín Barriga, who had eloquently welcomed White to Santiago in April. The music begins with an introductory choral section of two stanzas, followed by soprano and baritone solos, and concludes with a da capo of the initial choral stanza.¹¹⁹

The *Zamacueca* enjoyed resounding success every time White played it in the southern cities. At Concepción on November 5, in what *La Revista del Sur* considered an epoch-making concert in the history of the Club Musical, the *Zamacueca* was played as an encore with such "inimitable grace and mastery" that the audience, according to the reviewer, would have gladly begun dancing in the same concert hall.¹²⁰ At Talca on December 8 the *Zamacueca* was announced in the printed program and had to be repeated three times.¹²¹ At Chillán on November 14

of the September 15 concert published in *Las Novedades* [Santiago], n/286 (September 13, 1878), 2:6 and *El Estandarte Católico*, v/1272 (September 13, 1878), 3:1.

¹¹⁶ *La Revista del Sur* [Concepción], xvii/2110 (November 2, 1878), 2:7; xvii/2111 (November 5, 1878), 3:1-2.

¹¹⁷ Data on Tagliaferro in Chile can be found in Pereira Salas, *Historia*, indexed entries, and *Biobibliografía*, p. 117 (slight discrepancy in dates). Pereira Salas lists the *Himno a la Inocencia* and the *Cantata a la Divina Providencia* as two different works (*ibid.*, items 847, 848), when in fact both titles refer to one and the same work (see above, note 115).

¹¹⁸ Cernicchiaro, *Storia della Musica nel Brasile*, p. 432.

¹¹⁹ The text of the *Cantata a la Providencia* was printed in *La Estrella de Chile* [Santiago], xi/571 (September 15, 1878), 942-943. In December this cantata was repeated at another society event in Santiago [*Las Novedades*, n/373 (December 27, 1878), 3:4].

¹²⁰ *La Revista del Sur* [Concepción], xvii/2112 (November 7, 1878), 2:3: "Colmado de aplausos tan justos como merecidos, [White] hubo de volver a la escena, encantando nuevamente a la concurrencia con su inimitable zamacueca, tocada con la sal y maestría que solo el señor White posee. El público estaba impaciente, y gustoso habria cambiado el salon del Club en salon de baile y habria bailado nuestro baile popular tan hábilmente ejecutado por el señor White." A similar commentary had appeared previously in *El Comercio* [San Felipe], m/103 (October 24, 1878), 3:1, after the the concerts of October 19 and 20.

¹²¹ *La Opinión* [Talca], vii/1826 (December 10, 1878), 2:5:

¹⁰⁷ See above, note 101.

¹⁰⁸ See above, note 102.

¹⁰⁹ See above, note 103.

¹¹⁰ See above, note 98.

¹¹¹ See above, note 104.

¹¹² See above, notes 104 and 101.

¹¹³ See above, note 98.

¹¹⁴ As for instance in *La Revista del Sur* [Concepción], xvii/2112 (November 7, 1878), 2:3 ("El porvenir se encargará de premiar su jenio, inscribiendo su nombre en la historia [al] lado del gran Paganini"), or *El Correo de La Serena*, viii/87 (January 7, 1879), 3:2 ("El señor White es un segundo Paganini").

¹¹⁵ Announced as *Himno a la Inocencia* in *El Estandarte Católico* [Santiago], v/1257 (August 27, 1878), 2:5, but reviewed as *Cantata a la Providencia* in the same newspaper, v/1268 (September 9, 1878), 2:5. On the other hand it was announced as *Cantata a la Providencia* in the printed program



the capacity audience loudly demanded the *Zamacueca* as encore. The reviewer for *La Discusión* reported that this piece threw the audience into a frenzy, and added these comments:¹²²

The *Zamacueca* played by Mr. White on the violin is something stirring. The renowned violinist faithfully interpreted the natural grace of our beautiful national dance—its movements, now rapid and frolicsome, now measured and sedate.

After voicing public desire for repetition of the concert, the reviewer claimed that “all society coveted hearing the famous violinist play some of the beautiful Habaneras that we like so dearly.”¹²³

VII

To complete his Chilean tour, White travelled north from Talca, stopping en route at Santiago.¹²⁴ He next played two concerts December 21 and 22 at the main theater of Quillota.¹²⁵ The first concert failed to fill the hall, raised prices being the reason, according to *El Correo de Quillota*.¹²⁶ But even though prices were halved, the audience was again scanty at

“Imposible es pintar el entusiasmo que se apoderó de la concurrencia al oír tocar en el violín al señor White la célebre *zamacueca*, mereciendo los honores de una triple repetición.”

¹²² *La Discusión* [Chillán], ix/1164 (November 15, 1878), 2:2.

La *zamacueca* tocada en violín por el señor White es algo que arrebató.

La gracia natural de nuestro precioso baile nacional, sus movimientos, ya rápidos i jugueteros, ya compasados i serios, fueron interpretados fielmente por el célebre violinista.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 2:3: “Nuestra sociedad querría oír al célebre violinista ejecutar alguna de las lindas Habaneras que tanto nos gustan.” In all likelihood one of these was *La Bella Cubana*, an habanera of which were printed at Paris editions for violin and piano, violin duo and two violins and piano (cf. Stevenson, “Caribbean Music History,” 90 and 91–97). In *La Música en Cuba* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946), 210, Alejo Carpentier discusses the relationships between this piece and Cuban music of oral tradition.

¹²⁴ *Las Novedades* [Santiago], n/361 (December 12, 1878), 3:1.

¹²⁵ Announced in *El Correo de Quillota*, v/472 (December 19, 1878), 3:3.

¹²⁶ *El Correo de Quillota*, v/473 (December 22, 1878), 3:2. A week before the same newspaper [v/471 (December 15, 1878), 2:2] warned against high prices: “los precios son un poco subidos para Quillota.” Four days later, however, this newspaper [v/472 (December 19, 1878), 3:1] reported that expenses had also been high: “los crecidos gastos que ocasiona el estreno en nuestro teatro, del célebre violinista.”

the second Quillota concert.¹²⁷ On the other hand, larger crowds filled the main theaters at La Serena on January 6 and 12, 1879, and at Copiapó on January 24. The local newspaper, *La Reforma*, reported that “all teachers and music lovers of La Serena and Coquimbo” attended the January 6 concert, adding that such a “numerous and select audience” had not gathered at La Serena since “the glorious days of the immortal Gottschalk and of [Federico] Guzmán.”¹²⁸ Only the January 11 concert took place in a smaller hall, the Hotel de Francia at the seaport of Coquimbo.¹²⁹

Although the musicians who assisted White in this northern part of his tour were fewer than in the southern cities, most had real merit. At Quillota he was assisted by the operatic soprano Carolina Zúñiga de Valencia, then teaching voice and piano in the city,¹³⁰ and by Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán, his accompanist who also played two or three piano solos. At La Serena White was assisted by two local musicians, Luis Scherff and Italian born Enrique Manfredi.¹³¹ The latter, after working at Copiapó as band conductor, moved to La Serena, where he continued conducting bands and became a well known teacher with numerous high society students.¹³² Between 1886 and 1888 he performed the duties of “Subdirector” of the newly reorganized Conservatorio Nacional in Santiago.¹³³ At Copiapó White was assisted by Alaide Pantanelli de Gaitán,¹³⁴ “a re-

¹²⁷ *El Correo de Quillota*, v/474 (December 26, 1878), 2:2.

¹²⁸ *La Reforma* [La Serena], x/1536 (January 7, 1879), 3:1. Similarly the newspaper *El Comercio* [Coquimbo], i/4 (January 8, 1879), 3:1, reported that on January 6 the audience “concurrió al teatro . . . en mayor número que nunca.”

¹²⁹ *El Comercio* [Coquimbo], i/5 (January 10, 1879), 2:4.

¹³⁰ Carolina Zúñiga de Valencia was advertised as “profesora de canto y piano” in *El Correo de Quillota*, v/470 (December 12, 1878), 2:4. She also participated at the concerts offered by White at Valparaíso on September 22 [*Las Novedades* (Santiago), n/286 (September 16, 1878), 3:4; *La Patria* (Valparaíso), xvi/4638 (September 23, 1878), 2:8], and the two offered at San Felipe on October 19 and 20 [*El Comercio* (San Felipe), iii/103 (October 24, 1878), 3:1].

¹³¹ *La Reforma* [La Serena], x/1536 (January 7, 1879), 3:1; x/1538 (January 11, 1879), 3:1. Luis Scherff also assisted at Coquimbo on January 11 [*El Comercio* (Coquimbo), i/5 (January 10, 1879), 3:1].

¹³² Pereira Salas, *Historia*, indexed entries.

¹³³ Luis Sandoval B., *Reseña Histórica del Conservatorio Nacional de Música y Declamación: 1849 á 1911* (Santiago: Imprenta Gutenberg, 1911), 30.

¹³⁴ *El Constituyente* [Copiapó], xviii/5287 (January 21, 1879), 2:4; *El Comercio* [Coquimbo], i/11 (January 24, 1879), 3:2.

owned dramatic artist" and competent pianist who was daughter of the famous soprano Clorinda Pantanelli (in addition, she was a translator of literary works from French or Italian).¹³⁵

At Quillota White's programs of December 21 and 22 followed the same pattern as those successfully given in the southern cities during the last quarter of 1878. Accompanied by Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán, he repeated his *Martha* fantasy, his *Carnaval de Venecia* variations, Alard's fantasies on *Robert le diable* and *Un ballo in maschera*. But it was the *Zamacueca* that aroused again the most vivid enthusiasm, not only among both audiences and critics at Quillota, but elsewhere as well.¹³⁶ Some newspaper reviews referred only to the *Zamacueca* in specific terms when lauding to the skies White's qualities as composer and performer, leaving unmentioned the remaining works of his programs.

The Quillota concert of December 21 may perhaps have been the most entirely "American" of the entire Chilean tour. It did not begin with a bravura piece played by White, nor with an orchestral overture, as was customary in his Chile concerts whose complete programs are known. Instead, Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán opened with Gottschalk's *Il Trovatore* variations and closed Part I of the concert with Gottschalk's *Murmures éoliens*. (Could White and Guzmán have intended an homage to the North American pianist composer, who accompanied White at his first public concert at Matanzas, Cuba, on March 21, 1854, and "helped obtain funds for him to travel to France"?¹³⁷ In 1866 Gottschalk had made a triumphal tour in Chile, being assisted, among other local musicians, by Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán.¹³⁸) In addition, Carolina Zúñiga sang, apart from a *La Traviata* aria, an unspecified grand aria

¹³⁵Data on Alaide Pantanelli can be found in Pereira Salas, *Historia*, 118, and Figueroa, *Diccionario biográfico chileno (1550-1887)*, 437-438.

¹³⁶Such is the case of the reviews published in the following newspapers: *El Correo de Quillota*, v/473 (December 22, 1878), 3:2; v/474 (December 26, 1878), 2:2; *La Reforma* [La Serena], x/1536 (January 7, 1879), 3:1; *El Correo de La Serena*, viii/877 (January 7, 1879), 3:2, viii/880 (January 14, 1879), 2:5; *El Constituyente* [Copiapó], xviii/5291 (January 25, 1879), 2:4.

¹³⁷Stevenson, "Caribbean Music History," 2.

¹³⁸Eustaquio Segundo and Federico Guzmán, along with several other pianists, participated at the concert offered by Gottschalk in Santiago on July 3, 1866. The program appears in Pereira Salas, *Historia*, 123. Gottschalk's name remained alive in Chile throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. Cf. Stevenson, "Gottschalk in Western South America," 13.



from Antônio Carlos Gomes's *Il Guarany* and *Lola*, a song by Sebastián Iradier.

VIII

White spent mid-May to July 25, 1879, at Buenos Aires.¹³⁹ On June 4 he made his Argentinian début at the Teatro Colón. Six weeks later, July 18, assisted by several local musicians, he gave his farewell concert at the Sociedad del Cuarteto (locale, 68 Calle de Corrientes). According to *La Gaceta Musical*, 6^a *Época*, the farewell program included the scherzo of Mendelssohn's first piano Trio, Bach's *Chaconne*, second and third movements of Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata, Ernst's *Otello* fantasy, and Paganini's *Di tanti palpiti* variations. After playing Ernst's fantasy he was decorated with a gold medal and a beautiful "estrella de flores." To meet the repeated demand for encores White played his "Aires peruanos" and "Aire Chileno" (= *Zamacueca*), both of which were enthusiastically applauded.¹⁴⁰ The combination in one and the same public concert of the *Zamacueca* with Bach's *Chaconne*, movements of Beethoven's Kreutzer and of Mendelssohn's first trio, documents the great receptivity to European art music then existing at Buenos Aires, due largely, no doubt, to the continuous activity since 1875 by the Sociedad del Cuarteto.¹⁴¹ During White's stay in Buenos Aires, the fourth anniversary of this society was celebrated with a grand concert on July 9 at the Teatro de la Ópera, attended by President Bartolomé Mitre himself, other authorities, foreign diplomats, high society representatives, journalists, and music teachers. The program included, among other works, Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony.¹⁴² Although White had been invited to participate,¹⁴³ he could not play due to a prior commitment at Montevideo, Uruguay.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹White's sojourn in Buenos Aires is summarized by Gesualdo, *Historia de la Música en la Argentina*, II, 280-281.

¹⁴⁰*La Gaceta Musical*, 6^a *Época* [Buenos Aires], vi/12 (July 20, 1879), 1:3. The reference to "Aires Chilenos" in Gesualdo, *op. cit.*, II, 281, must be corrected. Regarding White's "Peruvian Aires" cf. Barbacci, "Apuntes para un Diccionario Biográfico Musical Peruano," 508-509.

¹⁴¹Data on the Buenos Aires Sociedad del Cuarteto can be found in Gesualdo, II, 178-186.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, 182-183; *La Gaceta Musical*, 6^a *Época*, vi/11 (July 13, 1879), 83:3, 84:1.

¹⁴³*La Gaceta Musical*, 6^a *Época*, vi/10 (July 6, 1879), 75:2.

¹⁴⁴*La Gaceta Musical*, 6^a *Época*, vi/11 (July 13, 1879), 84:3.

White's imminent arrival at Rio de Janeiro had been announced as early as the July issue of the *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*. The writer of the accompanying biographical survey extolled him as "the most notable of Alard's disciples" and perhaps "the major glory of the Paris Conservatoire."¹⁴³ Reaching the Brazilian capital in late September¹⁴⁴ (after being acclaimed in Montevideo¹⁴⁵), he made his Rio debut on October 17 at the Salão Arturo Napoleão & Miguéz. The *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes* reported that at the end of the concert "the audience repeatedly called him back to stage; José White then acceded to general request and played a gracious *Zamacueca*."¹⁴⁶ On October 28 White played again his *Zamacueca* as encore in the same hall at the close of his second concert in Rio de Janeiro.¹⁴⁷ To close the 1879 season of the Sociedade Philharmonica Fluminense, on December 19 White again combined the *Zamacueca*, accompanied by Alfredo Napoleão,¹⁵⁰ with Bach's *Chaconne*. The

reviewer of the *Jornal do Commercio* commented upon White's "variations on the *Zamacueca*" ("variações da *Zamacueca*") in the following terms:¹⁵¹

They are a musical vertigo, burlesque as a caricature by Cham, spirited and nimble as a design by Grévin. The *Zamacueca* is like an outburst of laughter in manifold strokes of the bow, but it must be taken indeed very seriously when it comes to its technical demands.

Four months later, the *Zamacueca* had become so well known in Rio de Janeiro that it was referred to as the "popular *Zamacueca*" by the reviewer of a charity concert offered April 28 by White in Petrópolis with the assistance of local amateur musicians.¹⁵² In the meantime Lucien Lambert, the "well known and respected professor,"¹⁵³ prepared a solo piano version published in January 1880 by Arturo Napoleão & Miguéz.¹⁵⁴ On January 14 the *Jornal do Commercio* reported that the *Zamacueca* had "become famous" in Rio de Janeiro thanks to the "admirable interpretation of the violinist José White."¹⁵⁵ On February 15 the same newspaper advertised the Lambert piano version with the following caption: "it reproduces with great fidelity the variations that the renowned White played on the violin to make the most beautiful effect."¹⁵⁶ A copy of the *Zamacueca*

¹⁴³ *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes* [Rio de Janeiro], 1/29 (July 19, 1879), 6: "Deve chegar brevemente, vindo de Buenos-Ayres, o celebre violinista José White, o mais notavel discipulo de Allard e quiçá o maior gloria do Conservatorio de Pariz."

¹⁴⁴ *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, 1/40 (October 4, 1879), 4: "Chegou, finalmente, procedente de Buenos-Ayres, o rabequista White." White lived in Rio de Janeiro from 1879 and not from 1873. Moreover, he never headed the Conservatório Imperial at Rio de Janeiro.

¹⁴⁵ White arrived in Montevideo on the British steamer *Saturno* on July 25, 1879 [*El Telégrafo Marítimo*, xxix/64 (July 26, 1879), 2:4], and on September 23 he left for Rio de Janeiro on the steamer *Iberia* [*La Nación*, III/555 (September 23, 1879), 1:7 and 2:3]. He played at two of the main theaters of the city, the Teatro Cibils on July 26 and the Teatro Solís on August 6 and 8. Besides, he played at the salons of the choicest aristocracy in Montevideo and participated on August 29 and September 9 at charity concerts warmly reviewed in *La Nación*, III/539 (September 3, 1879), 2:4 and III/545 (September 11, 1879), 1:7. The *Zamacueca* was billed as the concluding item of a "Concierto vocal é instrumental" held on August 17 at the "salones del señor doctor don Joaquin Requena, en celebridad del natalicio de este caballero, cuya esposa se propuso festejar ese dia con una reunion de las personas de su intima relacion, invitadas familiarmente para un concierto" [*La Nación*, III/528 (August 19, 1879), 2:3]. According to *La Nación* [III/533 (August 24, 1879), 2:1] his talent evoked a "true enthusiasm and admiration" and his students at Montevideo profited with an "astounding success" from the teaching of this "Cuban Paganini."

¹⁴⁶ *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, 1/42 (October 18, 1879), 6: "Al final, O auditorio chamou-o repetidas vezes. José White tocou ainda a pedido geral uma graciosa *Zamacueca*."

¹⁴⁷ *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, 1/44 (November 1, 1879), p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, 1/52 (December 27, 1879), 6; *Jornal do Commercio* [Rio de Janeiro], LIX/1 (Janu-

ary 1, 1880), 2:2. Concerning Alfredo Napoleão, see Cernicchiario, *Storia della Musica nel Brasile*, 407.

¹⁵¹ *Jornal do Commercio*, LIX/1 (January 1, 1880), 2:2: "White, quando o applaudem, costuma dar como *quebra* umas variações da *Zamacueca*. E' um devaneio musical, burlesco, como uma caricatura de Cham, espirituoso e ligeiro, como um desenho de Grévin. A *Zamacueca* é como uma gargalhada em muitas arcadas e que só tem uma cousa séria—a dificuldade."¹⁵² *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, II/8 (April 18, 1880), 61-62.

¹⁵³ *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, II/5 (February 28, 1880), 38. Concerning Lucien Lambert (senior), see Cernicchiario, *Storia della Musica nel Brasile*, 398-399.

¹⁵⁴ Lambert's piano version was first announced by the *Jornal do Commercio*, LIX/14 (January 14, 1880), 1:3, and the *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, II/2 (January 17, 1880), 14. In March the printing house became Narciso, Arthur Napoleão & Miguéz through the merging of the *Casas Narciso & C^a* and Arthur Napoleão & Miguéz [*Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, II/5 (February 28, 1880), 37]. Thus, further announcements of Lambert's piano version—for instance the one published in the *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, II/6 (March 13, 1880), 48—indicate the new name of the printing house (address: 89, Rua do Ouvidor).

¹⁵⁵ *Jornal do Commercio*, LIX/14 (January 14, 1880), 1:3: "Esta peça tornou-se celebre entre nós pela admiravel interpretação que lhe dava o rabequista José White."

¹⁵⁶ *Jornal do Commercio*, LIX/46 (February 15, 1880), 5:1: "Este arranjo [Lambert's] imita com summa felicidade as varia-

(Danse Chilienne) de José White Transcrite pour piano par Lucien Lambert (Paris: Colombier, plate number C.3846, [1881])—which most likely is a reprint of the original Brazilian edition—is preserved at the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale.¹⁵⁷ In June of 1881 an alternate piano version of the *Zamacueca* was published at Buenos Aires.¹⁵⁸

Lambert's piano version of the *Zamacueca* is shorter than the violin and piano version printed at Paris in 1897. The latter starts with an introduction of 25 bars by the violin and piano, based on the rhythmic figure ♩ ♩ ♩, which is characteristic of the guitar accompaniment of the folk *zamacueca*. This figure is handled in a highly virtuosic manner in the introduction by means of pizzicati of both hands combined with different kinds of bowing (it pervades the piano accompaniment through the rest of the piece) (see exx. 2 and 3). Following the introduction, the violin presents seven variations of the melody of the *zamacueca* lasting 12 + 12 + 16 + 12 + 16 + 12 + 12 bars. Among great technical demands, White requires double and triple steps in the first four variations and harmonics in the highest range from the fifth through the seventh variation. Between the fifth and the sixth variation is interspersed a section of 16 bars which starts in B flat major and returns later to G major, the main key of the piece.¹⁵⁹ In Lambert's piano version the introduction lasts only 5 bars and is followed instead by six, rather than seven variations (12 + 16 + 16 + 16 + 16 + 1). Furthermore, Lambert's version contains no material related to the section which begins in B flat major in the 1897 violin and piano version. Can it be that White's *Zamacueca*, as printed at Paris in 1897, is a reworking of an earlier shorter version whose outlines are retained in Lambert's solo piano version? In any event, the earliest Santiago edition of "Célebre Zamacueca White" published by Eustaquio Segundo Guzmán starts, like Lambert's piano version, with an introduction of five bars, followed by only two presentations of the melody, lasting 16 and 12 bars, respectively (see ex. 1A, page 97).

The popularity of White's *Zamacueca* in Rio de Janeiro inspired at least two *zamacuecas* for violin and piano written by Brazilian composers. One of these is the *Zamacueca, Dansa Chilena, Transcrição para Violino e Piano* by Nicolino Milano, issued at Rio de Janeiro by

ções que o celebre violinista White tocava na rabeça e produz um bellissimo effeito."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Call number at the Music Section: Vm¹h 226. 1881 is the year of the *Dépôt Légal*.

¹⁵⁸ Gesualdo, *Historia de la Música en la Argentina*, II, 1000, item 604.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. the results of this analysis with what Cernicchiaro writes about White's piece on p. 478 of his *Storia della Musica nel Brasile*: "la 'Zamacueca,' danza cilena, colorita di suoni armonici e di pizzicati, rese interessanti dalla sua virtuosità."

EXAMPLE 2. José White, *Zamacueca* (1897), mm. 5-13.

EXAMPLE 3. José White, *Zamacueca* (1897), mm. 54-65.

Manoel Antonio Guimarães (plate number 4637), a successor to "Buschmann Guimarães & Irmão," located then at 50, 52 Rua dos Ourives.¹⁶⁰ The other is the *Zamacueca, Danse Chilienne, Fantaisie pour violon avec accompt. de piano* by Roberto Kinsman Benjamin, published at London in 1916 by Weekes & Co. (Hanover St. Regent St. W., plate number W.6801).¹⁶¹

Nicolino Milano, born of Italian parents at Lorena,

¹⁶⁰ Two copies are preserved at the Music Section of the Rio de Janeiro Biblioteca Nacional (call numbers M 787.109 M-I-1, and M 787.109 M-I-1a).

¹⁶¹ One copy is preserved at the Music Section of the Rio de Janeiro Biblioteca Nacional (call number M 787.1 S-I-40).



state of São Paulo,¹⁶² studied music in Rio de Janeiro at the Club Beethoven¹⁶³ and the Instituto Nacional de Música.¹⁶⁴ A violinist, teacher, and composer for theatrical revues, he was referred to in Brazil both as “one of the best musicians at Rio de Janeiro” in the 1890’s and as an “incorrigible bohemian,”¹⁶⁵ whose career as soloist did not match his great talent.¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Milano reaped honors in Portugal (where he worked for many years as court musician), France, and Belgium.¹⁶⁷ Kinsman Benjamin (b September 3, 1853, Rio de Janeiro; d there March 31, 1934)¹⁶⁸ was of British ancestry and received a complete musical education in Holland, Germany, and England. Upon returning to Brazil in 1872, he worked at the English Bank of Rio de Janeiro until 1886, concurrently involving himself in musical life as organizer, composer, violinist, teacher, orchestral conductor, and writer of an opera guide published in 1884.¹⁶⁹ He was the founder and leader of the Club Beethoven, which offered between February 4, 1882, and August 22, 1889, 136 concerts of chamber music, four symphonic concerts, and five soirées.¹⁷⁰ The club simultaneously supported a high class musical academy which reached an enrollment of up to 200 students.¹⁷¹

In their *zamacuecas* Milano and Kinsman Benjamin rework in varying degrees White’s original version. Milano starts with an introduction of five bars, followed by four variations of the melody lasting sixteen bars each. He

repeats the introduction after the first and second variations, resorts to harmonics in the highest range of the violin in the third and fourth variations, and does not shift to B flat major anywhere in his *Zamacueca*. Benjamin’s *fantaisie*—headed by the same indication, “Tempo di Bolero,” as the 1897 White Paris imprint—contains six variations of the melody. Like Milano and Lambert, he never shifts to B flat major. However, in Kinsman Benjamin’s *Zamacueca* there are passages which are more related to Milano’s version than to White’s *Zamacueca*. Such is the case of a passage of Benjamin’s introduction which recurs in the course of his *zamacueca* (see ex. 4b) and the style in which harmonics are handled in the fifth and sixth variation (see ex. 5c). On the other hand, Kinsman Benjamin, unlike Milano or White, does not commit the piano part exclusively to the rhythmic figure derived from the folk *zamacueca*. Furthermore, he adds an “Andante e con tristezza” G minor section in 9/8 which, apart from the parallel thirds in double stops, is totally unrelated to either Milano’s or White’s version.

Apart from Milano and Kinsman Benjamin, violinist Ernestino Serpa is another who contributed to the dissemination of the *Zamacueca* in Rio de Janeiro. On May 23, 1897, Serpa played White’s *Zamacueca* in the Theatro Lyrico at a charity concert organized by the Corporação Orchestral in behalf of the Caixa Beneficente Theatral.¹⁷² Ernestino Serpa may be the same as the “Serpa Junior” who, after completing his studies at the Imperial Conservatório de Música, studied with White at Rio de Janeiro and advertised himself hence as a pupil of the Cuban violinist.¹⁷³

At Rio de Janeiro White became “maestro d’accompanhamento” of the princess Isabel (1846–1921), “a great patroness of the arts and the artists” during the reign of her father, Dom Pedro II (1841–1889).¹⁷⁴ Sponsored by the princess and with the aid of the pianist Arturo Napoleão, White founded in 1883 the *Sociedade de Concertos Clássicos*,¹⁷⁵ a society with goals similar to those of the Club Beethoven founded by Kinsman Benjamin the previous year. Between 1883 and 1889 White “was a prime

¹⁶²Nicolino Milano’s birthdate has been variously given as July 25, 1875 [Sousa Bastos, *Carteira do Artista. Apontamentos para a historia do theatro portuguez e brasileiro* (Lisbon: Antiga Casa Bertrand-José Bastos, 1898), 542], c. 1873 in Campinas (Cernicchiaro, *Storia della Musica nel Brasile*, 479), and June 25, 1876 [Maria Luiza de Queiroz Amancio dos Santos (Iza Queiroz Santos), *Origem e Evolução da Música em Portugal e Sua Influência no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1942), 173:n.20].

¹⁶³Sousa Bastos, *Carteira do Artista*, 543.

¹⁶⁴Cernicchiaro, *Storia della Musica nel Brasile*, 479.

¹⁶⁵Sousa Bastos, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁶Cernicchiaro, *Storia della Musica nel Brasile*, 478–479.

¹⁶⁷Queiroz Santos, *Origem e Evolução*, 173:n.20.

¹⁶⁸Biographical data summarized from the necrology written by Enio de Freitas e Castro, “Kinsman Benjamin,” *Revista Brasileira de Música*, 1/2 (June, 1934), 143. Queiroz Santos (*Origem e Evolução*, 236) erroneously gives 1927 as the year of death. Benjamin’s complete name was Roberto J. Kinsman Benjamin.

¹⁶⁹Cf. Luís Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo (with the assistance of Cleofe Person de Matos and Mercedes de Moura Reis [= Mercedes Reis Pequeno]), *Bibliografia Musical Brasileira (1820–1950)* [Instituto Nacional do Livro, Coleção BI, *Bibliografia*, ix] (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1952), 86, item 46.

¹⁷⁰Cernicchiaro, *Storia della Musica nel Brasile*, 546–547. Between 1882 and 1884 Kinsman Benjamin published the *Programas dos grandes concertos anuais do Club Beethoven* (Corrêa de Azevedo, *Bibliografia*, 86, item 47).

¹⁷¹Enio de Freitas e Castro, “Kinsman Benjamin,” 145.

¹⁷²The program of this concert is kept at the Music Section of the Rio de Janeiro Biblioteca Nacional.

¹⁷³Cernicchiaro, *Storia della Musica nel Brasile*, 480–481. Among other Brazilian students of White, Cernicchiaro mentions Teresina Bastos (483), Maria Augusta Petit (484), and Edgardo Guerra (491), considered as “come uno dei più notevoli violinisti del nostro ambiente artistico.” Data on Edgardo Guerra can also be found in Queiroz Santos, *Origem e Evolução*, 281, and Renato Almeida, *História da Música Brasileira*, 2d edition (Rio de Janeiro: F. Briguiet & Comp., 1942), 484.

¹⁷⁴Cernicchiaro, 547.

¹⁷⁵Further data on this society can be found in Cernicchiaro, 547–548.



EXAMPLE 4A. Nicolino Milano, *Zamacuêca*, mm. 1-7.

EXAMPLE 5A. José White, *Zamacueca* (1897), mm. 82-91.

EXAMPLE 4B. Kinsman Benjamin, *Zamacuêca*, mm. 13-16.

EXAMPLE 5B. Nicolino Milano, *Zamacuêca*, mm. 45-54.

mover in quartet playing,¹⁷⁶ and conducted numerous symphonic works at the concerts offered by this society. He could therefore show in Brazil his qualities as conductor to a considerably larger extent than in Chile or, for that matter, in any other country where he pursued his career.

After the establishment of the federal republic in 1889, the royal family was exiled to Europe and José White returned to France.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the legacy

¹⁷⁶Stevenson, "Caribbean Music History," 3. At Paris, *Le Ménestrel*, L/6 (January 6, 1884), 47:1, reported that "On nous écrit de Rio-Janeiro que le violoniste White, du Conservatoire de Paris, qui était si apprécié il y a quelques années dans nos concerts et soirées musicales, est maintenant fixé à Rio-Janeiro, où il est en grande faveur à la cour si éclairée de l'empereur du Brésil. White vient d'inaugurer dans cette capitale des séances de musique de chambre dans lesquelles il fait entendre avec succès les chefs-d'oeuvre des grands maîtres." More than half a year later the same Parisian review, L/38 (August 17, 1884), 303:2, reported that White "vient d'être nommé commandeur de première classe de l'ordre d'Isabelle la Catholique. L'Empereur du Brésil, désirant retenir dans ses États cet artiste remarquable, l'avait déjà nommé directeur des concerts de la Cour et commandeur de l'ordre de Saint-Silvestre."

¹⁷⁷Queiroz Santos, *Origem e Evolução*, 281; Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, *150 Anos de Música no Brasil (1800-1950)* [Coleção Documentos Brasileiros, 87, edited by Octavio Tarquínio de Sousa] (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio, 1956), 94.

EXAMPLE 5C. Kinsman Benjamin, *Zamacuêca*, mm. 134-143.

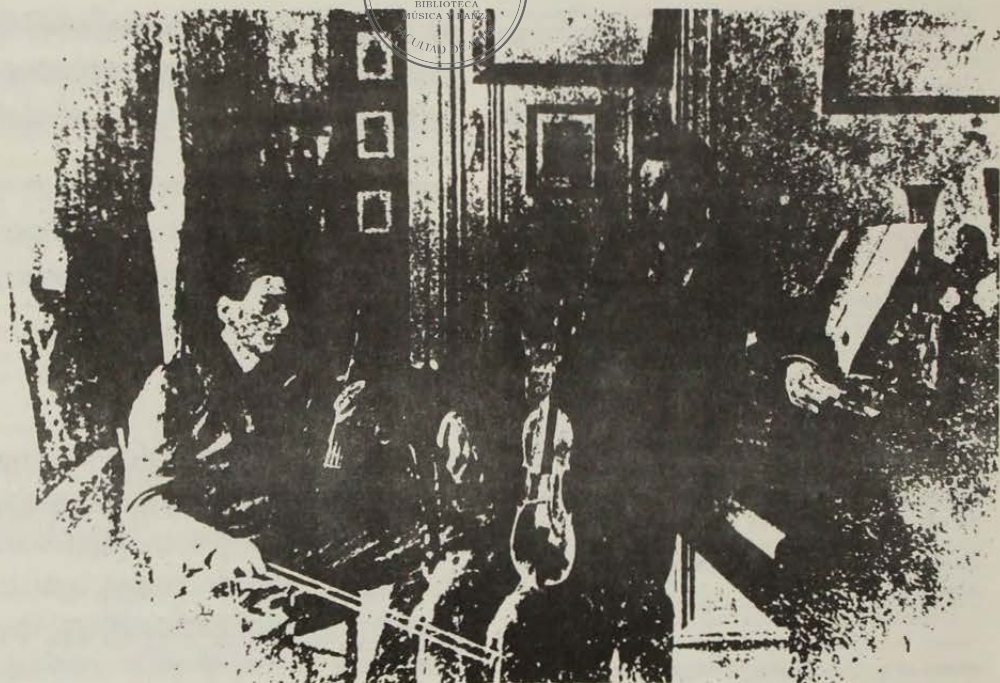


Photo of White, taken in his residence in Paris (9 rue Bugeau), together with Quiroga and White's Cuban disciple José Mitchell Dumois, who preserved for Cuba a large part of White's personal archives. From the collection of the Museo Nacional de la Música de Cuba. Courtesy of Armando Toledo Cisneros.

of White's *Zamacueca* persisted not only in Brazil but also within the family of the princess, who had married in 1864 the French Count d'Eu (1842–1922). Their second son, the prince Dom Luiz de Orléans-Bragança (1878–1920), who visited Chile in 1907 during a tour of South America, published a vividly enthusiastic description of the *cueca* (= *zamacueca*).¹⁷⁸ The following sample¹⁷⁹ reveals an attitude toward the dance kindred to that of White:

¹⁷⁸This description appears in D. Luiz de Orléans-Bragança, *Sob o Cruzeiro do Sul: Brasil, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguai, Uruguay* (Montreux: O Centro Monarchista do Amazonas, 1913), 179–180.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 180: "Gosto da *cueca* porque ella symbolisa bem o Chile: o Chile com o seu retintim de armas e o seu murmuro de oiro que jorra, seus arripes de gloria, suas energias e suas desillusões, seus periodos de trabalho e de victorias seguidos de annos de inercia e de desalento. . . ." Other Brazilians who visited Chile between 1889 and 1915 were as enthusiastic about the *cueca* as the prince. Cf. Clemente Barahona Vega, *De la Tierruca Chilena. La Danza Popular de Chile y el ABC* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1915), 21–24, 41–50, 59–66, *passim*.

I like the *cueca* very much. It so well typifies the Chilean people, when chinking arms in the excitement of glory or energy, when plunging into disillusion, or when going through the periods of work and victory that precede years of inertia and discouragement.

The *Zamacueca*, however, was not the only link that White maintained with Chile during his ten-year stay at Rio de Janeiro. He also resumed his personal contact with Federico Guzmán, who between 1880 and 1882 resided at Rio de Janeiro with his wife the pianist Margarita Vaché, and her sister the singer Rosa Vaché de Aguayo.¹⁸⁰ Prior to their encounter

¹⁸⁰The name of Federico Guzmán's sister-in-law was not Rosa Aguayo de Vaché, as indicated in both Sandoval, *Reseña*, p. III, and Pereira Salas, *Historia*, indexed entries. The arrival of the Guzmán family in Rio de Janeiro via Montevideo was announced in the *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, II/20 (August 7, 1880), 163. On September 14 the debut concert took place at the Salão Bevilacqua with the assistance of Vincenzo Cernicchiario on the violin and João Cerrone on the violoncello [*Jornal do Commercio*, LIX/258 (September 16, 1880), 1:7]. Data on

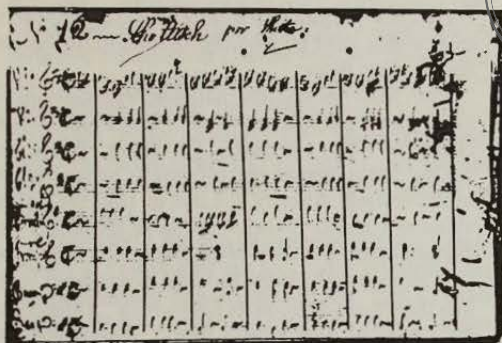


Photo of the original manuscript of *Schottisch*, a dance piece by White for *tipica* orchestra. From the collection of the Museo Nacional de la Música de Cuba. Courtesy of Armando Toledo Cisneros.

at Lima in 1879, both Guzmán and White had coincided in the late 1860's at Paris, where they may have met for the first time.

At Paris between 1867 and 1869, Federico Guzmán was studying piano with Alexandre Billet, studying composition with Adolphe de Groot, and giving concerts, while White was simultaneously concertizing regularly in the French capital. Six days apart in February, 1868, they both played concerts at the Salle Herz. White on February 21 played at a concert offered by Amélie Staps;¹⁸¹ Federico Guzmán on February 27 gave what *La France Musical* announced as "the most interesting concert of the current season."¹⁸²

At Rio de Janeiro, José White and the Guzmán family played together in public on at least three occasions. As assisting artists, they joined with the pianist-composer Henrique Braga (1845–1917) and others who played at a concert offered October 1, 1880, by the Spanish harp player Esmeralda Cervantes in the hall of the Impérial Conservatório de Música.¹⁸³ On December 1, 1881, White again joined with the Guzmáns, Henrique Braga, and other mu-

Cerrone appears in Queiroz Santos, *Origem e Evolução*, 304 (called João Cerroni), 318, and in Cernicchiaro, *Storia della Musica nel Brasile*, 499 (called Giovanni Cerrone).

¹⁸¹ *La France Musicale* [Paris], xxxii/7 (February 16, 1868), 51:2.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*: the concert "que nous avons annoncé comme devant être le plus intéressant de la saison."

¹⁸³ *Revista Musical e de Bellas Artes*, ii/29 (October 9, 1880), 235. Data on Henrique Braga can be found in Queiroz Santos, *Origem e Evolução*, 205.

icians to present a concert at the Salão Bevilacqua¹⁸⁴ in the hall of the Impérial Conservatório, White on November 3, 1882, participated at Guzmán's farewell concert attended by the royal family. Accompanied by Guzmán, White played on that occasion a "Duetto concertante" based on *Les Huguenots*. Afterwards, both musicians and the violoncello player João Cerrone performed Mendelssohn's first piano Trio in D minor.¹⁸⁵ (In company with his wife and sister-in-law, Federico Guzmán returned to Paris in 1883,¹⁸⁶ and died there in August 1885.¹⁸⁷)

IX

From 1889 to his death March 12, 1918, White resided again in Paris. In 1889 he returned to the Lamoureux concerts "with an incandescent interpretation of Wieniawski's Concerto in D minor,"¹⁸⁸ and starting in the 1890's the *Zamacueca* became known in Europe. (Mention was made above at page 103 of the 1897 Parisian imprint.) On March 15, 1898, accompanied by the then famous Chilean pianist Amelia Cocq, White played the *Zamacueca* at the Salle Pleyel, almost twenty years after its première in Santiago, Chile.¹⁸⁹ He made his last public appearance at Paris in 1902 at a concert organized by Frédéric Le Ney, then playing Bach's *Chaconne* and offering as an encore the *Zamacueca* (repeated three times at the enthusiastic request of the audience).¹⁹⁰

Nine years later Albert Friedenthal organized in Berlin a series of three concerts devoted to "Die Musik der Kreolenölker Amerikas." The second

¹⁸⁴ *Jornal do Commercio*, lx/336 (December 3, 1881), 1:6.

¹⁸⁵ *Jornal do Commercio*, lxi/306 (November 5, 1882), 1:5.

¹⁸⁶ Their arrival was announced in *L'Art Musical* [Paris], xxii/36 (September 13, 1883), 286:1.

¹⁸⁷ His necrology appeared in *Le Ménestrel* [Paris], li/38 (August 23, 1885), 303:2, 304:1.

¹⁸⁸ Argote, "White," 91; Stevenson, "Caribbean Music History," 3.

¹⁸⁹ The program of this concert is kept at the Biblioteca Central of the University of Chile in Santiago. Colección Domingo Edwards Matte. For data on Amelia Cocq see Pereira Salas, *Historia*, indexed entries; Arrieta Cañas, *Música*, 10, and [Anibal Aracena Infanta], "La gran pianista chilena señora Amelia Cocq de Weingand," *Música* [Santiago], i/1 (January, 1920), 2-3. In March, 1898, Amelia Cocq was studying at the Paris Conservatoire on a scholarship awarded by the Chilean government.

¹⁹⁰ Argote, "White," 98; Stevenson, "Caribbean Music History," 3. The printed copy of White's *Zamacueca* reproduced in Stevenson, 98-105, bears a handwritten dedication to Edouard Deru (1875-1928), violinist to the King and Queen of Belgium.

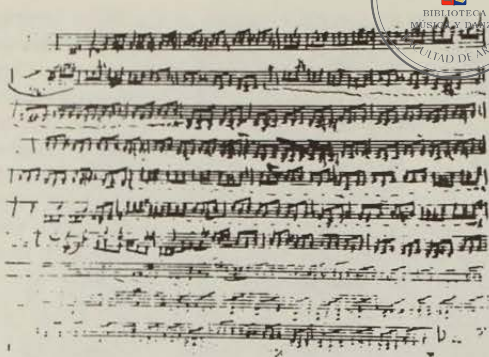


Photo of the original manuscript of the polka-mazurka *La femenina*, a dance piece by White for *tipica* orchestra. From the collection of the Museo Nacional de la Música de Cuba. Courtesy of Armando Toledo Cisneros.

concert, held on November 6, 1911, at the Choralion-Saal (Bellevue Strasse 4), was dedicated to the folk music of Chile. It began with a *Vortrag*, presumably delivered by Friedenthal himself, on "Die Stile der chilenischen Musik. Die Zamacueca." Next the "Zamacueca 'de White'" in the voice and piano version was sung by Margarete Loewe accompanied by Mimi Pfaff. The program included three more *zamacuecas* and four songs, all of which had been published in the same year in *Stimmen der Völker*.¹⁹¹

X

Summarizing: White's visit to Chile lasted longer than those he made to Peru, Argentina, and Uruguay. He stayed for over a year and three months—touring the length and breadth of Chile, usually attracting large crowds and being frantically applauded wherever he went. By displaying friendship, generosity, and tact, he could attract most of the best local musicians to his concerts and could climax his stay with a monster festival (similar to those of Henri Herz in 1851 and Louis Moreau Gottschalk in 1866). Although tickets for most of White's concerts were expensive, he enthusiastically endorsed social and charitable causes. Like Gottschalk, he was support-

¹⁹¹The program of this concert is kept at the Biblioteca Central of the University of Chile in Santiago, Colección Domingo Edwards Matte.

ive toward Chilean and locally resident composers, and, within local possibilities he tried to further the cause of art music.

Both national and international repercussions of his Chilean sojourn are directly tied to his *Zamacueca* for violin and piano. Obviously, White was not the first composer who projected Chilean popular music abroad. Already at Lima in 1849 the Italian violinist Camillo Sivori, "the most exciting 19th-century violin virtuoso after Paganini"¹⁹² and the first celebrity who came to Chile in a concert tour, had played *El Carnaval de Chile*, with "Variaciones burlescas" on a *zamacueca* tune.¹⁹³ Although billed at Lima as Sivori's own work, this piece had been written in Chile by the Russian-French Louis Rémy, and was presented with great success at the fifth of Sivori's 1848 concerts at Valparaíso.¹⁹⁴

The score of *El Carnaval de Chile* has not been located thus far. However, at least three scores of *zamacuecas* by other European trained musicians of the nineteenth century have been preserved and can be profitably compared with White's *Zamacueca*. The earliest is *La Zamacueca. Danse nationale du Chili* (Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, plate number 139) by Ernst Lübeck, a Dutch pianist who toured Chile in 1853.¹⁹⁵ Next comes *La Zamacueca, Souvenir de Valparaíso* (Paris: Heugel & Fils, plate number H.6756 [1880]) by the French pianist Théodore Ritter (1841–1886), a pupil of Liszt¹⁹⁶ who played in Chile between 1870 and 1871 concurrently with two other celebrities, Carlotta Patti (1835–1889), a sister of Adelina Patti (1843–1919), and the Spanish violinist Pablo Sarasate (1844–1908).¹⁹⁷ The third is the "Sa-

¹⁹²*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xvii, 357.

¹⁹³Barbacci, "Apuntes para un Diccionario Biográfico Musical Peruano," 501.

¹⁹⁴Merino, "Música y sociedad en el Valparaíso decimonónico," 215.

¹⁹⁵Pereira Salas, *Historia*, 115–116; *Biobibliografía*, 92, item 672. In *La France Musical* [Paris], xxxi/40 (October 6, 1867), 315:2, appeared the following information about Lübeck: "Comme l'un des pianistes à vingt francs le cachet à Paris, était M. Ernest Lubeck, fils de l'ancien directeur du Conservatoire de La Haye."

¹⁹⁶Carlo Schmidl, *Dizionario Universale dei Musicisti*, II (Milan: Casa Editrice Sonzogno, 1938), 379.

¹⁹⁷Pereira Salas, *Historia*, 131–132; *Biobibliografía*, 109, item 803. Since the copy of Ritter's *Zamacueca* examined by Pereira Salas lacks title page, bibliographical details are missing. Another copy preserved at the Music Section of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (call number Vm¹²24546) bears 1880 as the year of the *Dépôt Légal*.

macueca. Chilean national dance," published in 1882 as number 6 of the *Eight South American Airs arranged as a Pianoforte Duet* by Maude Valérie White [London: Boosey & Co. (295, Regent Street, W.)].¹⁹⁸ Interestingly enough, this "Samacueca" is the only one of the "South American Aairs" which is precisely identified in the volume published by this English composer and writer (1855-1937) who resided in Chile in 1881.¹⁹⁹

In the 1880's Ritter's *Zamacueca* became widely known in France through successful performances by the composer and by his disciples.²⁰⁰ It also circulated in an "édition simplifiée" for the piano (1880),²⁰¹ for piano "à 4 mains" (1880),²⁰² and in versions for full orchestra (1880),²⁰³ for two mandolins and guitar (1905),²⁰⁴ and for piano, violin, violoncello, and bass (1906).²⁰⁵ However, Ritter's *Zamacueca* is in the style of the habanera and bears no relationship whatsoever to the Chilean folkdance. Ernst Lübeck captured more closely the popular flavor of the *zamacueca*, but without capturing it as precisely as did Maude Valérie White in her four-hand version. Compared with all these other transcribers, José White remains nonetheless unsurpassable. Only he conveys in his *Zamacueca* the joyful character of the folk model, meanwhile combining virtuoso éclat, structural balance, and harmonic variety within nineteenth-century conventional norms. These attributes made it appealing in Chile and

¹⁹⁸ The copies preserved both at the British Library and the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale bear 1882 as the year of printing (in a handwritten indication).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Pereira Salas, *Historia*, 186-187, and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xx, 384.

²⁰⁰ For instance, the prestigious Parisian review *Le Ménestrel* reported between 1883 and 1885 no less than four successful presentations of Ritter's *Zamacueca*. Two of them were at Paris, one by Caroline Guion, a Ritter disciple [XLIX/6 (January 7, 1883), 47:1], and the other by M. L. Mayeur [XLIX/27 (June 3, 1883), 215:2]. Two were by Ritter himself, one at Lyon [L/20 (April 13, 1884), 160:1], and the other at Antwerp [LI/36 (August 9, 1885), 288:2].

²⁰¹ Prepared by F. Mangin (Paris: Heugel & Fils, plate number H.6800, 1880 [Dépôt Légal]). A copy of this edition and of those mentioned below in notes 203-205 are preserved at the Music Section of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale.

²⁰² This four-hand version was prepared by R. de Vilbac and announced in the edition referred to in note 201.

²⁰³ (Paris: Heugel & Fils, plate number H.6803, 1880 [Dépôt Légal]).

²⁰⁴ Prepared by L. Cailleux (Paris: Heugel & C^{ie}, 1905 [Dépôt Légal]).

²⁰⁵ Prepared by Ad. Soyér (Paris: Heugel & C^{ie}, 1905 [copyright], 1906 [Dépôt Légal]).

UNIVERSIDAD DE CHILE
BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE MÚSICA Y DANZA
FACULTAD DE LETRAS

Biografía de José Silvestre White

Escrito en esta Ciudad el 31 de Enero de 1855. Impreso a expensas de su autor el 15 de Diciembre de 1855. a la edad de 2 años 11 meses y 15 dias actualmente 16. Instrumentos y con los siguientes caracteres:

1. Violin, en primer	17. Clarinete
2. Vcllo-Violin	18. Trombon de Basso
3. Violoncello	19. — — de Bara
4. Contrabajo	20. Corneta
5. Piano	21. Trompa
6. Sinfonía	22. Clarinet
7. Flauta	23. Oficiale
8. Bando	24. Timpani

Compositor de piezas grandes tambien Danzas Criollas, Polkas, Mazurkas, Schottisch, Redowas, Serias, Mazurkas, Valses, Polkas, Valses, Minuetos, Marchas, Fandangos, Zapateos — etc — etc

Compositor de Piano con perfeccion profesor de Danzas Cubanas Contractista de Fiestas, Mises, Bailes en esta Ciudad como en los demas de la Compro, reunen en sus ideas la musica que convienen para las diversiones de los habitantes de esta preciosa Isla de la Corona de Castilla, Comisor de Danzas arregladas para Piano para Orquesta para los de mas piezas indicadas, a un precio moderado maderas y Equitativo

Matanzas 15 de Enero de 1855

Simple hoy 19 años

C. W.

Biography of José Silvestre White

He was born in this city [Matanzas, Cuba] January 1, 1836. He began learning to play the violin December 1, 1840, being then four years, eleven months of age. At present he owns the following sixteen instruments: violin (his preference), viola, cello, double bass, piano, guitar, flute, piccolo, clarinet, keyed trombone, valve trombone, cornet, horn, keyed horn, ophicleide, and timpany.

Composer of large works, he has also written creole danzas, polkas, waltzes, schottisches, redowas, mazurkas, Strauss-type valse, galops, varsavianas, minuets, marches, fandangos, zapateos, and so forth.

He is perfect as a piano tuner, teacher of Cuban danzas, contract artist for fiestas, Masses, and for dances held both in this city and in country towns. So far as diversions are concerned, his musical ideas match those of inhabitants of this delightful island, the crown jewel of Castile. He copies piano and orchestral arrangements of danzas and of the other above listed pieces at a very moderate and equitable price. He is today 19 years old.

Matanzas, January 1, 1855.
C[arlos]. W[hite].

Photo of the original manuscript of the biography of José White written in 1855 by his father, Carlos White. From the collection of the Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba. Courtesy of Armando Toledo Cisneros.



Photo of José White dedicated to the Camagueyan pianist, composer, and orchestral director José María Varona (1859-1912) in 1904. From the collection of the Museo Nacional de la Música de Cuba. Courtesy of Armando Toledo Cisneros.

abroad, inspired two composers who never set foot in Chile, and elicited again an enthusiastic reaction when it was revived on October 17, 1984, at the Sala Isidora Zegers of the University of Chile Faculty of Arts.

XI

The historian Hubert Herring has contrasted the ephemeral ties binding together the different nations of Latin America with the formidable forces dividing them from each other.²⁰⁶ To his credit, José White

²⁰⁶ Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America from the Beginnings to the Present*, 3d edition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 18.

—like his mentor Gottschalk—helped forge essential musical links among Latin American countries.²⁰⁷

Significantly enough, African-descended White—despite his European sojourns—professed his deep admiration of the ideals of Cuban independence.²⁰⁸

The fact that White's Americanism was based on a genre like the Chilean *zamacueca* reinforces Alejo Carpentier's view regarding the important role that popular music has played since the nineteenth century in the establishment of musical links within Latin America, and also in projecting the Latin American tinge to other continents.²⁰⁹ Because José White successfully propagated Chilean national music both in Chile and abroad, he can be considered a forerunner of Carlos Lavín (1883-1962), Pedro Humberto Allende (1885-1959), Osmán Pérez Freire (1880-1930), and more recently Violeta Parra (1917-1967) and Víctor Jara (1938-1973), whose recognizably national traits increased, rather than diminished, the universal appeal of their musical expressions.²¹⁰

Bibliography

The following bibliography is divided into two parts and includes only items cited in the present essay. Nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals are listed in alphabetical order in Part I, with an indication of the year of publication of the issues referred to in the text. Titles

²⁰⁷ On Gottschalk's *Americanismo* see Francisco Curt Lange, "Vida y Muerte de Louis Moreau Gottschalk en Rio de Janeiro (1869): El ambiente musical en la mitad del segundo Imperio," *Revista de Estudios Musicales* [Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Mendoza, Argentina], II/4 (August, 1950), 52-54, and Robert Stevenson, "Gottschalk in Western South America," 14:n.10.

²⁰⁸ Argote, "White," 95.

²⁰⁹ Alejo Carpentier, "América Latina en la confluencia de coordenadas históricas y su repercusión en la música," in Isabel Aretz, ed., *América Latina en su Música* [UNESCO, *América Latina en su Cultura* series] (México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1977), 17-18.

²¹⁰ Clemente Barahona Vega, a great admirer of White who helped keep his name alive in Chile in the 1910's, summarized White's contribution to the international dissemination of the Chilean *zamacueca* in the following terms (*De la Tierra Chilena. La Danza Popular de Chile y el ABC*, 57-58):

Pero, aquí interrumpiremos, por un instante, el hilo de esta narración documentada, para rendir un homenaje de simpatía al viejo White, a cuyos talentos músicos, a cuyos viajes por América y por Europa, como a su cariño por la tierra chilena, debe la *zamacueca*, justo es reconocerlo, parte no insignificante de su celebridad continental, quizás . . . mundial."

beginning with articles are alphabetized under *El, La, Las, Le, or The*. Part II contains a list of books, liner notes, concert reviews of the twentieth century, scholarly articles and monographs, arranged alphabetically by the author's name. Two or more items by the same author are arranged chronologically by date of imprint.

I

- Album Musical Patriótico* (Santiago, Chile, edited by Ruperto Santa Cruz), 1886, 1888.
El Comercio (Coquimbo, Chile), 1879.
El Comercio (Lima, Peru), 1877.
El Comercio (San Felipe, Chile), 1878.
El Constituyente (Copiapó, Chile), 1879.
El Correo de La Serena (La Serena, Chile), 1879.
El Correo de Quillota (Quillota, Chile), 1878.
El Estandarte Católico (Santiago, Chile), 1878.
El Ferrocarril (Santiago, Chile), 1859, 1865, 1869.
El Telégrafo Marítimo (Montevideo, Uruguay), 1879.
Jornal do Commercio (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), 1880, 1881, 1882.
L'Art Musical (Paris, France), 1883.
La Discusión (Chillán, Chile), 1878.
La Estrella de Chile (Santiago, Chile), 1878.
La France Musicale (Paris, France), 1868.
La Nación (Montevideo, Uruguay), 1879.
La Gaceta Musical, 6ª Época (Buenos Aires, Argentina), 1879.
La Opinión (Talca, Chile), 1878.
La Patria (Valparaíso, Chile), 1878, 1879.
La Reforma (La Serena, Chile), 1879.
La Revista del Sur (Concepción, Chile), 1878.
Las Bellas Artes (Santiago, Chile), 1869.
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Le Ménestrel (Paris, France), 1884, 1885.
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